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A HISTORY OF SPANISH PAINTING

VOLUME II

A HISTORY OF SPANISH PAINTING

BY

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

VOLUME II

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1930

KRAUS REPRINT CO.
New York
1970

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PART III

THE FRANCO-GOTHIC STYLE

CHAPTER XI

THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING OF GOTHIC PAINTING IN SPAIN UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Since the Franco-Gothic style of Spanish painting in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was overlapped by the Italo-Gothic manner that began in the fourteenth and since a sharp chronological or even stylistic line cannot be drawn between the Italo-Gothic manner and the international movement of the first half of the fifteenth century, it is necessary to make a rather perfunctory unit of the historical setting to the art of the whole period from the first days of Gothicism until about 1450 and to consider at once and together the factors germane to our purpose in the political and cultural conditions of these two centuries and a half. The discussion of the relation of the last phase of Gothic painting to history in the second half of the fifteenth century, when the Hispano-Flemish style overspread the whole peninsula with the partial exception of the eastern littoral, may conveniently be postponed to a later volume. We have had occasion to see, in treating the Romanesque epoch, that, broadly speaking, the beginning of the Gothic age synchronizes, in the western part of the peninsula, with the final union of Leon and Castile in 1230 under St. Ferdinand, the son of Berengaria of Castile and Alfonso IX of Leon; for the other limit, in the west, of the period now in question we may choose the end of the reign of John II (1406–1454). The opening of the reign of James I, the Conqueror (1213–1276), is an apt moment to select in the eastern kingdom for the inauguration of the Gothic age because eventually he was obliged to renounce, by the treaty of Corbeil in 1258, the French holdings of Aragon except Cerdagne and Roussillon, and because he instituted that policy of Mediterranean expansion which was to be one of the channels by which in the middle of the fourteenth century the

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Italian influence on art was to enter his realm and at last partially to supplant the Gallic strain. The date, in round numbers, *c.* 1450, that brings to a conclusion the phases of Gothic painting now under consideration falls within the reign of Alfonso V of Aragon (1416–1458); but, although the new Flemish style was never to enjoy much favor on the eastern coast, yet, curiously enough, it had already before 1450 found in this region one very fervent disciple in Luis Dalmau and a more timid imitator in Jacomart. These premature manifestations of the Flemish manner, however, had best be treated in the volumes that will deal with its ramifications in general.

The brilliant pursuance of the Reconquest in the thirteenth century has already been noted in the discussion of the historical setting to the Romanesque period. It resulted in the rise of new schools of Christian painting. St. Ferdinand's capture of Cordova in 1236 and of Seville in 1248 and his successors' clearing away of Mohammedan nests in the south outside of the kingdom of Granada made possible the development of an Andalusian school. A further reason for beginning the Gothic period in the east with James the Conqueror is that he added two new centres of painting to the already flourishing production of Catalonia, finally completing in 1235 the recovery of the Balearic Isles from their piratical Moorish occupants and in 1238 wresting Valencia from the infidels. As early as 1262, a younger son of James the Conqueror, bearing the same name as his father, received the Balearic Isles as his patrimony, but, when his elder brother had succeeded to the throne of Aragon as Peter III (1276–1285), this James of Majorca was forced to acknowledge that he held his possessions as a fief of the kingdom on the mainland. At the death in 1349 of another James variously styled the II or III of Majorca, the Balearics, as well as the French belongings of the insular dynasty, definitively reverted to the crown of Aragon then worn by Peter IV, the Ceremonious (1336–1387).

Although, as we shall see, potent historical factors turned Spanish eyes towards Italy and its art, yet the connection with France was drawn closer even than in the Romanesque period, and was sufficiently intimate to make the Franco-Gothic style the characteristic artistic expression of Spain in the latter part of the thirteenth and at least the first half of the fourteenth century, to give tone often to examples of the succeeding Italo-Gothic style, and eventually, in the fifteenth century, to cause this Italianate manner to merge with or to succumb to the international movement, of which France was the hearth. In the kingdom of Castile and Leon St. Ferdinand initiated a fresh diplomatic orientation towards France, and the cultural unity of Catalonia with southern France which we have observed in the Romanesque period was by no means dissolved in the Gothic centuries. The affiliations of the eastern and western kingdoms and of Navarre with France were maintained throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by intermarriages of the Spanish dynasties with French royal or noble houses and by incessant friendly or hostile contacts. Catalan poetry, which had always been a subdivision of the Provençal group, did not culminate before the reign of Peter IV, at a time when Franco-Gothic models in painting still enjoyed a vogue; but even during the next reign of John I, the Sportsman (1387–1395), after the Italian pictorial manner, however still tinged with Gallic reminiscences, had obtained the cry, the Provençal literary modes continued to flourish under the patronage of the sovereign, who established at Barcelona, in imitation of Provençal institutions, a consistory of the "Gay Saber" (poetry) and the literary contests called "Jochs Florals." John I's queen, Violante de Bar, used her influence to introduce French costume and customs into the Aragonese court as if to prepare the way for the international movement in painting; and although in the immediately succeeding reigns both in the east and west an Italian current percolated into literature, yet there was always sufficient admiration for French attainments in *belles lettres* not to leave the French contribution to the fully developed international style in art an isolated phenomenon.

The community of interests between Navarre and France was a peculiarly close one. Not only was Navarre a border kingdom, but the successive ruling houses and the French dynasty were tightly interwoven. From the accession of Teobaldo I in 1234 until 1284 the royal prerogatives were exercised by the house of Champagne. From the marriage of Juana of Navarre in 1284 to the prince who the next year was to become

Philip the Fair of France until the death of Charles IV of France in 1328, Navarre may be said to have been attached, for a part of the time virtually and for the rest of the time actually, to the French throne of the Capets. At the death of Charles IV of France, the accession of the house of Evreux in Navarre through the marriage of the heiress, another Juana, with Philip of Evreux effected little change, for Philip of Evreux was a nephew of Philip the Fair; and, although with his successors, Charles the Bad (1349–1387) and Charles the Noble (1387–1425), the dynasty became somewhat more Hispanicized, yet Charles the Bad married a daughter of John II of France. The relations of Navarre with France continued thereafter to be diplomatically intimate because of the Navarrese claims to certain French domains. Ballesteros[1] comments upon the popularity of French fashions in dress at the court of Navarre in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it was perhaps because Charles III was so enthusiastic an admirer of French art that little native painting was produced in his kingdom during his reign. Into the troubled days that ensued by the marriage of Charles's daughter, Blanche, to John II of Aragon we need not here enter. The important fact to stress in regard to Navarre is that it constituted one of the principal channels by which Gallic artistic influences flowed into Spain.

For the Italian influences on Spanish Gothic painting the historical grounds are clearer in the eastern than in the western kingdom. In addition to the commercial associations between the two sides of the intervening sea, political link after political link was forged to bind Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia to Italy. The Aragonese policy of Mediterranean expansion was fostered by the marriage of Peter III to Constance, the daughter of Manfred, the last Hohenstaufen ruler of Sicily, and, when at the Sicilian Vespers in 1282 the French were ousted from their temporary occupation, Peter inaugurated the long epoch of the island's annexation to Spain. A large and important tie with Italy was created by the conquest of Sardinia in 1324 under James II (1291–1327). This island remained under Spanish control until 1714, although, of course, disturbed by frequent revolt. From the thirteenth through the sixteenth century, the most significant influence upon its painting was Catalan, and in the fifteenth century Sardinian painting became definitely one of the subdivisions of the Catalan and Valencian artistic domain. Its discussion might well have been included in this book, but its absence will be the more condoned because of Georgiana Goddard King's recent and excellent work on the subject. To Corsica also Aragon laid claim, but in this case was unable, by reason of Genoese opposition, to substantiate the theory of overlordship. Martin the Humane had ample opportunity to contract a love for things Italian, since during the four years prior to his accession to the throne he had been engaged in the pacification of Sicily and after the death, in 1395, of his brother, John the Sportsman, by which he gained the crown, he remained in the island another year and a half in order to complete the task. The final and strongest bond of community with the sister peninsula was established by Alfonso V, who, succeeding to the throne of Naples and southern Italy in 1443, became so thoroughly Italianized that he set up his residence in his freshly acquired capital and made it a great centre of the new Italian civilization of the Quattrocento. He was not so far an expatriate, however, as to exclude his Aragonese countrymen from participation in patronage at Naples or in the benefits of Italian culture, and many Spaniards, among them the Valencian painter Jacomart, contributed their quota to the brilliancy of his court. Curiously enough, the Italian influence upon the art of the littoral did not keep pace with the closer political contact, but the Catalan and Valencian schools, after the first few years of the fifteenth century, as far as they exhibit Italian elements, inherited them, now much transmuted, from the importation of the fourteenth century and only at odd intervals turned their eyes directly to the Italian or even the Sienese style of the Quattrocento. A few insignificant details of Italian origin may be found in Jacomart; but, although his activity fell partly before 1450, his art really ushered in the Valencian manner of the second half of the fifteenth century, and, in general, the more intimate relationship with Italy implied by Alfonso V's conquest of Naples is to be considered of importance not even for Jacomart and the other painters of eastern Spain in the second half of the century but rather as preparing the way for the dawn of the Renaissance in Spain at the very end of the Quattrocento and at the beginning of the Cinquecento. We have already had opportunity to note, on the other hand, that Catalan literature of the first half of the fifteenth century reveals a more vital interest in the achievements of Italian men of letters, although even in this case it was rather to the masters of the Trecento, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, that the Spaniards looked.

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[1] *Historia de España*, III, 571.

Quite as fertile a source of Italian influence upon east-Spanish painting of the fourteenth century as direct intercourse with Italy was constituted by the sojourn of Simone Martini and his *bottega* at near-lying Avignon under the aegis of the later members of that series of popes who resided there from 1309 until 1377; and we shall often have occasion to refer in detail to the close political and artistic connection of this transplanted seat of the papacy with the kingdom of Aragon. Nor did the tie with Avignon cease with the return of the legitimate popes to Rome in 1377 and the establishment of the antipopes in the French city. The spurious pontificate of the second of these antipopes, Benedict XIII (1394–1423), only cemented the relationship the more, for in private life he had been Pedro de Luna, belonging to the great Aragonese family of that name, and his claims were often supported by distinguished personages among his compatriots. Simone Martini was long since dead by this time, and the decoration of the Palace of the Popes at Avignon by his pupil Matteo da Viterbo and Matteo's assistants probably complete; but now, at the end of the fourteenth and the very beginning of the fifteenth century, the Catalan, Valencian, and Aragonese painters still visited Avignon and admired and imitated the Sienese style of the Trecento as exhibited in the frescoes and panels there assembled.

The Italian influence in the western kingdom, although quite as potent, rests upon no such neatly explicable historical grounds. A foundation for it in the Gothic period was laid by the diplomatic relationships with the papacy and Italy embodied in the attempt of Alfonso X, the Wise (1252–1284), to make good his claims to the Holy Roman Empire; but this early *rapprochement* was not succeeded by any series of interweaving events like those that joined Italy and Aragon. Doubtless the very connection of the eastern coast with Italy provided a means by which some acquaintance with Italian art penetrated into the western half of the peninsula, stimulating an occasional painter of this region to study at Florence or Siena. Papal Avignon must have attracted also artists from Castile and Leon. Italian aesthetic inspiration, however, seems to have emanated principally from the actual presence of two Florentine masters, Starnina finding employment in Castile as well as at Valencia towards the end of the fourteenth century and Dello Delli enjoying patronage at Salamanca in the second quarter of the fifteenth century before he betook himself to spend his last days at Valencia. To keep company with the Italianate qualities in the painting of Castile and Leon during this period of the fifteenth century there runs a corresponding strain in the midst of the production of the great literary outburst at the court of John II, especially in the compositions of the Marquis of Santillana.[1] Both Catalan and Castilian literature at this time, indeed, exhibit the same fusion of French traits with elements derived from Italian writing of the Trecento that is encountered in all the Spanish manifestations of the international movement in painting.

In the course of our study we shall often come upon instances, which need not be noted here, of the conjunction of the twin streams of history and art in definite events and at single moments. For example, Henry of Trastamara, whose usurpation of Peter the Cruel's throne was to signalize in Castile the substitution of the illegitimate for the legitimate branch of the house, commemorated one of his escapes from this brother that occurred before his accession as Henry II (1369–1379) by causing to be painted the panel of the Madonna of Humility now in the Román Vicente Collection at Saragossa. The picture includes portraits of Henry, his wife, and two children; and in more than one other instance we shall find personages of historical import depicted as donors. A case in point is Bonifacio Ferrer. Years after he had ordered the celebrated altarpiece of Portaceli now in the Museum of Valencia, he served in 1412, together with his brother St. Vincent Ferrer, among the nine electors who at

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[1] C. R. Post, *Mediaeval Spanish Allegory*, Harvard University Press, 1915, *passim* but especially chapter IV.

Caspe chose as king of Aragon Ferdinand the Honest (1412–1416), the brother of Henry III of Castile.

Institutions also played their part in molding the Gothic art of Spain. It was perhaps the vigorous municipal life and freedom of Barcelona, the centre of the Catalan school of painting, that chiefly contributed towards making this school the most distinguished, on the whole, in the peninsula during the period with which we are concerned. Barcelona approximated in its governmental physiognomy, more than any other Spanish city, the Tuscan towns where craft and trade were honored and artisans and men of affairs largely held the reins of state. The executive and administrative powers were in the hands of a small board of Councillors, whose number in 1265 was permanently fixed at five and whom we shall discover to have been represented in at least two important pictures of the fifteenth century. The legislative body was a *Consell de Cent* or Council of One Hundred, but at the end of the fourteenth and during the fifteenth century its constituency was augmented to varying figures below two hundred. By the end of the thirteenth century the members of both organizations were elected annually, the executive board being selected by twelve electors appointed by the *Consell de Cent* and the latter body being in turn elected by the executive board. The increasing democracy of Barcelona is embodied in the gradual preponderance, in both bodies, of the middle and working classes over the richer and privileged citizens, until by 1455 they had the upper hand in the *Consell de Cent* and provided three of the five Councillors, one merchant, one artisan, and one laborer.[1] As in Italy and indeed throughout Spain, the citizens were divided into industrial guilds, and in Barcelona the guilds acquired such prestige that they exercised influence in the election of the *Consell de Cent* and were liberal patrons of artists, from whom, since each guild was usually organized also into a religious confraternity, they ordered retables to deck the churches or chapels respectively assigned to them. If the governmental and industrial constitution of such an Italian town as Florence meant anything for

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[1] For a more detailed discussion of the constitution of Barcelona, see R. Altamira, *Historia de España*, sections 322 and 478, and R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, I, 488–490.

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the unhampered development of individual talent and for the stimulation of artistic enterprise by municipal pride, then Barcelona also partly owed her preëminence in painting to the felicitous environment of similar democratic conditions.

The general question of the rôle of the Church and religion in mediaeval Spanish art has been an object of our attention in the first chapter of this book. One of the related aspects of life in the Middle Ages requires only passing notice. It might have been expected that the crusading Military Orders, which obtained a greater development in Spain than elsewhere, would have had their destinies interlocked with those of painting. The perpetual duty of driving back the Moors not only fostered in a peculiar degree the general European Orders of the Templars and of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem but occasioned the foundation of the three brilliant Spanish Orders of Calatrava, Santiago, and Alcántara. The Templars were extinguished at the beginning of the fourteenth century just as Gothic painting was realizing its possibilities. A certain number of works were executed for priories of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, but, as far as extant pictures permit judgment, the three essentially Spanish Orders gave little employment to painters. It is only the lesser Order of Montesa, in a way an offshoot of Calatrava, and the Order of St. George of Alfama, absorbed in 1400 by Montesa, that have any real significance in Spanish mediaeval painting, for they were the patrons of one or two of the outstanding creations of the Valencian school.

CHAPTER XII

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF FRANCO-GOTHIC PAINTING IN SPAIN

Spanish painting ran the gamut of the various successive phases of the Gothic style through which the pictorial production of the greater part of artistically civilized Europe passed from the thirteenth through the fifteenth century. The earliest phase, coinciding with the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century, was that of an imitation of the newly evolved Gothic models as they were finding expression in France. Spain next joined hands with other European schools about the middle of the fourteenth century in embracing the more distinguished and the more individual aspect that Gothicism had acquired in Italy. As the fourteenth century drew to its close, the Italianate manner, in the Iberian peninsula as elsewhere, gradually assumed, through combination with other elements, the somewhat altered form now generally described as the "international style," which persisted as the principal artistic fashion for European painting, although eventually losing something of the decisiveness of its traits, until almost the middle of the fifteenth century. During the second half of the fifteenth century, the pictorial art of the western kingdom of the peninsula, as in France, in Germany, and even, to a certain extent, in Italy, took on, as its last Gothic phase, a Flemish cast. The painting of the eastern kingdom at this time was less essentially affected by Flanders, and, although it likewise may properly be termed Gothic, it developed a more indigenous and original character.

It is the first phase, when Spanish painting was under the influence of the early Gothic achievements of France, that now concerns us. The persistent loyalty to Romanesque modes postponed in all regions of Spain the triumph of the Gothic style in painting until the last years of the thirteenth century, whereas in the pictorial art of France it had developed into definite form by approximately 1250. We have already observed how, during the greater part of the thirteenth century, Spanish painters only now and then, in details that were not vital, modified the Romanesque models through superficial acquaintance with the new aesthetic trend of northern Europe; and it was not until the end of the century that the Gothic elements gained the upper hand to such a degree that we are justified in applying the term Gothic rather than, any longer, Romanesque. The Gothic style, therefore, declared itself somewhat later in Spanish painting than in architecture and sculpture. The moment of greatest flourishing for the Franco-Gothic pictorial manner in the peninsula was the first half and middle of the fourteenth century. Here and there it persisted until 1400 at the side of the Italianate style which was winning the allegiance of the greater part of Spain; and sporadically, as we have seen on former pages and as we shall still have occasion to observe, works were created in the fourteenth century[1] that for all practical purposes may be classified even as Romanesque or at least betray little knowledge of French or Italian Gothic. In the dependence upon Gallic models during this period, the pictorial situation in Spain was identical with the architectural and sculptural; but, except in a few aspects of Catalan architecture of the fourteenth century and in one or two Catalan sculptural monuments, there was no analogy in either of these kinds of art to the Italian influence which began to obtrude itself in the peninsula, in the midst of the Franco-Gothic manner, as early as the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The chief source of the first phase of the Spanish Gothic pictorial style, however translated into the national idiom, was either directly the contemporary Gothic illumination of France, which had taken its models first from the makers of stained glass and eventually also from sculpture, or indirectly the imitation of the French models by Spanish miniaturists. Because the expanses of glass left little space for frescoes, probably not much mural painting was executed in France during this epoch, at least in the northern section of the country. If, however, it were not that only a small number are preserved even of what French frescoes were produced and of what panel paintings were executed, we might find that Spanish masters of the period were following also the precedent of northern *confrères* who were working on this larger scale. As it is, the pieces of fresco and the panels which are still extant in France indicate that their creators, like the miniaturists, were learning from the manufacturers of glass and from the sculptors, so that the fundamentals of the style which the Spaniards acquired from the other side of the Pyrenees, whether from illuminations or from more monumental decorations, would have been the same. It is naturally in the small episodic scenes from sacred history and legend in the panels that the indebtedness to miniatures and glass is most apparent. The painting of this stage of Gothicism in the Iberian peninsula reveals less of an indigenous impress than the output of the Romanesque epoch. The native stamp is most palpable in the physical types.

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[1] For instance, the retable of St. Martin at S. Julián, near Huesca: see below, pp. 98–99.

The qualities are those that are generally definitive of contemporary Gothic painting throughout Europe. From the evolutionary standpoint, the most obvious innovation is the renunciation of Romanesque stylization. The occidental tendencies to naturalism that had harmoniously coalesced with the many Romanesque conventions now shake off the partnership and begin to gain the upper hand. The forms and draperies are studied from actual life rather than from earlier Christian or Byzantine models. The austerity of the Romanesque commences to yield to a more humane conception of art, in which there is greater appreciation of the realities, the emotions, the intimacies, and the amenities of life. The heavy, often black outlines that had been used in the twelfth century to define forms tend to give way to more delicate contours, and a rudimentary attempt to indicate shadow prophesies the subsequently achieved modelling in three dimensions. All of these proclivities appear embryonically at this early moment of Gothic and were not evolved to full realization until Gothic painting attained its height in the fifteenth century. One aspect of the increased freshness of outlook consists in the more frequent appearance of bits of landscape and buildings in the backgrounds, in the greater extent of such settings, and in elementary endeavors at more correct perspective; but in this first phase of Gothic painting, the development beyond Romanesque standards in these respects remains only a slight one. Yet no period of art is without at least some conventions, which constitute the factors by which it may be recognized; and so Gothic sculpture and painting evolved, for instance, a type of head that is one of the most distinctive traits of the epoch, and by the end of the thirteenth century a characteristic posture for the body and a typical treatment of the drapery. The peculiarity of the posture is the bend of the upper body to the side and even backward, an attitude that the French aptly describe by the word *déhanchement* (slouching from the hips[1]). One of the reasons that contributed to the development of the position was the general Gothic love of graceful curves, in architecture as well as in painting and sculpture; and it was under the influence of this predilection that, as the style eventually inclined towards a certain degree of mannerism, the fullness of contemporary costumes was somewhat exaggerated in the carved or painted draperies so as to provide the material for assemblages of elegantly undulating lines. In this early form of Spanish Gothic painting, the dependence upon miniatures and the small panels of glass tended to provoke, with some exceptions, a translation of the general Gothic qualities into terms of the delicate and the anecdotal. The artists exerted themselves, also, to attain the unadulterated brilliancy of color that distinguishes alike both the stained glass and the illuminated manuscripts.

In proportion as the interest in the naturalistic and anecdotal increased, there was gradually lost that majesty of the Romanesque which had attached itself particularly to the frescoes. Indeed the great art of mural painting, which had flourished so vigorously in Romanesque Spain, now began to sink in that country into a decline from which it has never recovered and from which it was only spasmodically and momentarily resuscitated in the periods of the Renaissance or of the baroque by injections of Italianism. One of the reasons was that the structure of Spanish Gothic churches was not propitious to mural decoration. Adapted in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from French prototypes and in the fifteenth from Flemish or

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[1] In my *History of European and American Sculpture*, I, 70, I have attempted to refute the idea that the posture was derived from the bend of the ivory tusk used for statuettes.

German, they exhibited a succession of piers and openings that provided little space for frescoes on wall or apse. It is true that the openings tended to be fewer and narrower than in the north, but even so the mural expanses were ordinarily less ample than in Italy. The reduction of the Gothic windows in Italian churches to the minimum in number and size created broad stretches of masonry to be adorned with frescoes that should take the place of the glass of the north. Certain Catalan churches of the fourteenth century imitated this Italian architectural ordinance, combining it with lessons learned from the aisleless churches of southern France; but here and throughout Spain another indigenous peculiarity contributed to forestall the rise of a school of mural painting — the absence of sufficient light to see any frescoes because of the practice of walling up the Gothic openings, when they had once been made, in order to exclude the heat that would have come with the glass and in order to provoke the darkness of religious mystery that the Spaniard likes in his sacred edifices. The outlines and color of fresco would have been lost in the gloom of Iberian churches. There were, then, very material reasons for that comparative paucity of frescoes in Spain which has been discussed in chapter I, and the attitude of the Gothic age in this respect became a tradition that persisted even when in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Spaniards adopted the style of the Italian churches of the Renaissance. Normally it was only an occasional Gothic chapel that was embellished with mural paintings, where the usual large Gothic windows had not been introduced and where yet there was enough light to illumine the walls. A chapel that was not a part of a church but an appendage of a cloister was likely to be chosen, or sometimes it was the cloister itself that was decorated, as at Pamplona and Leon. In Catalonia, which had been the most active centre of frescoists, probably very few mural paintings were produced during the first phase of Gothicism, and certainly almost nothing is preserved. Aragon, which hitherto had been pictorially almost sterile, gave birth to a considerable number of frescoes in the fourteenth century, usurping thus the position that had been held by Catalonia in the Romanesque period; and sporadic examples have remained to us in the western kingdom of Castile and Leon. The Italianate school that was rising to being in the fourteenth century at the side of the Gallicizers naturally executed a few cycles of mural decoration under the impetus of the great contemporary production of frescoes in the Italian peninsula. But none of these frescoes, to whatever school they belonged, nor any of the panel paintings were able to attain the monumental majesty of their Romanesque predecessors. Sometimes the masters imitated Romanesque compositions and sought to retain the august dignity of their models, but the results are likely to resemble the shell without the content. The larger central figures on wall and panel alike are always less majestic than Romanesque achievement, and the painters are most at home and delight us most in the narrative scenes.

The general forms and compositions for the panel paintings used in the adornment of the altar continued the same as in the late Romanesque works of the thirteenth century. In the antependia the lateral compartments with narrative episodes were now very often multiplied to at least eight; and Romanesque regularity was occasionally so far relaxed that the compartments, when there was no central figure, were not kept equal in size to one another, but a much longer compartment might be set in juxtaposition to a smaller one. The backgrounds were usually not painted but overlaid with gold or silver lightly incised with a delicate pattern, but the gilt has now almost entirely disappeared, leaving only the lines of the design and an appearance as of leather-work. Some of the retables made by the Franco-Gothic school of Spain tended to assume larger proportions and greater elaboration, taking the place of narrative frescoes; but the question of the evolution of the retable had best be postponed until the discussion of the Italianate and international movements, under which more typical, more fully evolved, and much more numerous specimens were produced, and under which, in general, the whole character of Spanish painting was more completely changed.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FRANCO-GOTHIC MOVEMENT IN CATALONIA AND VALENCIA

1. Catalan Frescoes

If, as seems logical, we call the frescoes at Sijena Aragonese rather than Catalan, the mural output of Catalonia in the Franco-Gothic manner reduces itself to very paltry compass. On the south wall of the nave of San Cugat del Vallés may be seen six forms of angels, now truncated to somewhat below the waist but several of them in fairly good preservation, three on each side of the organ at the level of the tribune of this instrument, somewhat rustic works of the thirteenth century that seem to depend already upon the gradually unfolding Gothic manner rather than to be a late survival of the Romanesque. Probably to the same period at San Cugat should be assigned a bit of an ornamental border beside the organ with medallions of paired heraldic lions, suggested by oriental stuffs. Likewise to a very early stage of Gothic and to a figure-style that resembles the manner of French glass-painting of the thirteenth century belongs a mural cycle [1] in the church of S. Pablo near Caserras, just south of Berga (not the great ruined monastery of S. Pedro de Caserras east of Vich on the river Ter, where the frescoes have been virtually [2] allowed to perish except for a small fragment, the head of a feminine saint, in the Museum of Vich). What remains of this mural cycle is concentrated about an arch on the south side of the church. The tympanum reveals the bust of Christ as Judge rising from clouds symbolized by the usual *motif* of scallops that was to persist as a nebulous convention down even into the fifteenth century, and on either side of Him, disposed with the utmost symmetry, two mortals, in a much smaller scale of proportion, breaking the prison doors of their graves. Beneath the tympanum the painting was continued over the whole wall, which is broken at the bottom by the introduction of a small modern door, but only fragments of the frescoing are now left. The celestial struggle with Satan was the scene here depicted, of which there are preserved, against a starred background, the heads and wings of two angels and the tail of the devil. The composition must have resembled the Romanesque rendering of the theme at Tubilla del Agua. The apex of the soffit of the arch contains a medallion of the Agnus Dei, and each of the sides a pair of trumpeting angels (Fig. 85) proclaiming the Last Judgment represented in the tympanum. Furthermore, the figure of a mortal, the nature of whose activity I cannot make out, is extant lower down on the soffit under the angels at the right. The space surrounding the arch was whitewashed and repainted, probably in the sixteenth century, but some pieces of the earlier stratum have been freed of the overlay. Each of the spandrels was embellished with a large, censing angel, and one of these forms has now been laid bare. Under the angel at the left the outlines of three human beings, each depicted under a little round arch, have emerged, and on the adjoining pilaster on this side the figure of a bishop, perhaps a saint, has been partly uncovered. The background of the tympanum is the blue of heaven; the starred setting of the angelic combat is white; but in the other sections red is employed. It is particularly the faces and draperies of the angels that herald the advent of Gothic.

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[1] I was first informed of the existence of these frescoes by Dr. Kuhn.

[2] See vol. I, p. 75.

In those frescoes at Tarrasa that belong to the Gothic period, the deplorable condition of decay has been so far remedied by the recent restorations as to elucidate more clearly some of the themes. In addition to the Romanesque decoration of the apse of the transept in Sta. María at Tarrasa, the main apse was embellished with frescoes by a countrified hand in the fourteenth century.[1] A Coronation of the Virgin fills the semidome, Our Lord and His mother being ensconced in a central mandorla. In the zone beneath may be discerned, from left to right, the Annunciation of the Death, St.

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[1] For the possibly Carolingian frescoes perhaps underlying the present layer, see vol. I, p. 32.

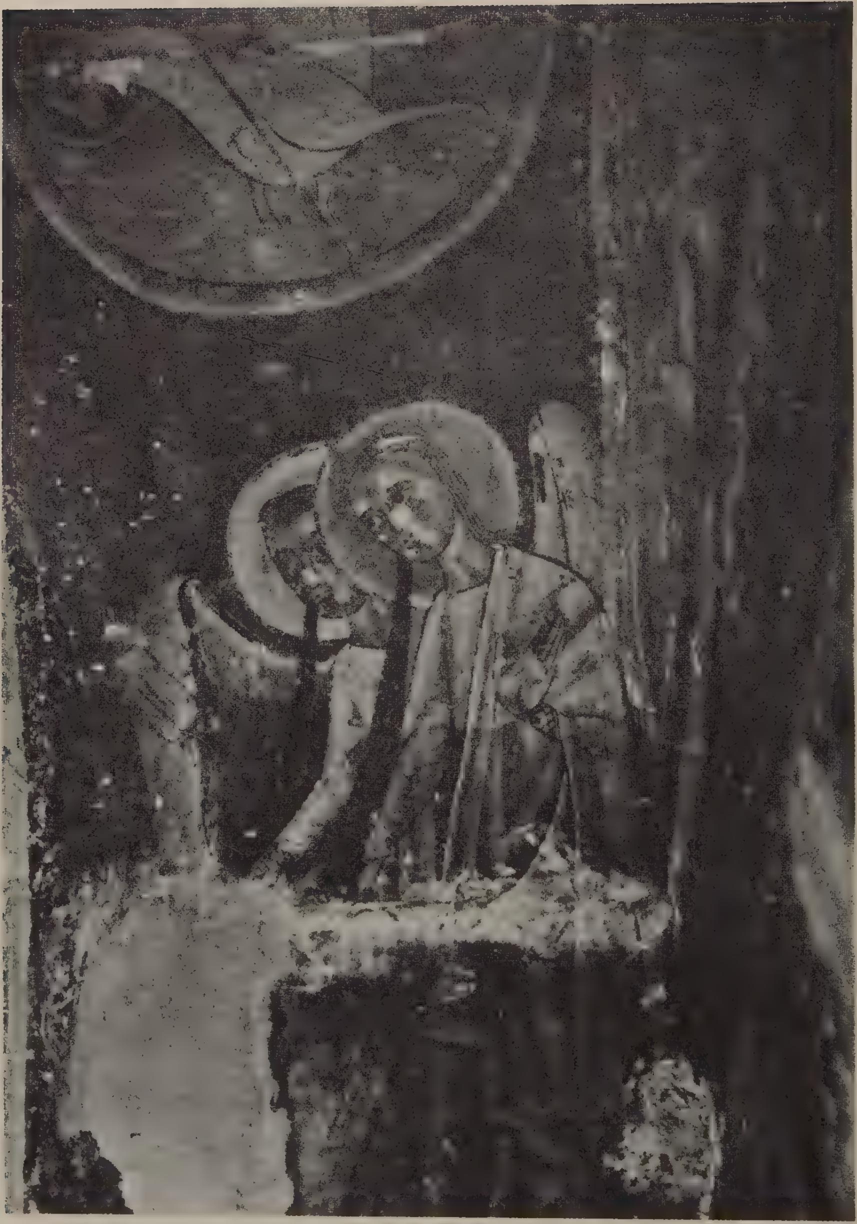

Fig. 85. ANGELS OF LAST JUDGMENT, S. PABLO, CASERRAS

(Photo. Kuhn)

John preaching at Ephesus and then transported in a cloud to the Virgin's house (Fig. 86), the Assumption, and finally, out of its proper order in the succession, the scene of the Apostles at the Virgin's bier. The scene or scenes between the Annunciation and the episode of St. John are too far obliterated for identification. Under this zone another much narrower band of polychromy is formed, containing busts of personages evidently conceived as participants in the scenes immediately above them, for by gestures they point out what is there taking place, and St. Thomas receiving the girdle beneath the Assumption is clearly recognizable.

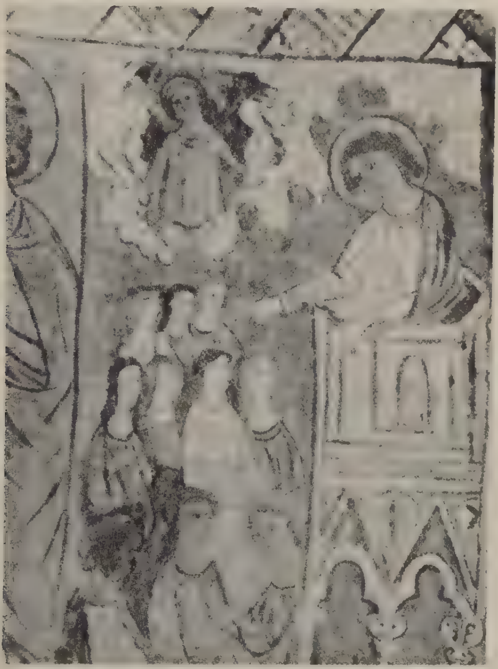

FIG. 86. PREACHING OF ST. JOHN EVANGELIST, STA. MARÍA, TARRASA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

The frescoes painted on the north wall of the nave of S. Pedro in the same town and arranged as if in the compartments of a retable are quite as rude and probably by the same hand. In the compartments at the left, the distinguishable subjects are

Christ washing the Apostles' feet, two angels holding between them a (?) soul, and a masculine saint or one of the Kings of the Epiphany; at the right, the Via Dolorosa, Crucifixion, Deposition, Entombment, and St. Lucy(?) between two candle-bearing angels. Gudiol may be right in placing them at the end of the fourteenth century; and the style is of such a nondescript rusticity that it is a question whether they, as well as the examples in Sta. María, should be catalogued at this point or in the Italo-Gothic class. It has been observed in a former chapter that the frescoes in the apse of the church might conceivably belong to the same period and style as these fragments in the nave rather than to the rustic Romanesque group.

Since I have never been able to penetrate the rigid *clausura* of the convent of Pedralbes on the outskirts of Barcelona, and since the photographs of frescoes that themselves betray a state of deterioration are inadequate, I cannot determine whether the mural paintings about the tombs of three nuns in the cloister are Gallic or, like the celebrated chapel off the cloister painted by Ferrer Bassa, already Italianate. I can only refer the reader to the three paragraphs that Gudiol devotes to them in his volume on *Els trescentistes*.[1] The dates of the nuns' deaths prove that the frescoes were executed in or even after Ferrer Bassa's span of life, and what unsatisfactory evidence can be gleaned from the photographs would point towards the Italianate school.

The frescoes in a lateral apse of the cathedral at La Seo de Urgel have been discussed in a former chapter; but there also remains in this church, on a pier leading into the transept, a badly faded patch of characteristic Gothic painting of the fourteenth century, consisting of four figures, apparently without haloes, under trefoiled, foliate arches.

The mural painting of the Crucifixion on a pillar at the left of the nave in the formerly monastic church of St. André de Sorède (in Catalan, S. Andreu de Sureda) in Roussillon (near Elne) is so badly retouched as to defy categorical judgment upon the question whether the original was Romanesque or Gothic. The iconography is queer, the Virgin and St. John being reduced to the scope of small busts in lunettes above the arms of the cross, St. John occupying Our Lady's place at the Saviour's right, and the ampler spaces beneath the arms of the cross usurped by two larger figures of unhaloed kneeling abbots. Are the Virgin and St. John later remodellings of original effigies of the sun and moon? Arguments for a Romanesque classification are the framing maeander, the two rather Byzantine angels who stretch out their hands to Our Lord, and the elongated arms and disproportionately large hands of the Crucified. The mitres of the abbots look like the side-horned type of the twelfth century, but, as in the case of the St. Peter of the Plandiura Collection, they may represent merely a defective foreshortening, in this instance a failure to accommodate the horns to the *contrapposto* of the heads. The postures and contours of the abbots are probably still intact, and it is these elements that most conclusively embody the Gothic spirit. Their draperies, indeed, perhaps because of repainting, would not militate against a dating in the fifteenth century.

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[1] Pages 95–96.

The fresco of the Last Supper in a room of the farmhouse of Puigpalter near Bañolas (in the province of Gerona) falls without the scope of the present chapter because the swollen draperies suggest a date at least as late as the fifteenth century; and, as a matter of fact, it is too rude a work to merit discussion in any of these volumes. The edifice in which it exists has evidently seen better days and was probably once a baronial residence. The door and a window that remain from the original architecture of the room which contains the painting are late Gothic in style and could not have been made before the fourteenth century. The execution of the fresco is so countrified that it is impossible to decide just when after the fourteenth century it could have been perpetrated.

2. Catalan Panel Paintings in the Franco-Gothic Style

In the discussion of the Catalan panels the order in which the several Romanesque kinds of decoration for the altar were considered may conveniently be followed. One of the first entirely Gothic antependia is the specimen from Santa Perpetua de Moguda (just north of Barcelona) in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona (Fig. 87), but even this can scarcely have been painted before the very end of the thirteenth century, if indeed as early. According to the frequent Gothic custom, the central compartment is occupied by a lesser sacred personage than Christ or the Virgin, here St. Perpetua; at the sides, in the eight smaller compartments of the two zones, are scenes from her life; and each of the divisions is enclosed in a trefoiled Gothic arch. The large effigy of the saint preserves something of the Romanesque rigidity of an idol, but the lateral scenes have more pliancy. The first six of these scenes depict her arrest, incarceration (naïvely showing the upper part of her body as already pushed through the prison door), her deafness to her father's prayers, her vision of St. Satyra ascending to heaven on the ladder, her trial(?), and her flagellation. The themes of the last two compartments I cannot interpret. If simplicity in the pattern of the gold background be any criterion as to date, then we must ascribe to about the same moment as the St. Perpetua frontal a badly injured fragment of an antependium in the Museum of Vich (without a number) depicting, above, St. Michael and Satan weighing souls and, below, St. Michael escorting souls from Purgatory. Although the central figure of St. Perpetua is relieved against a background of rather florid scrolls, in the lateral compartments the design is a simple network of small lozenges formed by intersecting lines; in the same way what remains from the background of the scene of St. Michael in Purgatory shows foliate spirals, but the background of the other compartment has lozenges with an even less ostentatious pattern in each lozenge than in the St. Perpetua panel. The types and more fluid drapery, however, of the Vich fragment would suggest a slightly later date within the first quarter of the fourteenth century. As in the case of the Romanesque antependium of St. Cecilia from Bolvir, time has destroyed almost utterly the color and gold, leaving only the incised lines of the drawing to show us that the style, like that of the St. Perpetua piece, was one of average merit. The frames of both frontals preserve the old Romanesque *motif* of concave disks, but with these, in the Vich example, there alternate medallions of embossed heraldic lions.

From a moment not later than the early years of the fourteenth century comes an antependium of good craftsmanship,

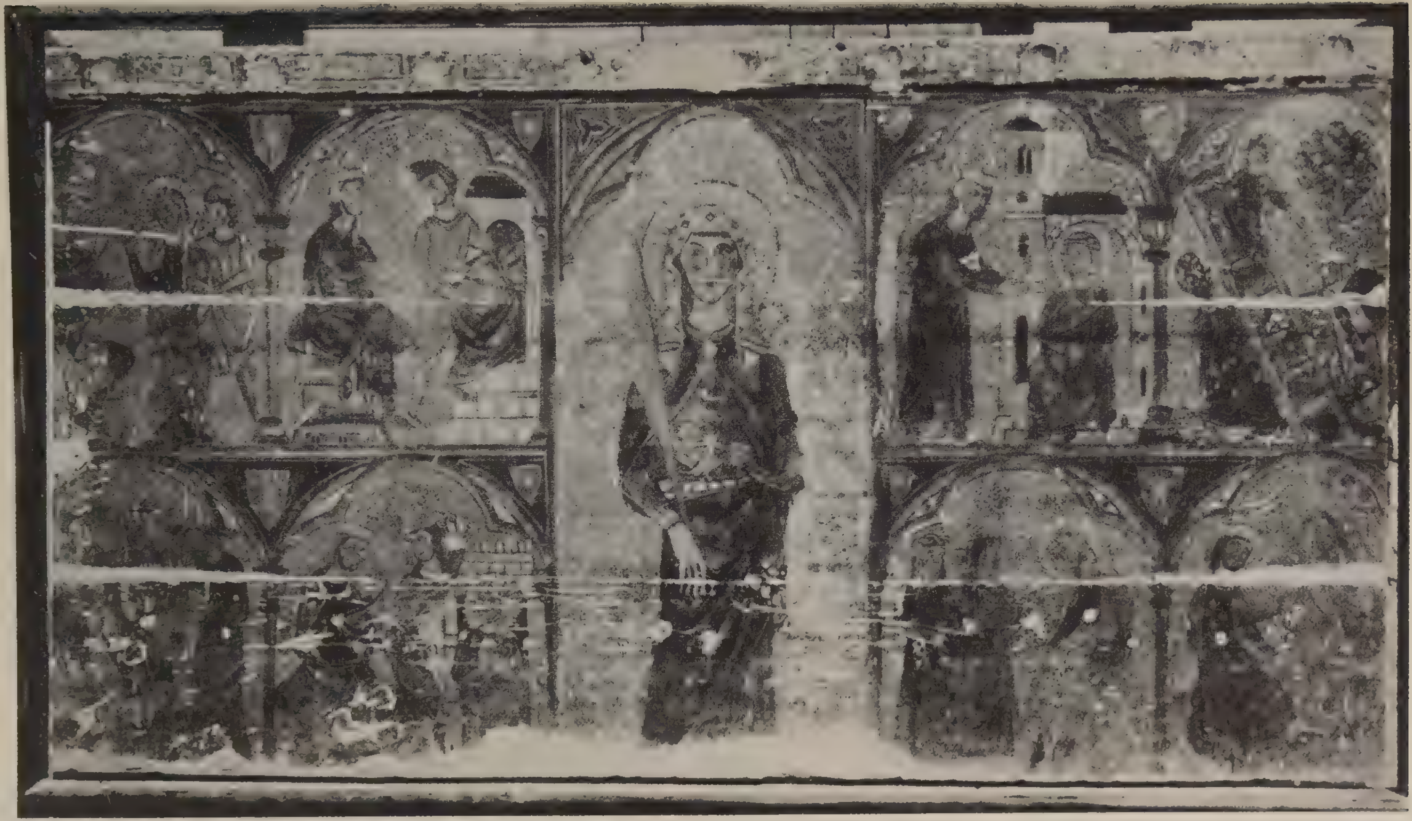

Fig. 87. FRONTAL OF ST. PERPETUA. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

dedicated to St. Michael, in the Plandiura Collection, found in the chapel of the archangel at Suriguerola near Urtg (just south of Puigcerdá) (Fig. 88). Its interest consists not only in its iconographic anomalies but also, according to the general trend of painting at this time, in its very evident dependence, especially from the standpoints of drawing, types, and composition, upon Gothic stained glass. There is no central effigy, but the field is separated into two halves by a vertical border of foliate scrolls, and each of the halves is divided into two horizontal zones. The space at the upper left is again subdivided into three trefoiled compartments, from the last of which the figures have been obliterated but the first two of which depict episodes connected with the apparition of St. Michael on Monte Gargano, the servant shooting the bull and the presentation of the problem to the bishop. With the general violation of Romanesque regularity that marks the whole antependium, the space at the upper right is divided into only two sections, of which merely the left one is framed in a trefoiled arch. This left space displays St. Michael and the devil weighing souls, while another angel presents a redeemed spirit to St. Peter at the gate of heaven. The subject of the right space, which exhibits six crowned and seated men or perhaps women in as many tiny compartments, is an unsolved question. Is this the heaven to which St. Peter admits, and are these to be interpreted as blessed souls or six of the Elders of the Apocalypse? Might they be six of the Apostles, who "sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel"?[1] Or has this section nothing to do with St. Peter, and have we here merely six earthly monarchs, whose significance on the frontal we have lost? In any case, the whole lower left section of the antependium, one continuous space, contains a theme foreign to the St. Michael story, the Last Supper, from which Judas is absent. The long, uninterrupted field of this scene is juxtaposed to the smaller Monte Gargano episodes above it. The interruption of the principal subject by an extraneous theme is in this instance excused by the connection of the Last Supper with the use of the antependium to decorate an altar. The asymme-

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[1] Cf. Luke, xxii, 30 and Matthew, xix, 28. Mr. Joseph Breck of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, has suggested this solution, which had already occurred to me myself.

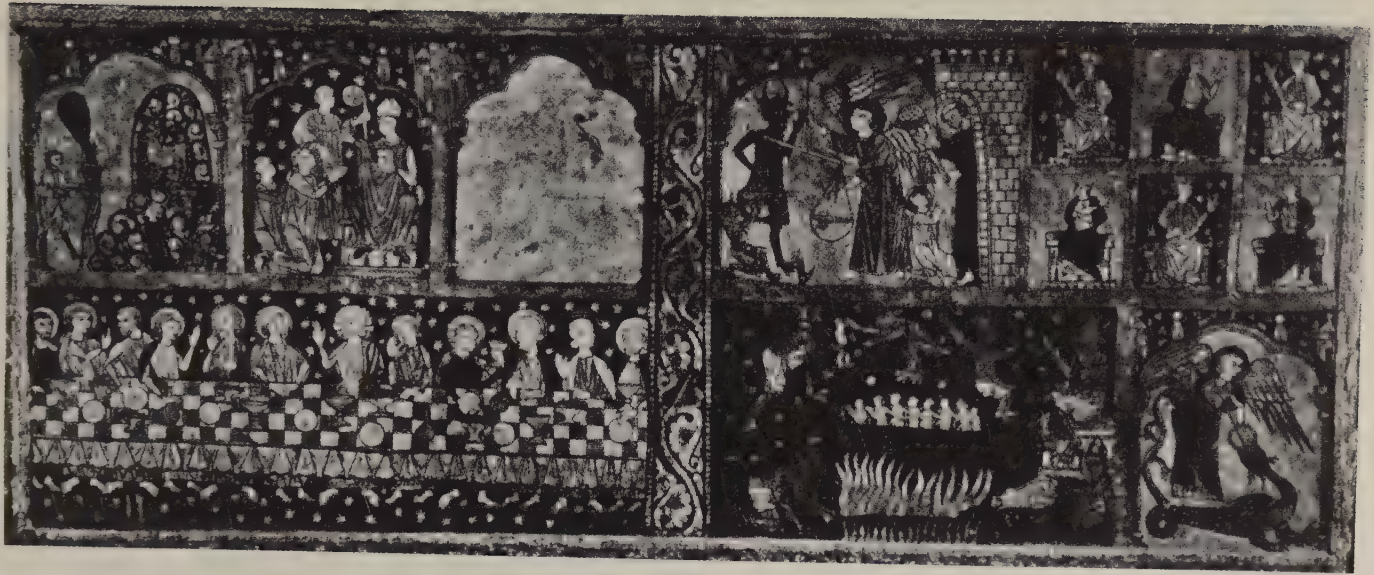

Fig. 88. FRONTAL FROM SURIGUEROLA NEAR URTG. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

try of the arrangement reaches its climax in the lower right section. The field is separated into two parts, but the parts are equal in width neither to each other nor to the dual division above. The line of separation, indeed, coincides with the first line that divides the pairs of crowned personages in the upper right section of the frontal. To the smaller space, at the right, is consigned the fight of St. Michael with the dragon; to the larger space, at the left, one of the grimly grotesque mediaeval representations of the dragon's domain, hell. The Romanesque vibration of color reappears over the greater part of the panel in an alternation of red and blue backgrounds, which are painted and not incised in gold, and are diapered with stars, rosettes, or the old Catalan *motif* of three dots.

At this point, as well as anywhere, may be registered another antependium of the Plandiura Collection, which remains strongly Romanesque in theme and feeling, although the broad draperies and to some extent the types betray a date at least as late as the early fourteenth century. Its composition is perfectly orthodox. Reported to have come from Ginestarre or in any case from the diocese of La Seo de Urgel, it exhibits the trite *motifs* of the Pantocrator in a mandorla, the Evangelistic signs in the spandrels, and the Apostles in groups of three in the four lateral compartments. The borders and mandorla still imitate an incrustation of jewels. The general impression is that of a loutish, half-Gothicized survival of the style of the workshop that created the Romanesque frontals of Encamp and Feneras.

In the antependium or retable of St. Cyprian in the Museum at Vich, originally in the now destroyed Ermita of S. Cebrián at Cabanyes,[1] south of Granollers, amplitude of garment and an almost undisciplined undulation of line carry us into the second quarter of the fourteenth century, if not later (Fig. 89). With no central figure, eight episodes from the holy bishop's life are related in compartments disposed in two zones and framed in trefoiled pointed arches that break luxuriantly at their tops into Gothic leaf. The setting of building or tree is just beginning to become more conspicuous and to engage the artist's interest more than in the Romanesque period. The panel is another of

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[1] Cf. *Album de la Sección Arqueológica de la Exposición Universal de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 1888, p. 108.

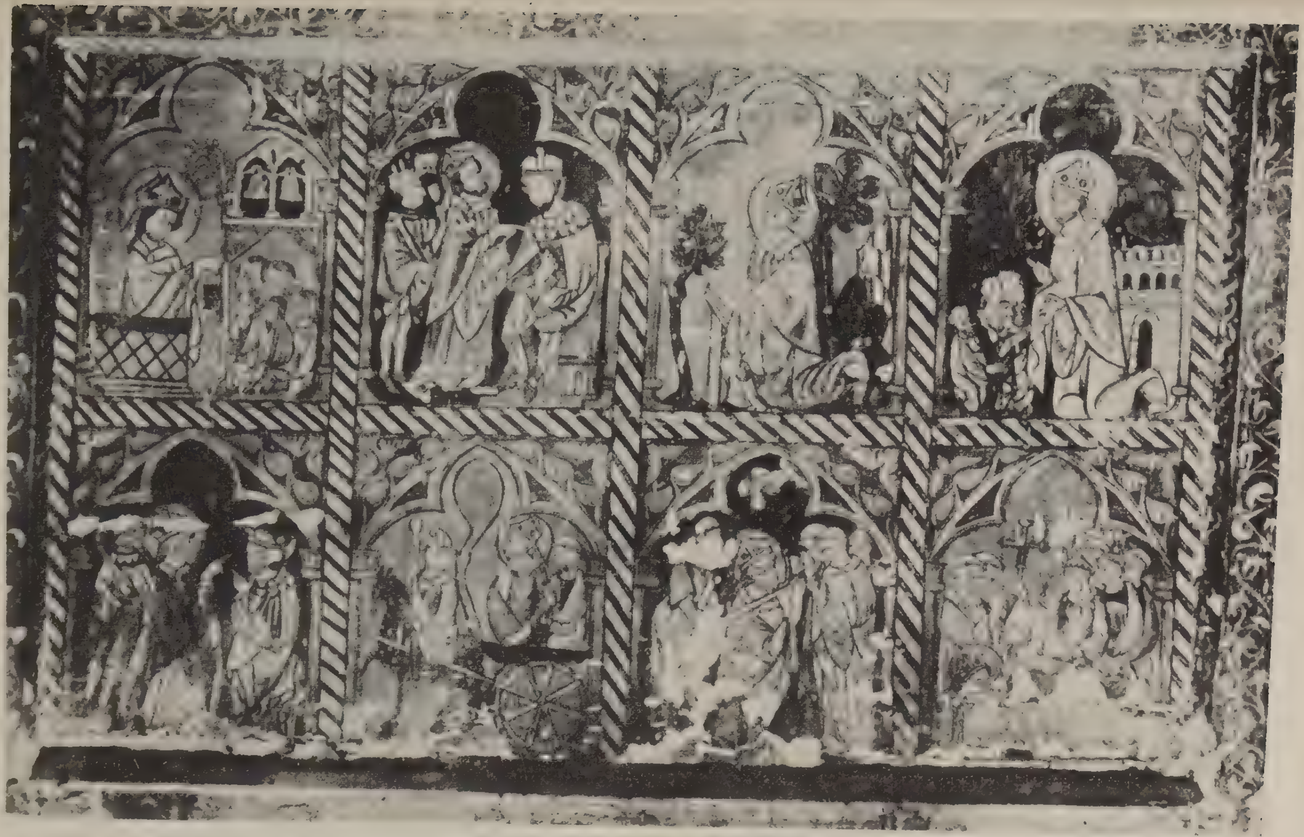

FIG. 89. FRONTAL OF ST. CYPRIAN. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

the cases in which the background is not incised gold or silver but, still following the frequent Romanesque practice, painted in two alternating colors. In the same class but on a lower round of the artistic scale is to be placed an antependium of the Plandiura Collection from the bishopric of Solsona, depicting eight scenes from the life of the Virgin and childhood of Christ in two zones, with no central figure. The inferior quality is extended even to the less splendid trefoiled arches that frame the episodes. The subjects are: the Annunciation, Visitation, the three Wise Men, the Nativity (both of these badly injured), the proclamation to the shepherds (revealing a concern with landscape), the Massacre of the Innocents (partially obliterated), the Flight into Egypt (almost wholly obliterated), and the Purification or perhaps rather the young Christ among the doctors (again partially erased). The style, which exhibits a less mature stage of the Gothic development than the frontal of St. Cyprian, appears to incorporate a rude aftermath of an earlier aspect of the Gothic manner. The same archaic treatment of the backgrounds in paint instead of gold persists in four rather rustically executed scenes from the martyrdom of St. Lucy (Fig. 90), all that remains, in the collection of Rómulo Bosch at Barcelona, from a frontal or retable of a date possibly somewhat prior to that of the two antependia just described and with no settings of architecture or foliage.

Frontals with raised stucco backgrounds continued to be produced in the Franco-Gothic period, carrying on the technique of the Lérida Romanesque group. They betray the presence of the Gothic style round about them but are usually more closely bound to the old Romanesque tradition than the examples executed in other technical methods. Even some of the definitive peculiarities of the Lérida group are maintained. It is quite possible that the workshop or workshops that had made the Romanesque specimens continued to function in the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, modifying their manner somewhat to accord with the new aesthetic fashions. Two of the frontals, of a rather countrified cast, keep company with the Romanesque antependia of the series in the Plandiura Collection. One of these, devoted to St. Peter and coming from Erilavall near Bohí (Fig. 90A), displays the Apostle conceived

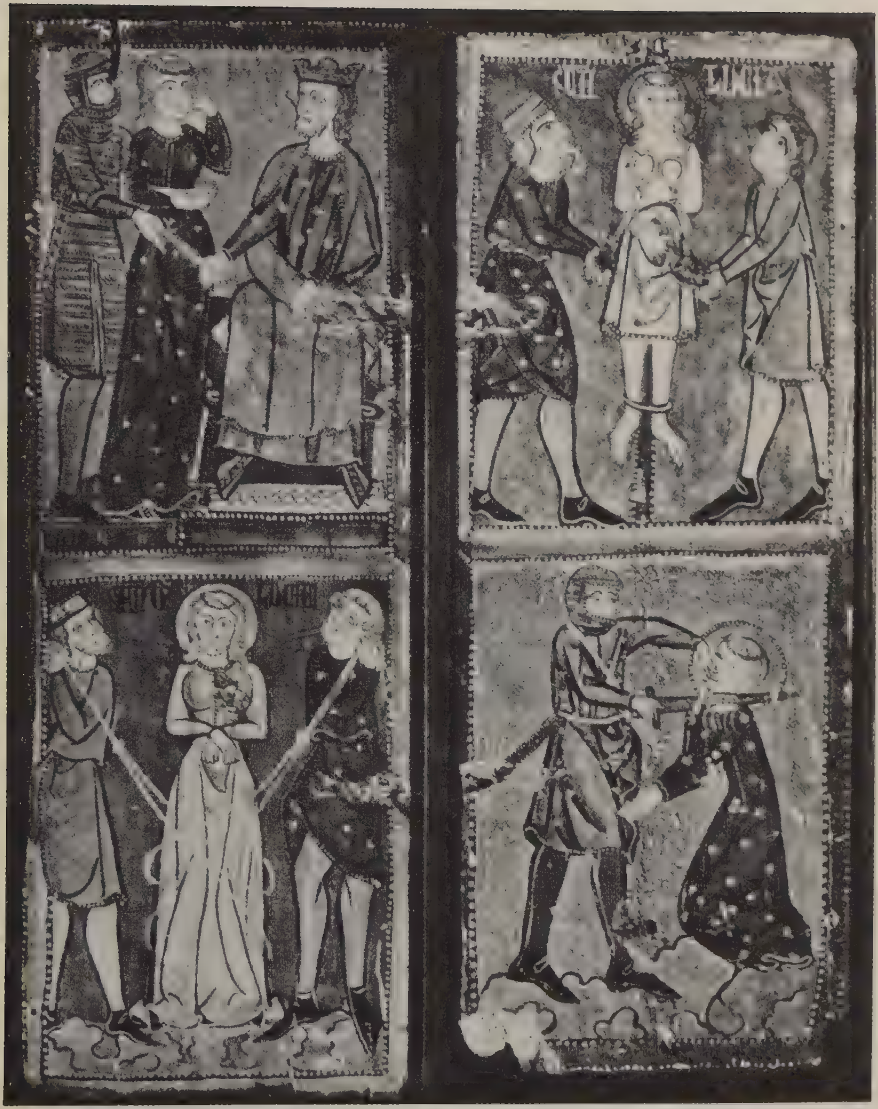

Fig. 90. FRAGMENT OF FRONTAL OR RETABLE OF ST. LUCY.
BOSCH COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Courtesy of Don Rómulo Bosch)

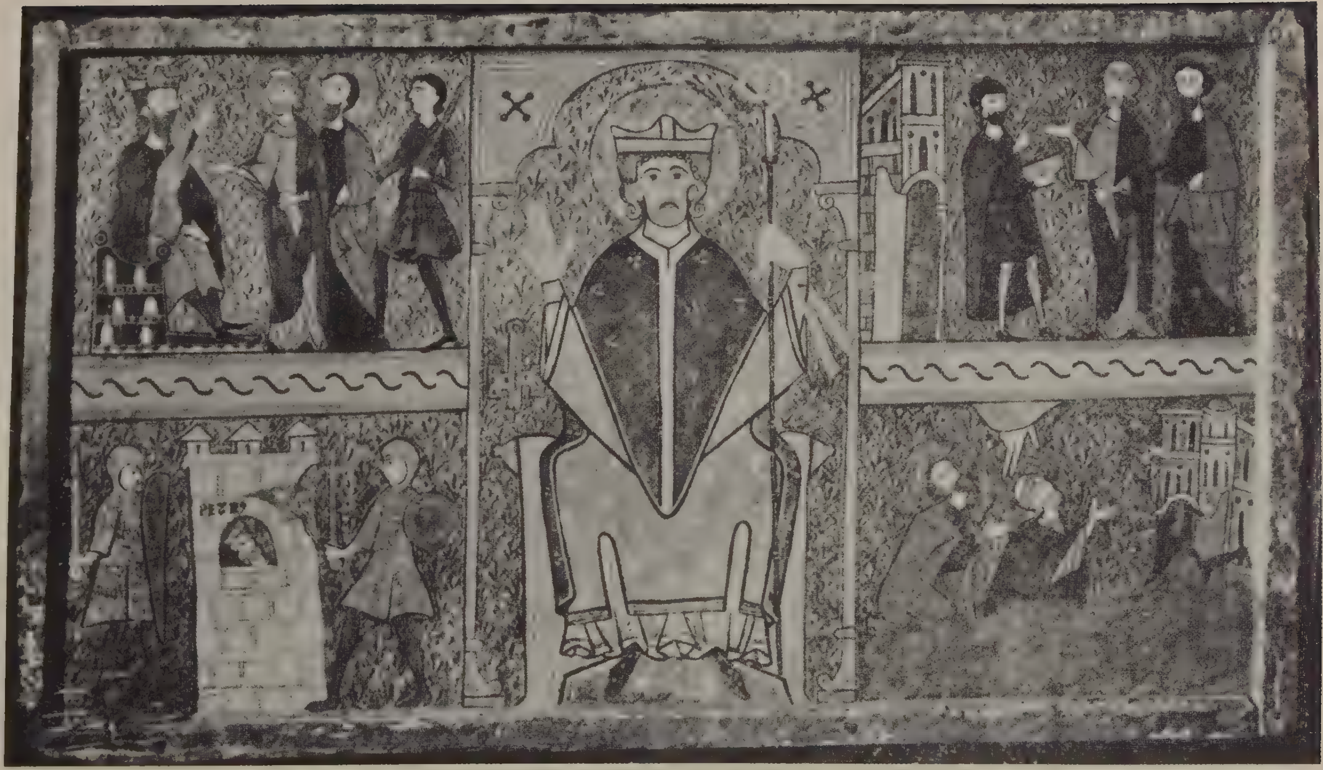

FIG. 90A. FRONTAL OF ST. PETER. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

like Master Johannes's St. Martin and surrounded by four scenes from his life. The forms are suggested by French Gothic illumination, and the date is the end of the thirteenth or first part of the fourteenth century; but the way of painting is still the Romanesque one of flat color, and even the lines of modelling are reduced to the minimum, especially on the central effigy. The second (much restored) example (Fig. 91), dedicated to St. Clement of Rome like a Romanesque antependium in the same collection, breaks decidedly with Romanesque schemes of arrangement but nevertheless retains many Romanesque mannerisms. Its provenience is Tahull and probably, because of the subject, the church of S. Clemente in that town.[1] Since much hagiological interest attaches to the subjects in this rendering of the story of St. Clement, which reads, in the *Legenda Aurea*, like one of the late Greek romances, it may be worth while to analyze them in some detail. The frontal has no central figure, but consists of two zones, the upper of which is separated into two compartments and the lower of which, though undivided by any architectural member, includes four episodes. All the scenes except that at the upper left are perfectly clear. In the compartment at the upper right, Clement, banished to the stone-quarries, has a vision of the Lamb of God pointing with his foot to the spot where the saint is to dig and find

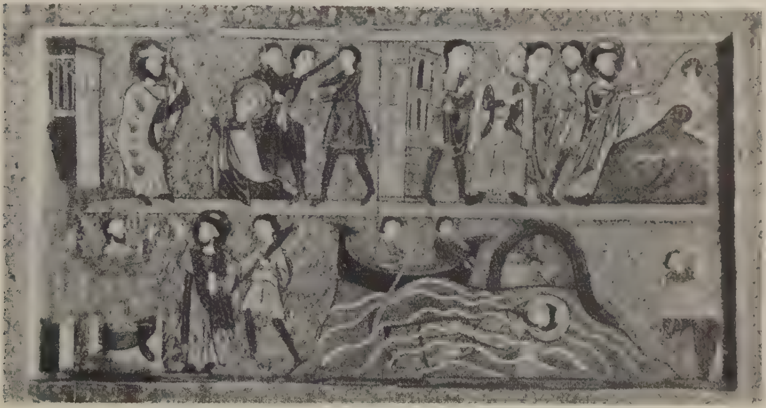

Fig. 91. FRONTAL OF ST. CLEMENT. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

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[1] Professor Cook gives the provenience as Sta. María at Tahull.

water for his brother-convicts. In the lower zone, the scenes from left to right are: St. Clement before Trajan's procurator; the casting of the saint's body into the sea, with the anchor; above this, the miraculous temple for his body beneath the sea, with the form of the sleeping child left by the careless mother at the time of the yearly pilgrimage to the shrine; and at the extreme right, even in the restoration largely obliterated, the mother receiving again the child preserved for her by the holy bishop. The more enigmatical episode at the upper left probably depicts St. Clement's mother, Macidiana, receiving him and the other two long-lost sons, Faustus and Faustinus, through the agency of St. Peter; but it might conceivably be some phase of the dramatic tale of St. Clement's conversion of Theodora and her husband Sisinnius, with which there was connected an apparition of St. Peter. The pattern of the background is identical with that of the two Romanesque antependia in this group in the Plandiura Collection, and the design of the frame virtually equals that of the one of these two frontals which is devoted to the Virgin. The executer of the St. Clement antependium must have been either an *epigonus* of the same atelier or at least an imitator of the works of the atelier. Some of the heads are descendants of the type used by Catalan Romanesque artists to signify the lower classes; but the boorish craftsman was also acquainted with Gothic achievement. The dependence upon French Gothic models is more decided in a fragment of an antependium or retable of this class in the Rómulo Bosch Collection, representing the Visitation, the Nativity, the Magi led by the star, and the Massacre of the Innocents.

To the present paragraph may be assigned two Catalan frontals of more consciously artistic workmanship than those hitherto considered in the Franco-Gothic group and probably of somewhat later date. Coming from Vallbona de las Monjas (east of Lérida near the border of the province of Tarragona) and now in the Provincial Museum, Barcelona, they are sister-pieces in style, composition, and theme, both being devoted to the glorification of the Eucharist. In each case, a narrow central section is flanked by twelve scenes, disposed in two rows under elaborate, embossed Gothic arches, depicting the institution, ceremonies, and miracles of the Blessed Sacrament (Fig. 92) and the common mediaeval theme of Jewish profanations of the Host. The central section of one antependium represents the Trinity above an embossed tabernacle containing the Host, which is adored by four angels; the standing Virgin with the Child occupies the whole central section of the other, and here, therefore, the two lower compartments on either side of her depict, not the Eucharistic subjects of the rest of the lateral parts, but the Annunciation and the three Magi. The effigy of Our Lady provides one of the best instances in Spanish painting of the posture of *déhanchement*. The draughtmanship in both panels is of unusual delicacy. Although the pattern in the backgrounds is large and bold, a certain primitive constraint in the rendering of the human forms forbids a dating later than 1350.

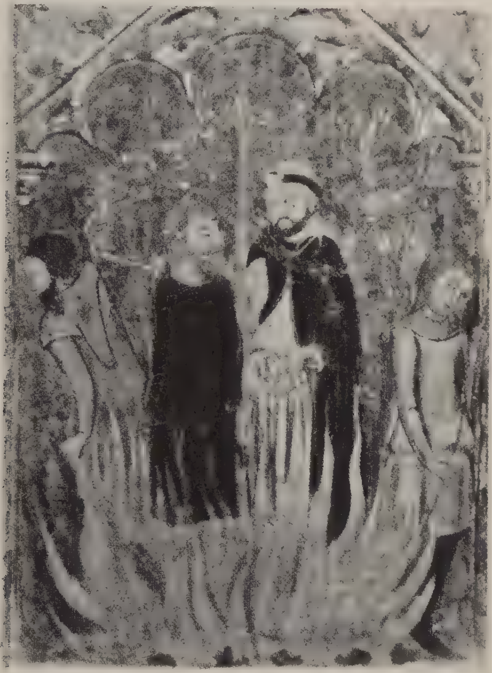

Fig. 92. MIRACLE OF THE HOST, SECTION OF FRONTAL OF THE EUCHARIST. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Of Catalan side-pieces for the altar belonging to the first stage of the Gothic evolution, the Museum at Vich contains two pairs of examples, both of which retain the old red and yellow vibration. The earlier pair, of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, bear no numbers in the Museum. One of the panels represents Sts. Peter and Paul in animated colloquy with each other; the other, St. Michael and a very debonair devil weighing souls. Although the craftsman has not yet learned how to render gestures with ease, the drawing in the Gothic draperies is rather fine. The panels of the other pair, Nos. 1 and 2 of the Museum, contain respectively separate figures of Sts. Peter (Fig. 93) and Paul, types that are executed with a greater naturalism than the two united Apostles on the side-piece that has just been discussed, so that a date in the fourteenth century may safely be postulated. The Rómulo Bosch Collection at Barcelona possesses two virtual but not absolute duplicates of the first of these pairs of side-pieces at Vich, one of them representing, namely, Sts. Peter and Paul and the other St. Michael weighing souls; but the eschatological intention is more clearly indicated in the Bosch examples, since not only does St. Michael appear as *ψυχαγωγός* but St. Peter is introduced as the gate-keeper of heaven protecting a nude soul. The style is identical with that of the Vich specimens, and, although the Bosch panels hail from Tosas whence comes a canopy in the Plandiura Collection that I have catalogued in the Romanesque period, I think it likely that the side-pieces of the altar were executed subsequently to the ciborium.[1]

Only a few examples remain of Catalan retables in the Franco-Gothic style. The single row of scenes from the life of St. Christina, No. 722 of the Museum at Vich, is probably a fragment of a retable rather than of a frontal. Its chief interest is that the imitation of stained glass and of miniatures is here unusually obvious. The date would be the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. The red and yellow alternation of so many of the Romanesque antependia at Vich is completely renounced for a less vivid tonality. The scenes represented are her boiling in the tub of pitch and oil, her destruction of Apollo's temple, her resurrection of the enchanter, the mutilation of her breasts, the extraction of her tongue, and her death from the arrows.

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[1] See vol. I, pp. 293–294.

All signs point to the propriety of placing in the middle of the fourteenth century the fragments of a large panel from San Jaime de Frontanyá (just west of Ripoll), now in the Museum of Solsona, depicting episodes from the legend of the patron of the town, Santiago. The panel may be described as a strange sort of retable or part of a retable, for it was placed upon a wall which was carried almost across the church just in front of the apse, and the altar stood about a metre farther towards the west. The panel, set at a height of about a metre and a half above the pavement, was surrounded by frescoes which still remain *in situ*. The somewhat similar arrangement in S. Pedro de Tarrasa varied in that no spaces

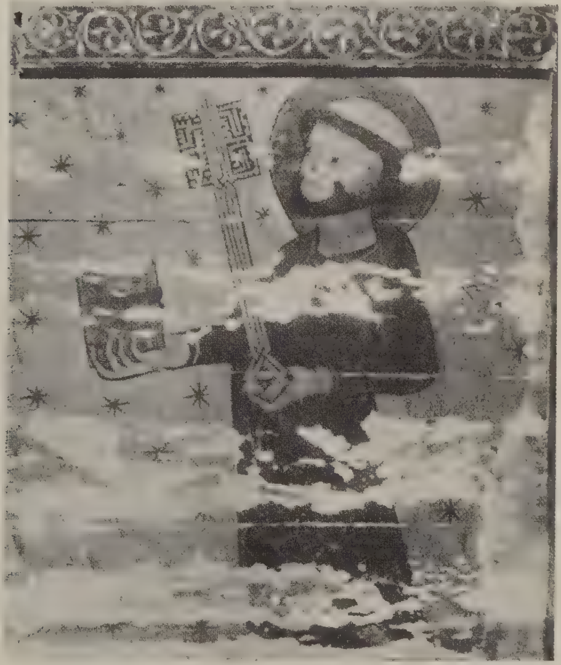

Fig. 93. ST. PETER, SIDE-PIECE OF ALTAR. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

were left at the sides of the partitioning wall and in that this wall apparently was adorned merely with mural paintings and no panel. A large section of the Frontanyá panel was destroyed by the construction of a door. The scenes depicted in the fragments at Solsona are: the sarcophagus of St. James transported by his followers from the boat and then resting in its shrine beneath a sanctuary lamp; the wild bulls drawing it to Queen Lupa's palace; the Apostle supporting the body of the young pilgrim hanged on the false charge of theft; the story of the pilgrim who, ashamed to beg and sleeping under a tree, receives from Santiago a never-failing loaf of bread (the loaf being twice represented, as dropped by the saint and as lying at his devotee's head) and who next is seen proceeding on his way while, clasping the precious gift to his breast, he refreshes himself with a drink taken in the way still customary with many Spanish folk, namely by holding the vessel above one's face and allowing the liquid to stream into the mouth; and, again with the compression of two episodes into a single space, the corpse of the dead pilgrim from Lorraine watched over by his sole faithful companion and then carried, together with the friend, by St. James and his horse on the journey of miraculous speed towards Compostela (Fig. 94). The greater technical maturity is betokened especially by the expansion of the lines of the folds of drapery in many places into a further, though still rudimentary, indication of shadow. The foliate pattern incised in what was originally a gold background has already almost the baroque character of flamboyant Gothic. The artist was more a master of his craft than any of his Catalan predecessors in panel painting, but it is witness to the longevity of aesthetic tradition that he also imitates the jewelled antependia in his borders and that he conventionalizes into Romanesque beasts the bulls that draw St. James's body.

The retable of St. Thomas from Lladó (just west of Figueras, in the district called El Ampurdón), now in the Plandiura Collection, would logically be assigned to about the same period because of the flexibility of the style and because of the faithfulness to actuality. The disposition is like that of a frontal, with the standing effigy of the Apostle in the centre and four scenes from his life round about, all against a gold background; but its use as a retable is indicated by three pinnacles added at the top, the two lateral ones containing half-lengths of Sts. Peter and Paul, and the central one the subject that in the Italianate and later Gothic art of Spain was to become the norm for this spot

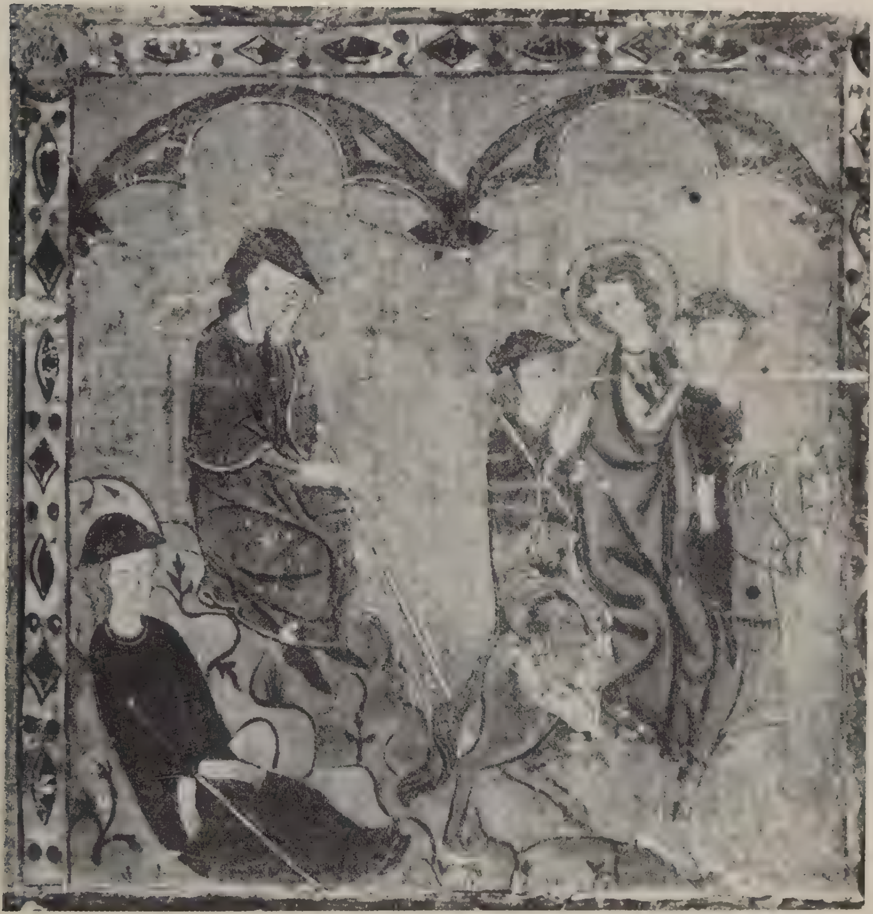

Fig. 94. LEGEND OF THE PILGRIM OF LORRAINE, SECTION OF RETABLE OF SANTIAGO. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, SOLSONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

in a retable, the Crucifixion. Perhaps a slight Italian strain is to be reckoned with in the style of the figures in the retable of St. Thomas, but the types have a pronounced Iberian cast (Fig. 95). The themes of the two upper compartments are clear—

the Incredulity of the Apostle and, within a single space, his reception of the treasures for the erection of the king's palace and his distribution of them to the poor. The two lower compartments are mutilated, but the one at the right plainly depicts two angels receiving the saint's soul as he is stabbed by the high priest of the pagans. The left compartment probably contains some episode of his evangelization of India, possibly the appearance of the miraculous light.

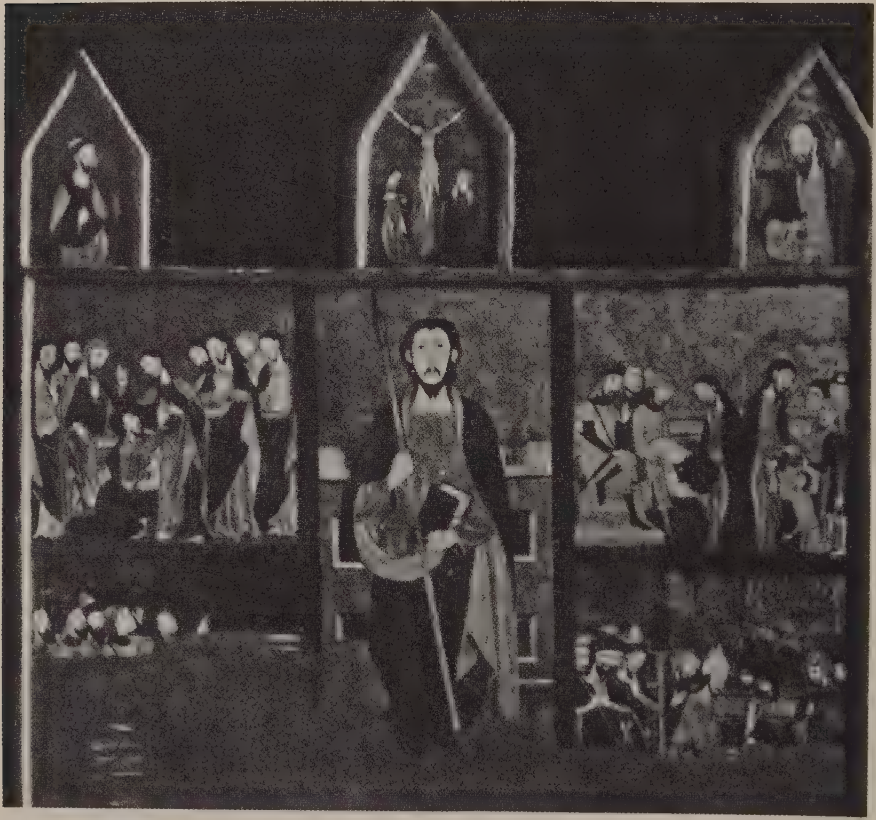

FIG. 95. RETABLE OF ST. THOMAS. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

The badly blackened altarpiece of Sts. John Baptist and Margaret[1] in the church of the Sangre at Alcover (near Tarragona) approximates more the arrangement of the retables of the Italianate manner, perhaps because of their influence; but the style is still fundamentally Franco-Gothic. The central panel offers to the devotion of the people the standing effigies of the two saints, separated by a colonnette. The Crucifixion occupies its customary place above, but the two Gothic arches that shelter the saints rise in an unusual fashion and intrude upon the lower part of its composition. In the lateral compartments at the left, beside St. John, are the Baptism, dance of Salome, and decapitation; at the right are St. Margaret's encounter with Olybrius while tending her sheep (Fig. 96), her torture, and beheadal. The gold backgrounds have lost their lustre. The retable, which reveals an author of no more than modest gifts, is an instance of the persistence of the Franco-Gothic style in the second half of the fourteenth century. The types are of

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[1] Not, as Miss Richert has it, the Magdalene.

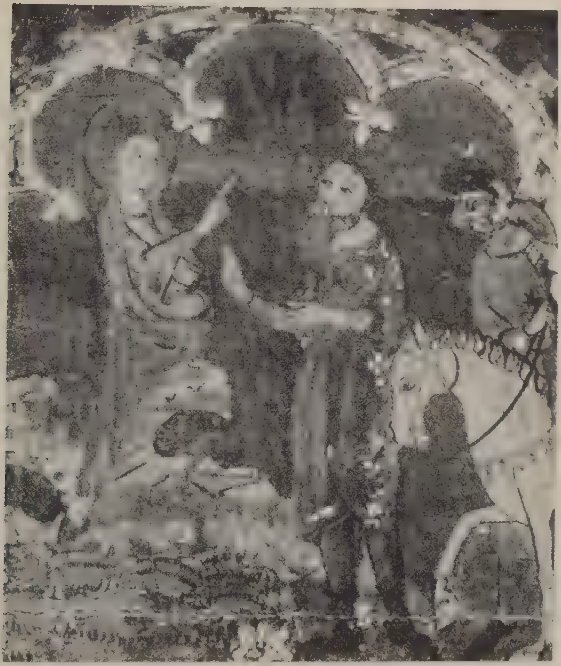

FIG. 96. ST. MARGARET AND OLYBRIUS, SECTION OF A RETABLE. IGLESIA DE LA SANGRE, ALCOVER

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

this character, although the painter may have looked, with not absolutely sealed eyes, both at the structure of the altarpieces and at the forms of those contemporaries of his who inclined to the Italian allegiance. The draperies also now and then, as of the central St. Margaret, the angel of the Baptism, or the Virgin of the Crucifixion, perhaps witness to some interest in the rival movement; but, on the other hand, their sole source may be French art of the fourteenth century, particularly French sculpture, or at least previous Spanish models dependent on this northern inspiration. The majority of the forms and draperies are unmistakably Franco-Gothic, many of them with the peculiarly Gallic *déhanchement*. Outstanding examples are the two censing angels who so frequently grace Franco-Gothic art and who are here introduced into the Crucifixion, the St. John Evangelist of this scene, the Salome, and the St. Margaret in her meeting with Olybrius. The arches over the several compartments loom larger, as in the Franco-Gothic school in general and as, for instance, in the antependium of St. Cyprian at Vich, than in the retables of the Italianate school.

In one of the rooms leading to the Sala Capitular in the cathedral of Tarragona are stored two pictures upon canvas representing the Crucifixion and St. Paul with (?) St. Thecla (Fig. 97). Creditable Franco-Gothic works of the later fourteenth century, they witness strongly, with the figures largely in red against blue backgrounds, to the influence of stained glass upon painting at this epoch.

The retable of St. Bernard in the Museo Luliano at Palma de Mallorca, sometimes falsely described as an antependium, might find a place at this point because of its French qualities, but, since it was perhaps also an early harbinger of Sienese influence in the Balearic Isles, its discussion had best be delayed until we are ready to examine the Italianate works in that section of the Catalan domain.

Of painted wooden coverings for the altar from this period, the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona contains a complete canopy which was once in the church of S. Vicente at Estimaríu (just east of La Seo de Urgel). The outer and inner surfaces are consistently ornamented with foliate *motifs* except in the posterior section of the under side of the roof, where they give

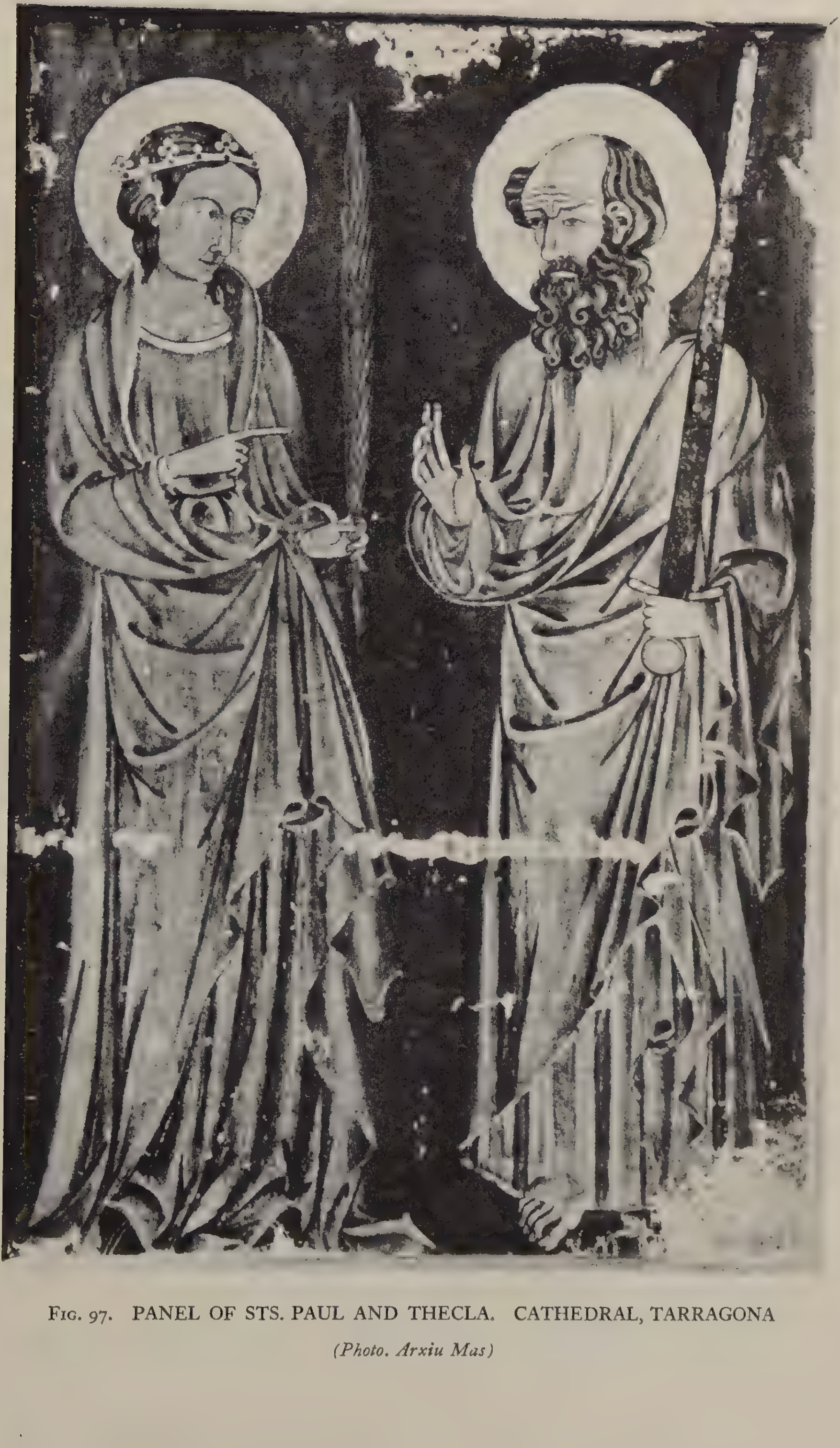

Fig. 97. PANEL OF STS. PAUL AND THECLA. CATHEDRAL, TARRAGONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

way to the regular theme for this spot in the embellishment of the altar, the figure of the Pantocrator, who in this ciborium is accompanied neither by the Evangelistic signs nor by angels. The style is a placid and capable form of the Franco-Gothic manner as it manifested itself in the turn from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century. In the same Museum is also one of the sloping boards used for canopies, which was found in the church of S. Saturnino de Tabernoles (also near La Seo de Urgel). The analogy in arrangement and in the theme of the Pantocrator and angels to the side-pieces of an altar in the Plandiura Collection has already been mentioned. The rather elongated form of Christ incorporates a style similar to that of the panel of Sts. Peter and Paul, the pendant of the St. Michael and Satan, in the Museum at Vich, except that the rigidity is slightly alleviated in the Barcelona piece. Gothic freedom, however, has not unfolded far enough to allow a date after the end of the thirteenth century.

In the division of panel painting, rather than in that of mural painting, must be catalogued the polychrome ornamentation of wooden ceilings. The examples in which the decoration is confined to pure design, birds, beasts, heraldry, and the like may be excluded from this book; but the Catalan specimens in which the human figure also finds a place must be at least mentioned at this point, since they seem for the most part to embody a strongly indigenous phase of the Franco-Gothic manner. It is difficult, however, to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion in regard to the style, for, as usual in the painting of mediaeval roofs, the execution is purposely rather summary because of the conventional architectural function and because any technical niceties would be lost on the spectator at such a height. For the same reasons, modelling and perspective are renounced to an even further degree than in other painting of the epoch, and what definition is attempted is achieved wholly by line. The colors are few—black, white, yellow, green, blue, and various reds, laid on in flat, decorative expanses. Three examples are included within the province of Tarragona, all probably belonging still to the fourteenth century: in the church of S. Miguel at Montblanch (hidden by more recent vaults, with very little intrusion of the human figure, and somewhat rude in technique); under the raised *coro* at the entrance to the church of the Sangre at Alcover (where, perhaps because of the advanced state of decay, I was unable to discover any traces of the alleged human forms); and in a room connected with the sacristy of the cathedral of Tarragona itself (of rather fine craftsmanship). In a different manner is a piece of a ceiling in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, whether of Aragonese or Catalan origin,[1] depicting the Betrayal, Flagellation, Bearing of the Cross, Crucifixion, Deposition, Entombment, and (?) the Resurrection or Christ Enthroned. As in the case of the religious scenes on the roof of the cathedral of Teruel, the style incorporates a belated survival of a Romanesque manner that reveals little evidence of an acquaintance with Gothic, and in this instance is strongly Byzantinized. The date of the Barcelona fragment is probably the fourteenth century. Although the artist does not rise above an unillumined average of technical attainment, he indulges himself in certain iconographical peculiarities, representing Christ, probably through a lingering Byzantine influence, as youthful and beardless, and some of His tormentors as Moors in complexion and costume.

3. Valencian Painting in the Franco-Gothic Style

The kingdom of Valencia was not recovered from the Moors until the middle of the thirteenth century, and it took some time to lay the foundations of a Christian school of art. This region, therefore, has left us but scanty relics of the Franco-Gothic manner. The principal examples, happily including frescoes, panels, and even roof-painting, are in the Iglesia de la Sangre at Liria, some fifteen miles northwest of the capital. The date of all these works must, of course, be subsequent to 1252 when the town was recaptured from the Moors and when probably the erection of the church was begun. The frescoes that originally decorated the ends of the great stone arches which span the building have been partially cut away by the subsequent construction of chapels between the arches and have also been whitewashed, so that not much is now to be seen. The most tolerable preservation is found in a scene depicting the assassination of St. Peter Martyr and his companion against a red background on the right wall of the south portal that takes the place of one of the chapels. Another piece of mural painting is extant on the right wall of the chapel next towards the high altar, but deterioration is so far advanced as to render the theme problematical. It might be a Madonna of Mercy, for a group of personages engaged in entreaty is depicted beside a fragmentary piece of drapery; but the presence of animals above makes the Deluge also a possibility. The style reveals Franco-Gothic methods manipulated by a painter of average attainments working either in the very late thirteenth or more probably early fourteenth century. The death of St. Peter Martyr had occurred only a half-century before, in the very year of the Christian reconquest of Liria. The frescoed and truncated form of a deacon saint on the right wall of the chapel of Sts. Vincent and Stephen may possibly belong to the later stratum of decoration at the turn of the fourteenth into the fifteenth century when the Valencian retable of this chapel was painted. It probably represents one of the two deacons to whom the chapel is dedicated. So much of the polychromy of the wooden roof as has come down to us does not differ, in manner or subject, from the conventionalized mode of decoration used for this part of an edifice in Catalonia and Aragon. Internal evidence would date the ceiling at the same time with the frescoes. Little or no figure-painting can now be distinguished on the roof in its original place, but a beam has been installed for inspection in the chapel of Sts. Vincent and Stephen. The themes of the ceiling are the customary ones— for instance, besides the dragons and mermaids that have lived on from the Romanesque ornamental repertoire, the chivalric *motifs* of a youth and maiden flanking a tree, of the fight of two dismounted knights, or, in larger proportions, the busts of two confronted personages who wear crowns. When the embellishment assumes the form of pure design, the patterns often are unmistakably suggested by oriental rugs.

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[1] If a reference in the *Anuari de l' Institut d' Estudis Catalans*, 1907, p. 481, alludes to this monument, then it is there recorded as coming from the border of Aragon. Cf. below, p. 104, n. 2.

The two extant antependia, now placed also in the chapel of Sts. Vincent and Stephen, belong to a later date in the fourteenth century and bear a much more strongly indigenous impress. In the example dedicated to Sts. Anthony Abbot and Bartholomew, the central section, with the two standing effigies, occupies an inordinately large space, leaving room only for four rather small narrative scenes at the sides. The disposition is somewhat the same in the frontal or retable of Sts. Philip and James Minor from Huesca, now in the Plandiura Collection, in which the central section does not encroach quite so much upon the lateral compartments; and it is significant that we shall find the national note vibrant also in this Aragonese specimen, although, since the Huesca panel was painted at a later period, the other part of the harmony is Italian and not Franco-Gothic. The two episodes relating to St. Bartholomew are his flaying, head-downward, and decapitation, in accordance with the attempt of the *Golden Legend* to reconcile the three traditions in regard to the mode of his martyrdom by vouchsafing the opinion that he may have been first crucified in the reversed position, then flayed, and, before the breath had left his body, beheaded: in the antependium, the crucifixion is telescoped with the flaying by representing the body suspended from the feet in the form of a St. Andrew's cross. The bottom of the panel is so far destroyed that on the other side only the upper scene of St. Anthony in the desert is preserved. All sections are framed in round arches that break into Gothic leaf. It is in the compartment of St. Bartholomew's decapitation that the types are least Iberian and therefore most clearly betray the remote Franco-Gothic origins. The antependium preserves the alternation of red and blue frequently encountered in the late Romanesque and early Gothic art of Spain. The background of the arches under which the two central saints stand is red, but the spandrels above these arches are blue. In just the contrary way, the backgrounds of the lateral scenes are blue covered by red spandrels. The composition of the other, much more sadly faded frontal (Fig. 98) is unique among Spanish antependia. The central section, as large as that of Sts. Anthony and Bartholomew and embodying quite as thoroughly indigenous a translation of the Franco-Gothic style, displays two kneeling angels censing a standing figure of Santiago, from whose chapel in the church the antependium probably comes. There are no other

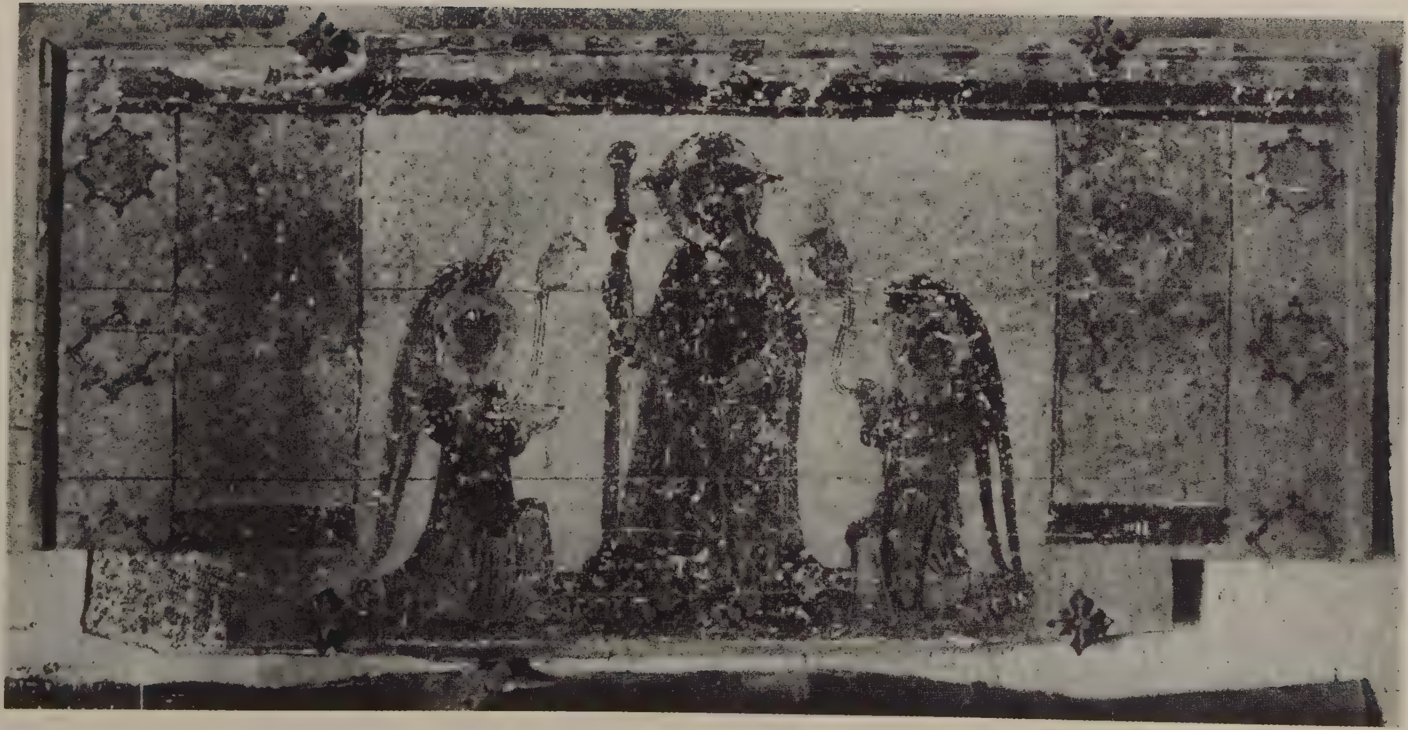

Fig. 98. FRONTAL OF SANTIAGO. IGLESIA DE LA SANGRE, LIRIA

(*Photo. Arxiu Mas*)

human figures on the panel, but the lateral sections are embellished with two identical pieces of painted pure design that constitute as palpable imitations of oriental rugs or of Moorish walls (themselves based in their adornment upon eastern rugs) as we shall discover in the whole history of Spanish art. The section corresponding to the body of a rug has a floral *motif;* the inner part of the broad border is omitted, but the outer part appears, accented, according to the Mohammedan proclivity for mathematical elements of decoration, with a repetition of large stellar polygons. Such lingering memories of the light and seductive beauties of Mussulman aesthetic achievement were quite to be expected in a place so recently freed from infidel control.

In my visit to Liria I unfortunately failed to see the fresco in the now abandoned little church of the Buen Pastor, once the hall of a hospital, representing in an upper zone the Crucifixion and in a lower the Annunciation; but so far as the photograph published by Sarthou[1] permits judgment, I should conclude with Gudiol[2] that it was executed at a later date in the fourteenth century than the paintings in the church of the Sangre, although without as yet any Italian influence, or I should be willing even to accept Tormo's proposition[3] of the very early fifteenth century.

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[1] *Geografía general del reino de Valencia, Provincia de Valencia*, II, 532.

[2] *Els primitius*, I, 540.

[3] *Levante*, 184.

CHAPTER XIV

ARAGONESE FRESCOES IN THE FRANCO-GOTHIC STYLE

1. Northern Aragon

Although, as we shall see, Aragon became in the first Gothic period quite as important a centre for the production of panels as Catalonia, even more astounding is the emergence of an active and widely employed school of frescoists. Perhaps the earliest of the preserved examples exist in S. Pedro at Huesca, if one can speak of preservation in the case of such faint and blurred remains. The place where vestiges may still be seen is under the first bay of vaulting on the Gospel side at the west end of the church. The zone of decoration just beneath the vaulting has sunk into impenetrable indistinctness, except in so far as one seems to recognize as one of the subjects a man arraigned before a potentate. The forms are clearer in the spandrels of the arch below, but not enough so to define the themes. At the left a haloed personage or angel in the midst of foliage is holding converse with an unhaloed individual, who, since he is clothed, is certainly not Adam reprimanded by God but might be Moses at the burning bush. In the right spandrel someone is talking to a group of figures painted on the adjoining pilaster. The archivolt is embellished with heraldic escutcheons, and the soffit of the arch with pure design. The style is hard to decipher from the midst of the dim outlines, but it seems to incorporate an early aspect of Gothicism belonging to the second half of the thirteenth rather than to the fourteenth century. One of the old Catalan Romanesque caricatures, however, with an elongated nose, has lived on in the crowd of the group at the right. The richness of the painted foliage suggests an analogy to the frescoes with which the chapter-house of Sijena was later to be adorned. Ricardo del Arco thinks that he sees in the cycle at Huesca the lives of Sts. Justus and Pastor, over the entrance to whose chapel they are painted; but it is a question whether this section of the church was already dedicated to these worthies in the thirteenth century, a difficulty that does not trouble the Aragonese critic because he strangely ascribes the frescoes to the fifteenth century.

The most distinguished assemblage of Gothic mural paintings in Aragon may be seen in the convent of Sijena between Saragossa and Lérida, one cycle in the apse of the church and another, probably by a different hand, in the chapter-house. The subjects in the apse of the church, as far as they have been uncovered, are: above the window, the Saviour bestowing His benediction and adored by two angels, and somewhat lower down what may be the figure of a sainted king; at the right of the window, the Epiphany (Fig. 99) and, in an upper zone, perhaps the Annunciation; at the left of the window, the Entombment and a fragment of another scene from the Passion, possibly the Deposition, with a personage holding the nails and pincers, and, in the upper zone, Christ and St. Peter; between the two zones, beside the window, a frieze of busts of angels under trilobed arches, and underneath the lower zone a border of the old Romanesque maeander *motif*. The master had learned his craft in a Gallicized school, but his ethnic types and his intensity of feeling he took from the Spanish life about him. The frescoes are heroically conceived in accordance with the monumental purpose, and they are executed by a man who knows how to unite vigor with flowing Gothic grace.

The extensive and well preserved paintings of the chapter-house are the achievement of a no less skilled and intelligent artist, who was, on the whole, the superior of his rival in the church and certainly had a different training. They are attributed by Ricardo del Arco to the period when the Infanta Doña Blanca of Aragon, the daughter of James II, was prioress, 1321 to 1347, and are believed by him to have been done after the frescoes in the church, which he sets at the end of the thirteenth century; but, although he may well be right in regard to the date of the paintings in the chapter-house, yet, in the opinion of the present writer, the frescoes in the church were the later of the two productions and may easily belong to the second half of the fourteenth century. The most interesting paintings in the chapter-house adorn the spandrels of both sides

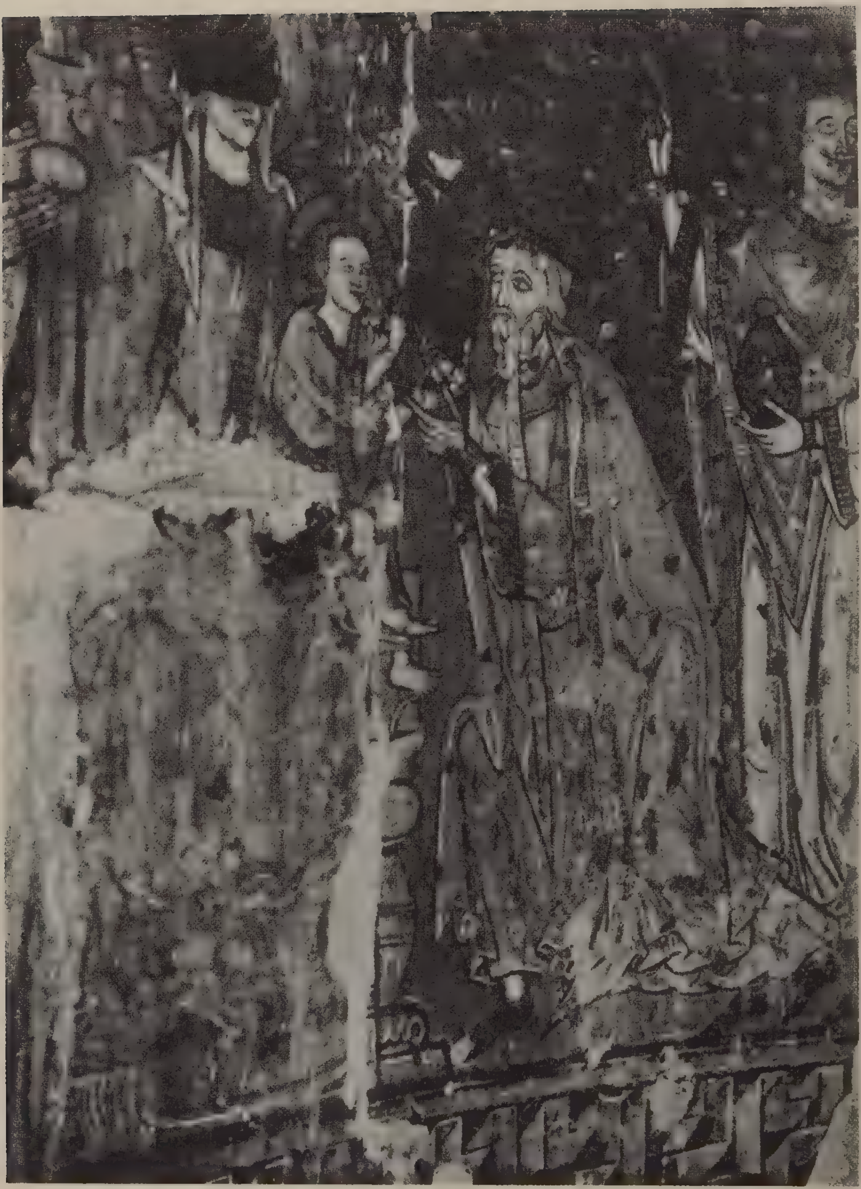

Fig. 99. ADORATION OF THE MAGI, CHURCH, SIJENA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

of the great stone arches that support the roof, twenty magnificent scenes of the Old Testament from the Creation through the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt; the soffits of the arches are decorated with rows of half-lengths of the ancestors of St. Joseph according to the categories both in the first chapter of St. Matthew and the third chapter of St. Luke. Each ancestor is enclosed in a rectangular frame, and under him is the part of the Latin verse from St. Matthew or St. Luke that refers to him. St. Matthew's majestic and rhythmic array of begettings is made curiously concrete by the representation of each patriarch accompanied by his young son and the repetition of this son in the next compartment as a grown man now fondly caressing his own child. Of the frescoes on the walls beneath, much less has remained to us. Best preserved are those on one of the end walls, the Nativity of Christ flanked by the Annunciation, Visitation, and appearance of the angels to the shepherds. On the wall at the other end only fragments of the Crucifixion and Resurrection are visible. The long lateral wall opposite the entrance still displays plainly no more than the Purification, although there are vestiges of two or three other scenes that have suffered to such an extent as to be difficult to decipher. The episodes of the Infancy on the one end wall are capped by a frieze of a series of semicircles. In the section that is preserved, two of the semicircles contain busts of angels, and the other two, pure design; and an angel in the same relative position on the lateral wall proves that the frieze was here continued. The parallelism of the angelic *motif* to that of the border in the apse of the church might suggest that both cycles were the work of the same hand; but the styles seem too diverse to admit this proposition, and the explanation probably is that the master of the church had seen and liked the idea of his predecessor in the chapter-house. The latter has relieved the rather accentuated severity of his figures by the delightful exuberance, richness, and fantasy of the decorative details with which he fills every available space of the arches not occupied by his sacred actors. Consisting of beasts, monsters, and conventionalized foliage and still half Romanesque in their stylization, they suggest, like the scenes themselves, that he was recalling mosaics that he had seen. The background is everywhere blue. The only section where repainting is very manifest is in the series of St. Joseph's forerunners.

The style of the frescoes of the chapter-house is a surprise. Two things are self-evident even to the most casual glance: that it is not French Gothic and that it includes some degree of belated Byzantine influence. Lampérez[1] adumbrated the solution of the problem when he stated that the frescoes were perhaps the work of Sicilian masters, for they suggest somewhat the often Italianized Byzantine mosaics of the churches built by the Norman sovereigns in Sicily in the twelfth century. But what Byzantinism there is at Sijena has been transmuted into the greater freedom and knowledge of the fourteenth century, and, if the painter was familiar with earlier Sicilian mosaics and acquired his Byzantinism from that source, it is almost certain that he was conversant also with the attainments of another Italian school. It is not inconceivable that he should have known Italian art only through the Sicilian mosaics and that the superimpositions upon this foundation which he exhibits he should have evolved himself in the midst of the Gothic influences by which he was surrounded; but the hypothesis of a contact with other and later phases of Italian achievement almost forces itself upon the critic. One cannot look at this cycle of paintings without being irresistibly reminded of the work of Cavallini and the Roman masters of the end of the thirteenth century, in whom the Byzantine tradition was profoundly modified by native Roman monumentality, by other indigenous qualities, and by the vitality and naturalism of the new age which were to be developed to maturity by Giotto. The scenes from Genesis, in particular, recall that higher zone of the upper church at Assisi which was in all probability painted by the Roman school. The stern and rugged types in the chapter-house at Sijena, different from the usual Gothic ones, have remote Byzantine forbears, but they seem to inherit more directly from intermediate and sturdier ancestors at Rome. The draperies likewise are often analogous. The vigor of Abraham's gesture in the sacrifice of Isaac suggests the treatment of the same theme at Assisi. The murder of Abel is rendered with a Roman power. The composition of the Nativity, with the bed of the Virgin encompassing her like a nimbus and the bending angels carrying scrolls, has Byzantine precedent, but it recalls also examples of the Roman school, such as Cavallini's restored mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere. The head of the Creator, in the scene in which he forbids the fruit of the Tree of Life, has something of the majesty of Cavallini's Pantocrator in S. Cecilia. Especially convincing for the accumulation of evidence in support of a Roman derivation are the angels of the frieze and, even through the coat of repainting, the progenitors of St. Joseph. The separate angel in the expulsion from Eden is also absolutely Roman.

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[1] *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la Edad Media*, I, 698.

The surprise consists in finding this isolated instance of Italian influence, different from the general stream of importation from Florence and Siena which was already beginning to percolate into the rest of Spain. It is because the influence is Roman or at least not Florentine or Sienese, as well as because of the French character of the frescoes in the apse of the church, that the mural paintings of the chapter-house are considered at this point rather than in the section of the book that treats the Italianate school of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He would perhaps be a bold critic who would venture to imply that the master had come from Rome or had ever seen the pictorial achievements of that city. It is, of course, not out of the question that he had visited the capital of Christendom as a pilgrim and had beheld at least the mosaics in a style similar to that of the Roman paintings; but a likelier explanation is that he was conversant with miniatures in this manner and was translating such prototypes into the true monumentality that he attains. Whatever his models, he was no mere plagiarist. He cultivates, as we have seen, an ornamental opulence that may be denominated as Spanish, provoked by familiarity with the art of the Moors, although he had some precedent for it in Italian mosaics and frescoes. Gudiol actually finds Moorish elements in the decorative *motifs*, but these *motifs* are probably derived rather from Christian mosaics. It is his decorative sense, in any case, that leads him to conventionalize charmingly the Tree of Life (Fig. 100) and to cause the prow of Noah's ark to burst into an animal's head. He possessed, indeed, a Romanesque love of beasts, filling delightfully with them, for instance, the space of the spandrel depicting Adam at work (Fig. 101). Such a scene as

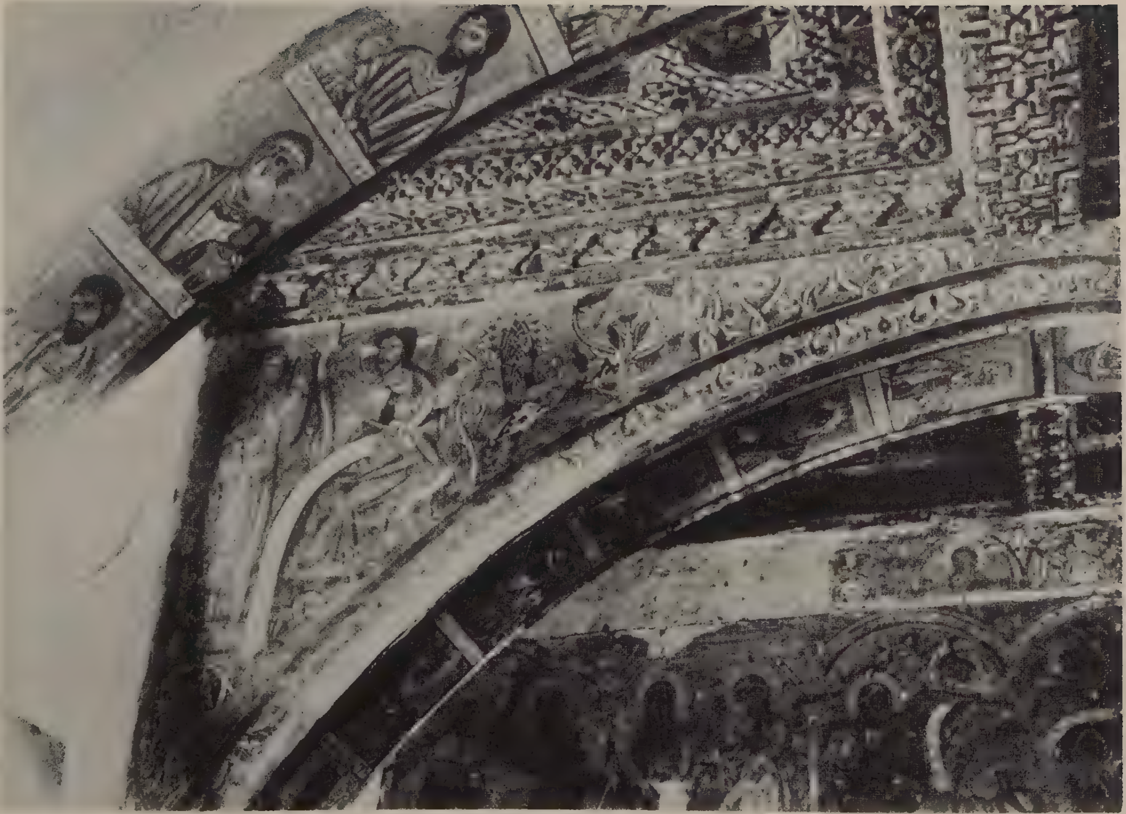

FIG. 100. FRESCOES, CHAPTER-HOUSE, SIJENA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

the entry into the ark is one among many proofs that he had more imagination and more sprightliness than Cavallini and the stern Roman artists who were seeking rather to solve the problem of form. His nudes, to be sure, are unexpectedly good, but he was more interested in approximating the sacred narrative to the experience of every-day life. The touches of naturalism are numerous. In the episode of the temptation, Eve almost flirts with the serpent. A curious and homely piece of iconography is provided by the representation of an angel turning up the ground with a spade for the instruction of Adam, whose posture of momentary rest and watching is most convincingly rendered. Quite as homely is the charming scene of Eve with her distaff, surrounded by her offspring; and in the Nativity, the midwife who pours the water into the tub for the bath of the newborn Child and the pitcher that she uses are taken directly from actuality. Mayer has commented upon the clever adaptation of the compositions to the spaces of the spandrels. It has been said at the beginning of the paragraph that the chapter-house of Sijena constitutes an isolated example of Italian influence apart from the general imitation of Florentine and Sienese art, but we shall discover in the panel painting of the region at least one other possible instance of the same transitory indebtedness to the school of Rome.

The place in Aragon where the greatest number of frescoes of this period are extant is the region immediately east of Huesca. Those in the church of S. Miguel de Foces, which is a pleasant jog across the fields from Ibieca and belonged to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, may be first considered because they happen to be approximately dated and because they are the best in the district. Among Spanish mural paintings of this first phase of Gothic they are, indeed, second in aesthetic merit only to those of Sijena. They must have been executed shortly after 1302, the year stated for the death of Ato de Foces in the epitaph upon his tomb in the church, since the frescoes on this monument are of the same character and period as the rest of the mural paintings in the edifice. The style is a broader and more monumental aspect of the usual Franco-Gothic manner. The master has renounced the delicacy of the miniatures either through a direct dependence upon French mural painting or through his own

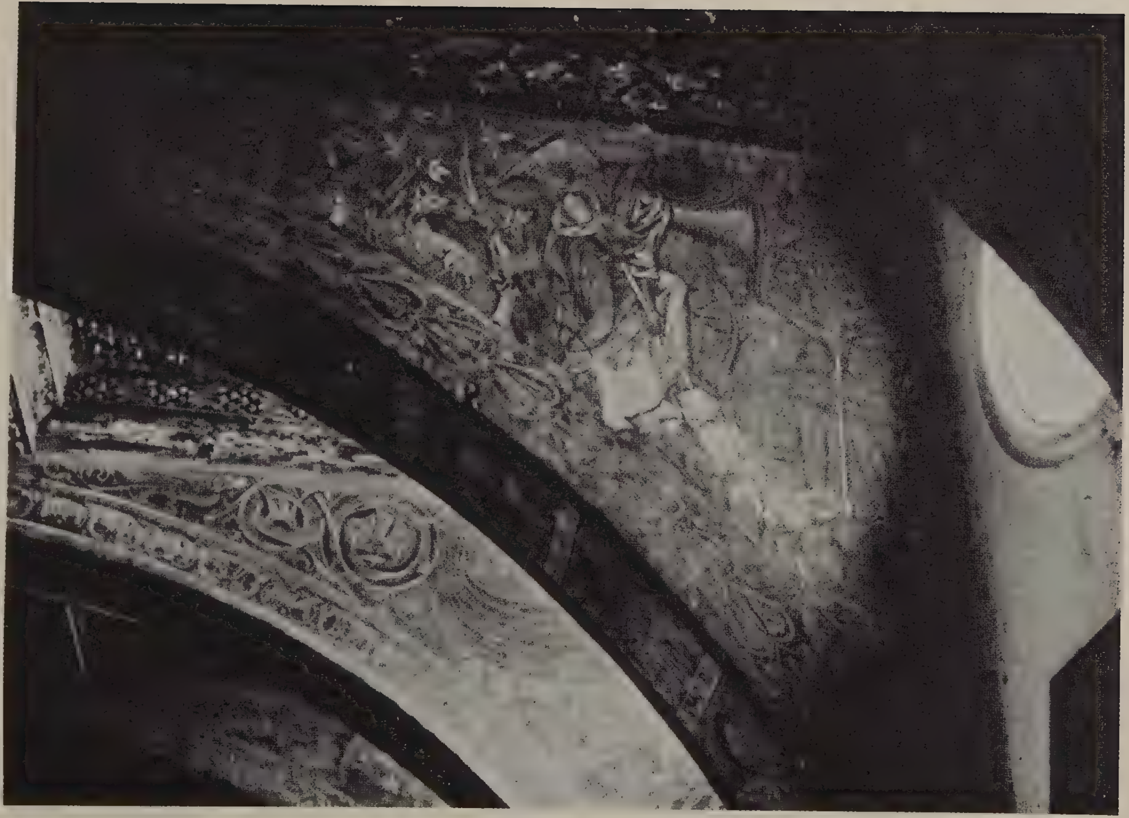

Fig. 101. FRESCOES, CHAPTER-HOUSE, SIJENA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

innate aesthetic sense of what was proper to larger ecclesiastical decoration. He approaches, indeed, the Italians in his feeling for monumentality; but it is not necessary to suppose that he had seen any of the early Italian cycles of Gothic frescoes, and the inspiration is without doubt fundamentally Gallic. He was neither a boggler nor, like some of the craftsmen who were working in the churches of the vicinity, a provincial. He draws with fineness, knows how to adapt his compositions effectively to his spaces, and exhibits much sensitiveness to the decorative value of a rather pronounced Gothic stylization, especially in the undulation of the lines of the body and of the drapery and in the curious schematization of the trees. He has created a mural assemblage that has more than a local significance and has never received the appreciation or even attention which its beauty deserves. The frescoes, as far as they have been revealed, cover the end walls of both transepts. On the adjoining tombs of the founder of the church, Eximino de Foces, and of his son, Ato, in the transept on the Epistle side of the building, the themes that were then employed in zones for Spanish sculptured sepulchres [1] are translated, above the plain sarcophagi, into paint. In the higher zone of the tympanum of the pointed niche containing the father's sarcophagus, the enthroned Christ (a lingering tradition of the Pantocrator) is censed by two angels; in the lower zone is the Crucifix flanked by the twelve Apostles; and the soffit of the enclosing arch is embellished with the large figures of two more censing angels, of St. Catherine and the preaching St. John the Baptist (Fig. 102), and of Sts. Margaret and Francis. The upper zone of the son's tomb displays the Saviour on the cross, with the Virgin and (?) St. John Evangelist, and the lower zone, the translation of the deceased's soul to Paradise; both representations are again strangely accompanied by pairs of censing angels, a *motif* that apparently obsessed the painter even to a greater degree than it did other Franco-Gothic artists; and the soffit of the arch contains a pair of standing angels and two unrecognized saints, one masculine and the other feminine. The exterior spandrels are adorned with further angels nicely accommodated to the given spaces. The wall of the transept over the tombs is also covered with frescoes.

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[1] C. R. Post, *A History of European and American Sculpture*, I, 129.

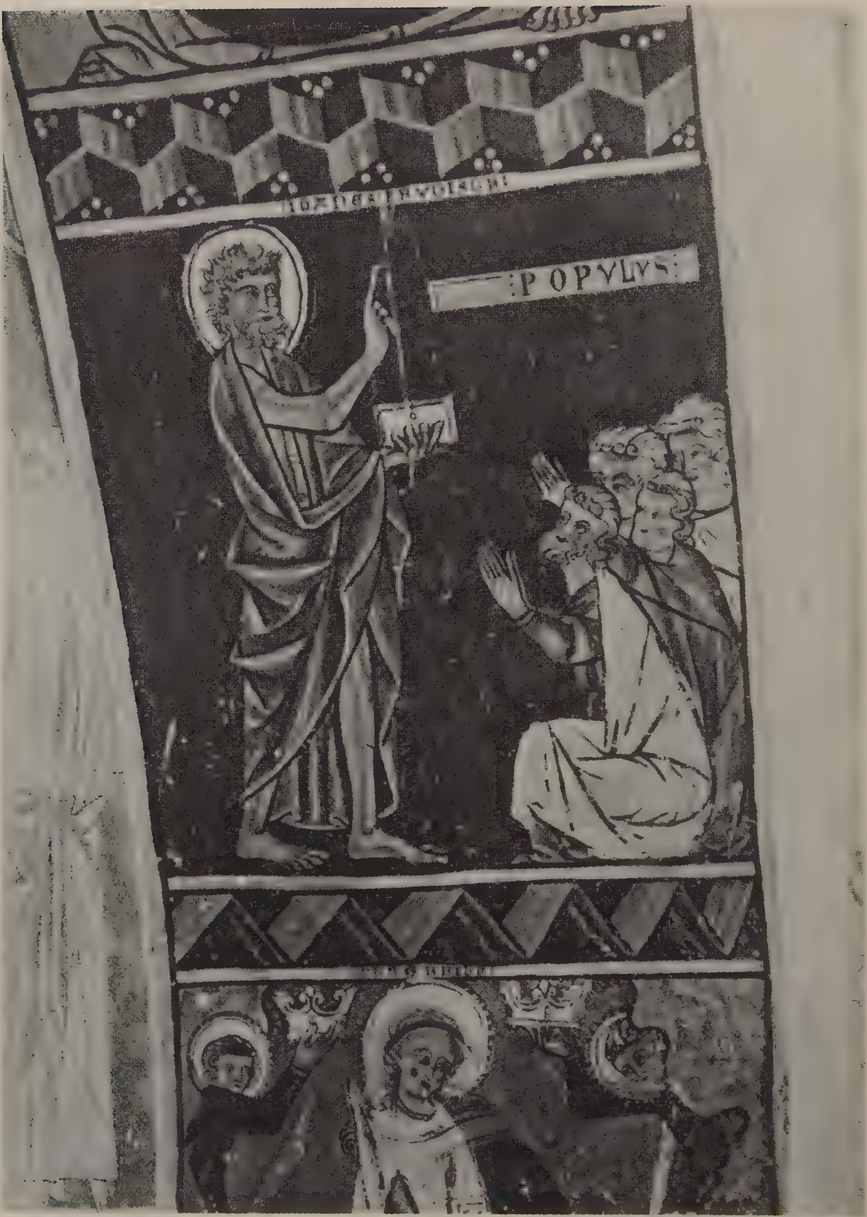

FIG. 102. FRESCOES, TOMB OF EXIMINO DE FOCES, S. MIGUEL DE FOCES

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Above Eximino's mausoleum is a large representation of the enthroned Madonna surrounded by angels and four feminine saints or sibyls, the whole executed with splendid monumentality and effective breadth of draperies. Beneath are four scenes, evidently from some Franciscan legend, that the present writer has not succeeded in identifying. Ato's sepulchre is surmounted by seven episodes from the life of the Baptist. The end wall of the transept on the Gospel side of the church also contains two tombs that are mates of those of Eximino and Ato, but the polychrome adornment is largely obliterated, except that in the tympanum of one of them the Pantocrator is still visible, accompanied by two of the Evangelistic signs, whereas the two other symbols are relegated to the soffit of the framing arch. The wall above displays nine scenes from the infancy of Christ, with certain iconographic anomalies such as the representation of St. Joseph mounted on a horse in the Flight into Egypt and the insertion, between the Visitation and the Nativity, of a strange episode in which St. Mary and St. Joseph appear to be making offerings of animals on an altar.[1] One of the master's most impressive achievements is the monumental French queen into whom the Virgin of the Epiphany is exalted.

Of the other frescoes in the region of Huesca, all of which retain more Romanesque reminiscences than the paintings in S. Miguel de Foces, the nearest approach to these in artistic value is provided by the decoration of the church of S. Fructuoso at Bierge, although even in this case the aesthetic interval is a broad one. Despite the archaisms and despite the ruder technique, the date is probably about contemporary and not, as Ricardo del Arco would have it, the middle of the thirteenth century. The style exhibits a tolerable manipulation of elements eventually inherited from French Gothic. Here it is the east end of the church that has retained its pictorial embellishment. On the east wall (not a semicircular apse) above the altar is a large Crucifixion, which preserves more of the Romanesque feeling than the rest of the frescoes. Round about it are four much deteriorated episodes of some sacred story or stories, not, as might be expected, the Passion. Ricardo del Arco identifies two of these episodes, at the left, with the life of St. Nicholas who is represented below them and whose story is told at length in other parts of the east end of the church; and the two scenes at the right may represent the translation of St. John Evangelist from the miraculous excavation to heaven and some other event of his life, for his effigy is likewise depicted below surrounded by scenes of his history. The altar itself hides mural decoration that the same critic guesses may include an effigy of the titular saint of the church. At the right of the altar, on the east wall, the frescoing takes the form of a Romanesque antependium or retable, exhibiting a standing effigy of St. John Evangelist in a Gothic shrine flanked by four compartments which relate his history. One of the figures in these scenes is still afflicted with a specimen of the caricatured noses used in Catalan Romanesque art to signify a man of the people, and there are further examples in the rest of the frescoes. The life of St. John is continued in a number of scenes on the adjoining south wall of the east end of the church. On the east wall at the left of the altar is a figure of St. Nicholas accompanied by two deacons and two acolytes (Fig. 103), and his life is told on the adjoining north wall. The inner side of the triumphal arch still preserves two forms of trumpeting angels.

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[1] Has this scene something to do with the trial of the bitter water, as related in the apocryphal gospels of the infancy?

Only very slightly more rustic is the cycle in S. Miguel, the church of the cemetery at Barluenga, close, on the northeast, to Huesca itself. The east wall, which here again is straight, not semicircular, is shared between the titular saint with the dragon, at the right, and the old Romanesque theme of the Pantocrator in a mandorla, with the Evangelistic signs and two supporting angels, at the left (Fig. 104). The two sections are separated by a small window, under which is figured a seraph with wings that are full of eyes but do not enfold the body as in Catalan Romanesque iconography. From the frescoes beneath this upper section of the east wall, which was originally all decorated, there can be deciphered now only a piece at the right, depicting Our Lord or Abraham with souls in his bosom, one angel bringing to him other souls, and again St. Michael with the spear. The Gallic derivation is more tangible in the frescoes on the adjacent south and north walls. On the south wall there remain two episodes in two zones from the story of the

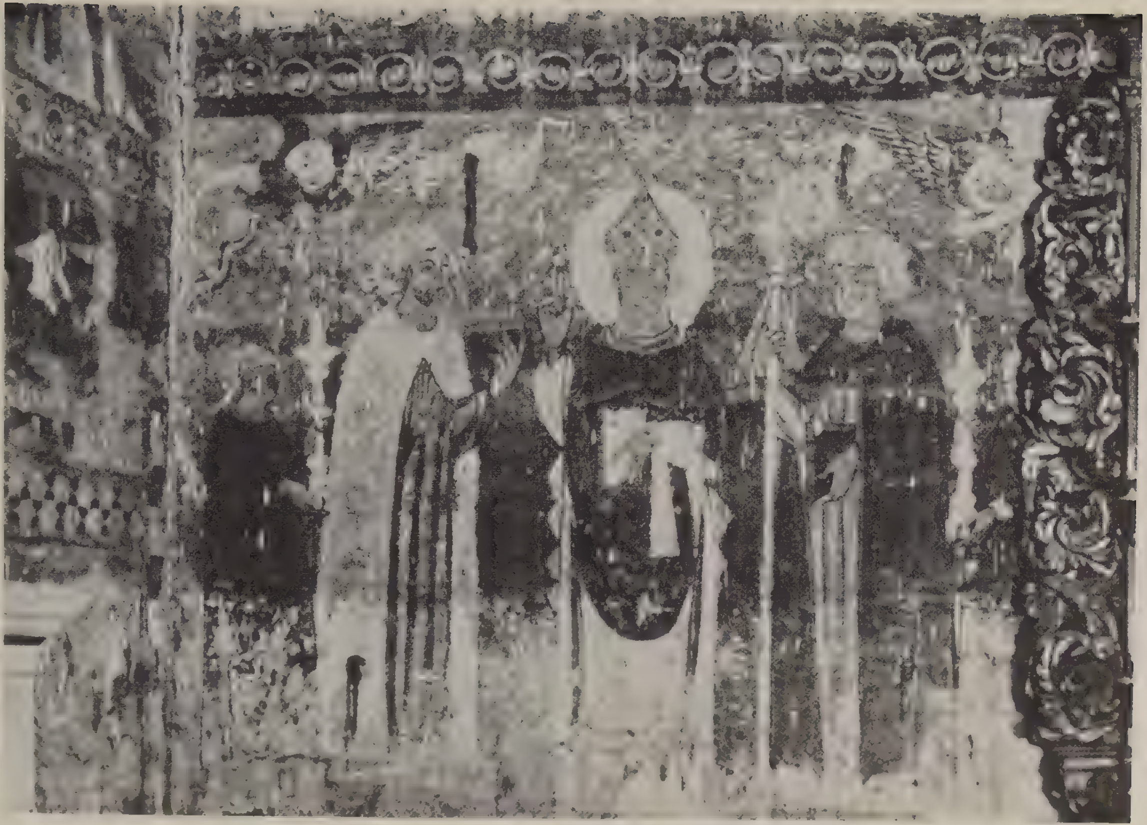

Fig. 103. ST. NICHOLAS AND CLERICS, S. FRUCTUOSO, BIERGE

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

appearance of St. Michael on Monte Gargano, with the rock of the bull still as much conventionalized as in the Romanesque antependium of the Plandiura Collection. On the north wall is a single zone depicting St. Christopher before the king of "Samos a city of Lycia" (as the *Golden Legend* has it) and in the act of finding a woman of the place worshipping a false god or perhaps in the act of exorcising this demon (probably not the scene in which Aquilina and Nicaea, converted by the saint, drag the gods off their pedestals with their girdles). Like the painted transcription, in S. Miguel de Foces, of sepulchral carving, so here the triumphal arch is frescoed with themes that are frequent on the sculptured arches of Gothic portals. The lower sections of the soffit are divided into small compartments in which are depicted different social classes of mortals rising from the dead at the Last Day; in the upper sections, the Hand of God is flanked by two large angels. The inner vertical surface of the arch displays two more angels lifting souls to heaven; the outer surface, two groups of masculine (at the right) and feminine (at the left) saints, as well as four small kneeling angels, adoring a partially obliterated figure of the Saviour (or the Virgin?).

Rudest of all the frescoes in this region are those of the Ermita de la Virgen del Monte on a hill outside Liesa, just south of Ibieca, and yet they are probably to be assigned, like the cycle at Barluenga which Del Arco believes to be by the same hand, to the early fourteenth century. At Liesa it is chiefly the barrel vault in front of the east end that retains its polychromy. The left half of the vault is dedicated to St. Vincent (the saint of the antependium of this church[1]), who is represented standing in the centre, as in a Romanesque frontal, surrounded by four scenes from his martyrdom, and he is surmounted by a frieze with further incidents of his life (Fig. 105). The arrangement on the right side of the vault is exactly the same for St. Catherine, except that her standing effigy is curiously and unsymmetrically transferred from the centre of the four scenes to the left of them probably because, as Gudiol suggests, there is a window at the centre that would have cut off her body if she had been placed in this regular spot. It is particularly the fully de-

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[1] Cf. vol. I, p. 253.

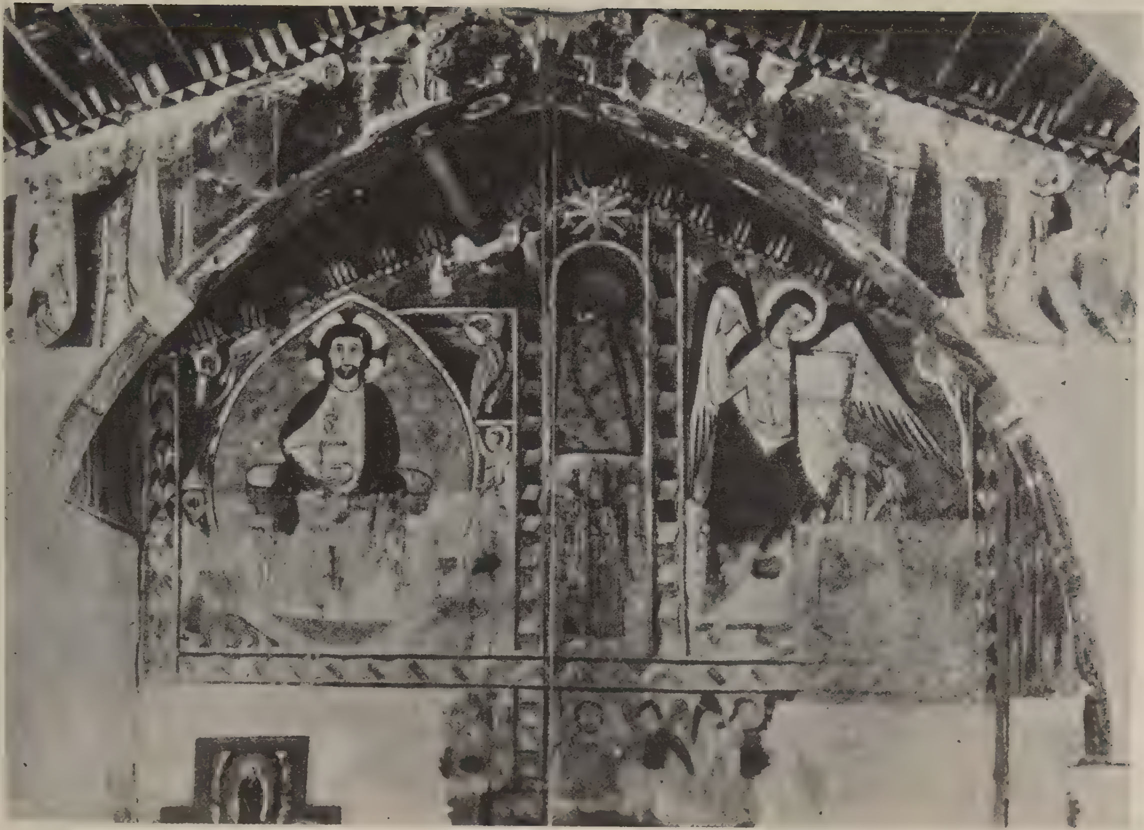

FIG. 104. FRESCOES, S. MIGUEL, BARLUENGA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

veloped Gothic undulation of the drapery in this figure that renders impossible Ricardo del Arco's dating in the thirteenth century. The red background of the frescoes is unusually well preserved. Despite the fact that the Ermita belonged to the Knights of St. John at Foces, the paintings at Liesa were not executed by the hand that did the superior works of S. Miguel. The north wall of the nave also exhibits a fragment of mural painting that Del Arco wrongly assigns to the fifteenth century.[1]

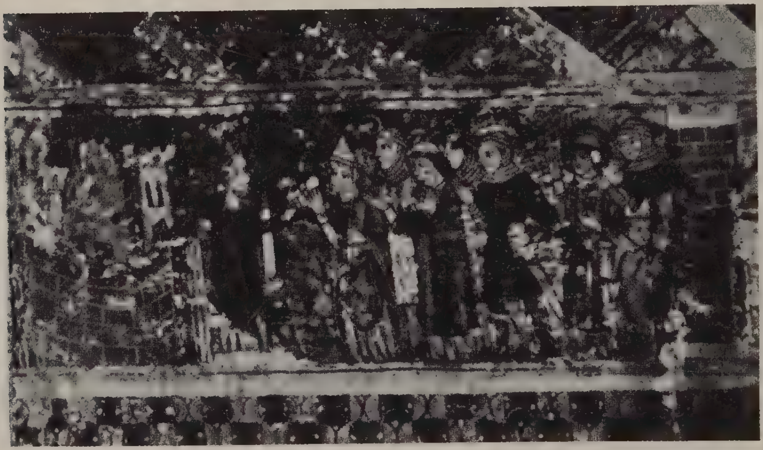

FIG. 105. ARREST OF STS. VINCENT AND VALERIUS, VIRGEN DEL MONTE, LIESA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

It is still thoroughly in the Franco-Gothic manner of the fourteenth century, but possibly, although not surely, by a somewhat better hand and of a very slightly later date than the frescoes in the east end of the church. At the centre of a painted Gothic arcade is the enthroned Madonna, and under the other arches are disposed, at the left, the Wise Men of the Epiphany and, at the right, two figures who may be donors.

In Liesa itself there is a granary, the relic of an old church, decorated with a polychromy of pure design consisting of rosettes framed in squares.

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[1] For the dispute between Del Arco and Folch, who rightly ascribes the frescoes in the nave to the first half of the fourteenth century, see *Vell i nou*, Nov. 1, 1919, p. 412. Del Arco cherishes the idea that the wall upon which the frescoes of the nave are painted is of the fifteenth century.

All the frescoes that had been revealed in the Iglesia del Perdón, the lower part or crypt of the parish church of Sos in northern Aragon on the borders of Navarre, seemed to me, on my visit to the town in 1926 (so far as the poor state of preservation and the darkness illumined only by candle-light permitted judgment), to be undoubtedly works of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century in a somewhat retarded and countrified aspect of the French Gothic style. In the main apse of this lower church is a zone of painting in which are distinguishable the Flight into Egypt and perhaps a piece of the Epiphany. Don Emiliano Ladrero, the enlightened physician of Sos to whose devotion and manual participation in the laborious task of uncovering the frescoes is due their discovery, identifies two further figures in the apse with King Sancho Ramírez of Aragon (1063–1094) and his queen; but their forms present no peculiarities that are not consonant with a date in the Gothic period, so that they would provide another instance of the phenomenon that seems to have happened in the representation of Ferdinand I in the Romanesque frescoes of Leon, namely, the introduction, into later paintings, of a sovereign who had some connection with the earlier history of the church or town. In a chapel at the left of the apse there have emerged a number of scenes the subjects of which have not yet been recognized, except that Don Emiliano has made the dubious guess that two of them, depicting the birth or resuscitation of a child and a feminine saint conversing with a bird,[1] may have to do with St. Geneviève. The painted Gothic arches under which the episodes are represented as occurring and the feminine costume indisputably date the frescoes in this chapel in the late thirteenth or fourteenth century, and I cannot agree with Don Emiliano that the arches are later additions, superimposed upon figures of the Romanesque or even Pre-Romanesque epoch. The pilasters at the entrance to the chapel display large effigies of saints, and the feminine head of one of these, at the left, wearing a crown, is very convincingly Gallic, at least by indirect derivation. The process of removing the whitewash that conceals the rest of the mural embellishment of the church will be a long one. At the time of my visit Don Emiliano was engaged in bringing to light frescoes of the same style from the life of St. Peter on a stone serving, now at any rate, as an altar in the crypt.

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[1] Could it be St. Elizabeth of Hungary singing with the bird before her death?

2. Southern Aragon

It was not, however, only northern Aragon that benefited by this unexpected outburst of enthusiasm, in the province, for the frescoed adornment of architecture during the early Gothic period. Important cycles are extant also in the south, at Daroca and Alcañiz, executed in a style of Gallic provenience, yet somewhat different from that of the workshops which found employment in the region of Huesca. The frescoes at Daroca, which has now lapsed so sadly from its mediaeval greatness, were probably painted by one atelier or at least by related ateliers. They embody somewhat greater proficiency than those in the churches about Huesca with the exception of the works in S. Miguel de Foces. The large central figures exhibit a surer sense of monumental solidity. The frescoes in S. Miguel (known also as S. Valero, having appropriated the honors of the demolished, near-lying church of that name), since they can scarcely have been created before the middle of the fourteenth century, belong to a later date than the Huesca cycles. The draperies have broadened into ample expanses, and the more primitive tightness has loosened into a constant undulation of Gothic line. The wall beneath the semidome of the apse is embellished at the centre with a large Coronation of the Virgin (Fig. 106), which is flanked on either side by three rows of angels, each in a compartment under a trefoiled arch, so that the effect is as of tiers of spectators in boxes at the opera. In the topmost row, the angels bear candlesticks; in the second, they serenade the central ceremony on instruments of music; in the lowest row, they offer incense. A further zone at the bottom of the wall unites the Apostles, each again under a Gothic arch, to the celestial throng above. The Christ and Virgin of the Coronation are richly clad in fur-lined garments. The background of all the frescoes is red. The postures of the music-making angels are skilfully and pleasantly varied, and the general artistic attainment is somewhat higher than in the other frescoes of the town. It is just possible that the painter had seen and been edified by

Italian or Italianate works, but his manner remains fundamentally Franco-Gothic. Style, disposition of the figures, decoration of the painted compartments and arches, and the ornamental borders link the frescoes on the wall at the end of the right aisle very closely with those of the principal apse; but the ultimate Gallic derivation is more apparent. The chief figure is St. Valerius (S. Valero),[1] the bishop of Saragossa whom the more renowned St. Vincent served as deacon and who is here depicted, without St. Vincent, as enthroned upon an altar. In the arched compartments at either side of him kneel a king and a queen, whom it would be pleasant to be able to identify, and this tier of "loges" is continued with other devotees of the saint. Beneath are vestiges of another zone with further worshippers. The second tier consigns the compartment above St. Valerius to the subject of the Incredulity of St. Thomas and the rest of the sections to other Apostles.

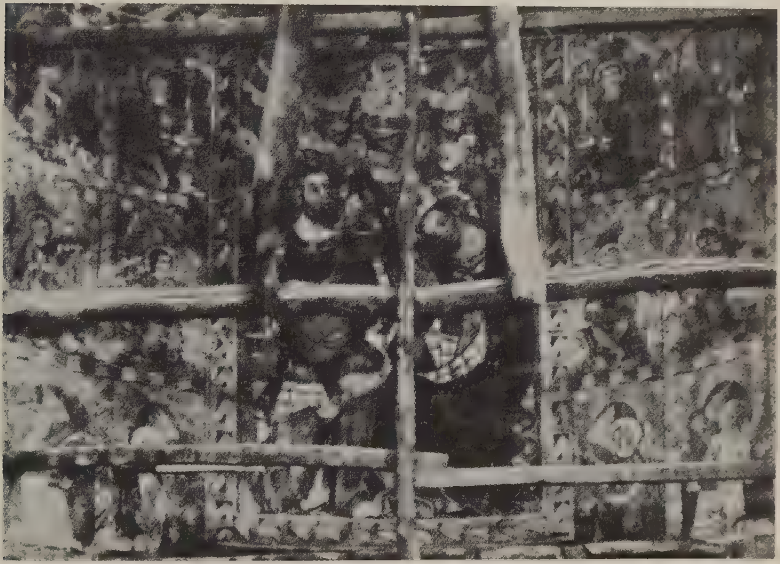

Fig. 106. CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN, S. MIGUEL, DAROCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

The likewise distinguished frescoes in the apse of the church of S. Juan are evidently somewhat earlier and probably date from the first years of the fourteenth century. Not only are the postures and draperies more rigid; but the arrangement of the themes, as at Bierge and Liesa, is suggested by an antependium or retable, and at the bottom the zone of a painted curtain archaically persists from the Romanesque period. Many of the types are decidedly more Iberian than in the works in S. Miguel, but the membership in the Franco-Gothic school is nevertheless unmistakable. The background is generally blue. A comparison of the head of the central St. John Baptist in S. Juan with that of St. Valerius in S. Miguel and of the decorative *motifs* of the smaller compartments in both cycles indicates that the frescoes in S. Juan were early works of the painter or painters who labored in S. Miguel or that this painter or these painters were the pupils of the master of S. Juan. The effigy of the Baptist in garments of gilt edges stands in the midst of scenes from his life. The decapitation at the lower left is curiously extended to fill two compartments, so that the body of the saint is enlarged to greater proportions than in the other episodes. The executioner is caricatured. At the lower right is the unusual scene of the disciples carrying away the Baptist's head. The part of the wall devoted to St. John is surmounted by a large fragment of an animated representation of the Last Supper (not the Saviour receiving a blessed soul, as Ricardo del Arco says).

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[1] Or might it rather be the Saviour conceived in his priestly character?

The frescoes in the Torre del Homenaje in the castle at Alcañiz, which belonged to the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, are interesting for their themes rather than for their artistic qualities, which present us merely with a somewhat countrified phase of the Franco-Gothic style of the early fourteenth century.[1] The majority of the subjects (Fig. 107) are evidently representations of the crusading enterprises of this military order, based upon some creditable episode in its actual history or upon some piece of mediaeval romance in which it had played a rôle. The importance of the paintings lies partly in the fact that, possibly because of the religious bent of the Spanish mind, the remains of the decoration of castles with secular themes are so rare in Spain as compared with Italy. It is the upper room of the tower where the profane repertoire appears. The surfaces

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[1] Ricardo del Arco wrongly assigns them to the first half of the fifteenth century.

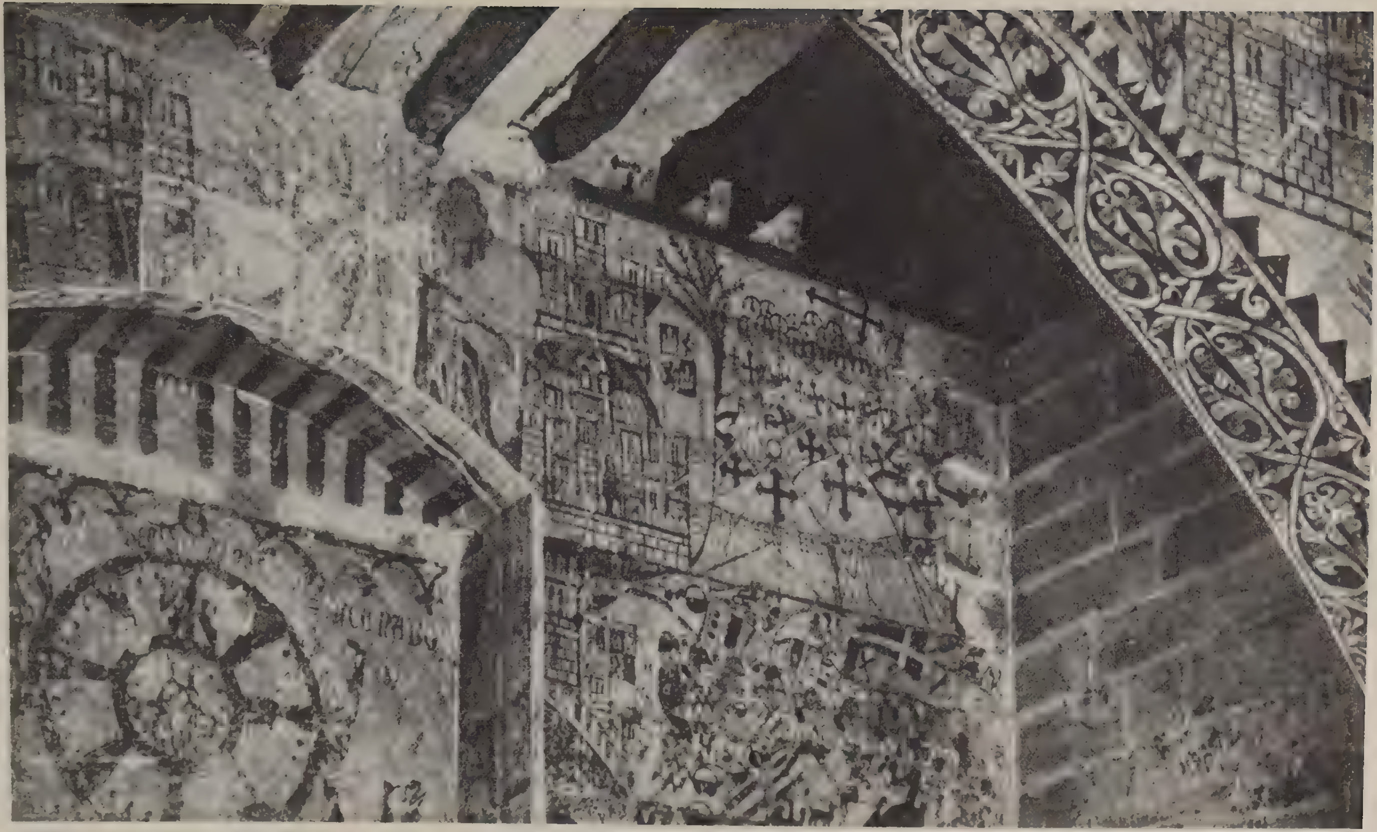

FIG. 107. FRESCOES, CASTLE, ALCAÑIZ

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

of the two great arches that span the room are adorned (except one side of the arch nearer the window, which has merely pure design) with gorgeously decked knights on gaily caparisoned horses advancing in serried ranks, and in one instance approaching a castle surrounded by trees, led by a commander and his standard-bearer. The spaces of the arches not covered by the massed cavalry are filled in with other castles. The soffit of the arch towards the window displays the labors of the months; that of the other arch, a foliate pattern. On the wall between the latter arch and the end wall, there remains a scene of three ladies languishing in a tower and, beside it, following the curve of an arch of a small door or window, a knight spurring on his horse at top speed. The array of war is continued on the end wall, where the closely packed hosts, with flying banners, leave their embattled towns marked by the escutcheon of Castile and Leon or their tents signed with the cross of the crusades. Under these military episodes may still be seen the figure of a woman with outstretched hands, and between her and a tree a kind of wild man or devil. These details at once suggest the similar scene in the paintings of the Sala de la Justicia in the Alhambra, which, though probably executed towards the end of the fourteenth century, embody the same Franco-Gothic style and an analogous temper. The Tour Ferrande at Pernes, near Carpentras, in southern France, is frescoed with like themes, executed in the thirteenth century. One of the principal appeals of the frescoes at Alcañiz is their reflection of the brightness and picturesqueness of contemporary warfare. Although the cycle reveals no knowledge of Italian art, yet the gay accoutrement of men and horses and the setting of towns and castles call to mind Simone Martini's almost contemporary equestrian portrait of Guidoriccio dei Fogliani before the town of Montemassi that he captured. The subjects are inspired by the same martial note of the times as Spinello Aretino's belligerent pictures. There is some resemblance, furthermore, to the central panel of the battle in the Valencian retable of St. George in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The greatest surprise awaits us in the theme of the decoration of a large niche in the end wall — a wheel of Fortune, depicted according to one of the modes that was very frequent both in the literature and art of the Middle Ages.[1] The goddess herself sits serenely in its hub. Above her, on its upper curve, stands a monarch with the legend, "Regno"; on the right curve, a second personage is ascending, described by the word, "Regnabo"; on the left curve, a third mortal is falling, accompanied by the inscription, "Regnavi"; and it may be assumed that the other victim at the bottom of the wheel, now almost completely erased, originally bore the last of these four inscriptions that are a commonplace in the mediaeval representations of Fortune's wheel, "Sum sine regno." The space at the right of the wheel is occupied by an animal that may be a fox, a dog, or a wolf; that at the left by a cock, with a legend the sense of which I have been unable to decipher. It is possible that, if the animal is a fox, we have here an illustration of some mediaeval romance in which Renard and Chantecler were brought into connection with the wheel of Fortune. Chantecler plays a prominent rôle in the stories of Renard, and at the conclusion of the poem *Renart le Nouvel*, written at the end of the thirteenth century by Jacquemart Gelée, the fox is exalted to the top of Fortune's wheel,[2] an episode embodied in a miniature of the period published by Petit de Julleville.[3] The fresco at Alcañiz is apparently not an illustration of this scene, unless the fox is conceived as approaching the wheel before his exaltation and unless Chantecler is casually introduced from another part of the tale; but it may be based upon some other version of the Renard *matière* unknown to me.[4] The jambs of the niche are also adorned, but with subjects that may or may not have a relation to the caprices of Fortune, a maiden in a tree playing a lyre and, opposite, a gargoyle-like monster.

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[1] For lists and a discussion of representations of Fortune's wheel in literature and art, see: K. Weinhold, *Glücksrad und Lebensrad*, *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1892; E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, third edition, 1910, pp. 118 ff.; and, best of all, fullest, and most significant, H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*, a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1915, deposited in the Harvard Library, pp. 325 ff., and his book of the same title, Harvard University Press, 1927, pp. 154 ff.

[2] I owe my knowledge of the presence of Fortune's wheel in *Renart le Nouvel* to a conversation with Professor Patch.

[3] *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, II, 47.

[4] Raymond Lull's use, however slight, of the Renard *matière* in the seventh part of his *Libre Felix* proves it to have been known in Spain by the end of the thirteenth century: cf. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, I (Madrid, 1905), lxxxv.

The technical method in all the frescoes of the tower is still rather primitive — flat color and modelling only by lines. The child-like rendering of the trees is a token of the general casual quality of the execution. The tones are pretty well confined to red, white, and black.

Relics of mural painting are also to be discerned on the entrance wall of the chapel of the castle, not much, if at all, later in date than those of the upper room of the tower. The Visitation and Nativity are clearly visible, and above them two mounted figures, the vestiges perhaps of an Epiphany.

CHAPTER XV

ARAGONESE PANEL PAINTINGS IN THE FRANCO-GOTHIC STYLE

There is no valid reason for doubting that Aragon became a centre for panel, as well as for mural, painting during the period that the Gothic style first conquered the peninsula, for it is a wholly unwarranted procedure to ascribe to Catalan workshops the antependia and retables in the style of the epoch that have been discovered in Aragonese churches. Since no evidence exists to show that they were imported, the presupposition would be that they were made somewhere near the places where they have been found, and the burden of proof would lie with those who claim a Catalan provenience. If the number of frescoes and panels discovered in Catalonia from this period were, as in the Romanesque era, much greater than in Aragon, it would constitute at least an indication that the more easterly province was the seat of production; but the exact contrary appears to be true, at any rate in the case of the frescoes. Moreover, the style of the Aragonese panels cannot be duplicated in Catalonia, except in so far as all regions share the general Franco-Gothic deposit. During at least a part of the fourteenth century, therefore, Aragon enjoyed a somewhat independent artistic existence, however much before and afterward it was under the domain of Catalonia.

We may reasonably begin our discussion of panel painting in Aragon with an antependium or retable of Christ and the twelve Apostles in the Diocesan Museum, Lérida, which, although quite as likely of Catalan as of Aragonese manufacture, should find its place at this point in the book because possibly it was painted under the same Roman influence that produced the frescoes in the chapter-house at Sijena. There is nothing unusual about the themes — the Pantocrator enthroned at the centre with his customary cortège of the Evangelistic symbols and of the seated Apostles disposed on either side of Him in two tiers (Fig. 108). The variation from the norm consists in the sinking of Christ and each of the Apostles in almond-shaped depressions, the frames of which thus protrude and have scalloped edges. In the case of the figure of the Saviour, the Evangelistic signs are not painted at the same level of depth as He but upon the spandrels of the higher surface of the frame. Each of the frames is furthermore studded at top, bottom, and the two sides with four huge bosses, which are in low relief and patterned with a rosette. It is impossible to postulate an influence of Roman art of the thirteenth century with such conviction as for the Sijena frescoes, and yet the superior craftsmanship, the monumentality, and the types, especially the Pantocrator, St. Paul, and the Apostle at the left end of the upper row, are very persuasive. If the Roman influence exists, it was operative here at an earlier date than in the mural paintings, for the Lérida panel can hardly have been produced later than the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The draperies are not Roman but more like those of the Byzantinized Romanesque panels of Catalonia in this century, and there would be nothing incredible in the hypothesis that the Lérida piece embodies an autonomous improvisation on Byzantine strains, which achieved independently a harmony similar to that of Rome. At any rate, the work stands quite apart from the general French Gothic movement in Spain at the period. Even in case the Roman theory is accepted, it must be acknowledged that what has been purloined has been well disguised in native trappings. To the witness of the Byzantine-Catalan character of the drapery may be added the rather baroque pattern of foliate scrolls incised in the gold backgrounds and the old *motif* of three dots repeated over St. Peter's tunic.

To a not much later date and probably to the last years of the thirteenth century belongs the badly injured panel in the sacristy of the Colegiata of Daroca that Juan Cabré [1] seems to be right in identifying as the cover of the wooden box that enclosed the silver casket which itself enshrined the reliquary of the miraculous Eucharistic corporals honored in the church. In some respects the oblong panel, despite its small size, is

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[1] *El tesoro artístico de los SS. Corporales de Daroca, Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones,* XXX (1922), 275–292.

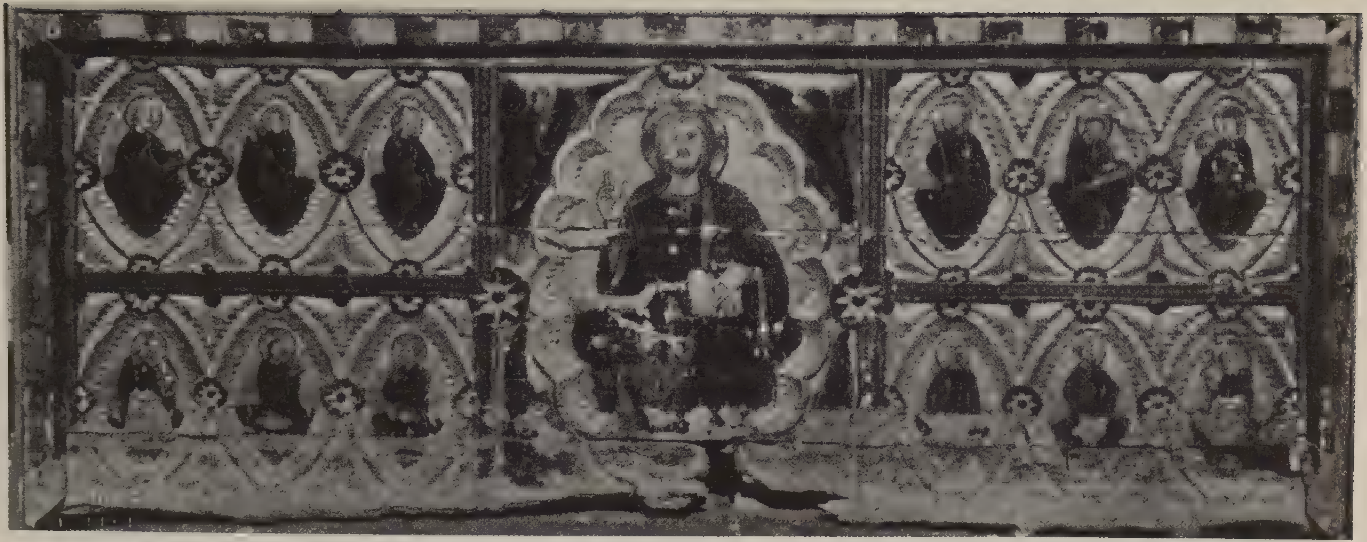

Fig. 108. FRONTAL. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, LÉRIDA

(*Photo. Arxiu Mas*)

treated like an antependium (Fig. 109): the Pantocrator is enthroned at the centre on an iris in a mandorla, and the frame consists of a series of square compartments, in which an interlacing *motif* is alternated with a design of a large unpolished ruby surrounded by four smaller stones of the same kind, in some places still preserved and in others indicated now only by the apertures that once contained them. The lateral spaces beside the Pantocrator, however, are not filled as in the frontals but are occupied simply by two large and lovely seraphim of the ornithological type, consisting of a head and eight wings disposed in a delightful formal design. The background, even of the mandorla, is of gold diapered with a rich foliate pattern. The painter reveals artistic gifts high above the Spanish average of his time. He has bestowed upon the Saviour a countenance of an unmistakable indigenous cast, but he has caused the mantle in which he has clothed Him to fall over His lower body in graceful and not yet exaggerated Gothic folds. The beautiful faces and curly hair of the two angels also prove that the master was living in days when the Gothic models had superseded the Romanesque. The panel must have been painted after 1239, the year of the miracle of the corporals. It is wholly likely that the wooden box would have been made at the same time as the inner silver casket,[1] which, though inferior technically to the painted wooden cover, yet in the style of its figures and trefoiled arches would suggest the end of the thirteenth century,[2] the date that I have assigned to the panel.

Among the early Gothic panels of Aragon should probably be classified a frontal in the Plandiura Collection consecrated to the glory of St. Nicholas (Fig. 110). It comes from Güel, just north of Benabarre, on the frontier between old Aragon and Catalonia, where the Catalan and Castilian languages merge into each other, although Güel now lies within the modern Ara-

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[1] Not, of course, the *custodia* which was made in 1385 by the goldsmith and sculptor Pedro Moragues and which until recently was employed on certain ecclesiastical occasions to enshrine the corporals: cf. F. Martorell, *Pere Moragues y la custodia dels Corporals de Daroca*, *Estudis universitaris catalans*, III (1909), 225–232. For Moragues's now documented authorship of the tomb of the great archbishop of Saragossa, Lope Fernández de Luna, see M. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos relativos á la pintura en Aragón*, *Revista de archivos*, XXXV (1916), 410–411.

[2] Cabré (*op. cit.*, p. 280) believes that at least the silver casket was made immediately after 1239.

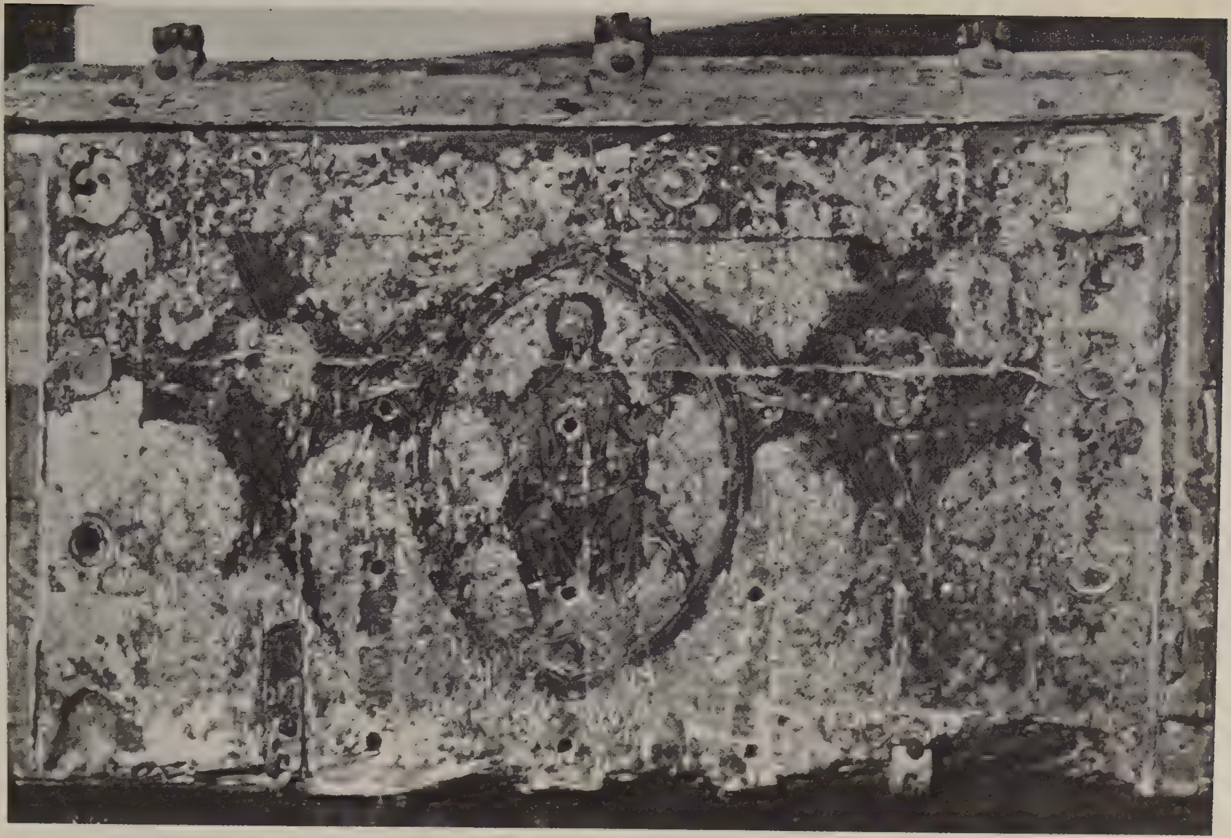

Fig. 109. LID OF WOODEN RELIQUARY. COLEGIATA, DAROCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

gonese province of Huesca; and the dialect of the inscriptions on the panel is fundamentally Catalan, although perhaps with a slight Castilian coloring.[1] The antependium might, therefore, have been produced by a Catalan workshop, whether at or near Güel or in the heart of Catalonia itself; but the partial stylistic similarities to the rudest of the Aragonese Gothic frescoes in the region of Huesca would tip the balance in favor of assigning it to the Aragonese school. In such case the Catalan legends would imply that the panel was actually painted at or near Güel. The stylistic affiliation of the craftsman, however, is concealed in such nearly barbaric execution that a categorical denomination of the panel as Gothic or Romanesque is hazardous. Yet the costumes and the amply falling lines of the draperies over the two representations of beds in the lateral compartments incline the scale of judgment in favor of Gothic. One gets the impression of the Gothic manner of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, but, of course, so boorish a workman might have produced an object like this any time within the next hundred years. He still clings conservatively to the red and yellow vibration of the Romanesque specimens. The saint himself bestows his benediction at the centre under a trilobed arch, above which rise two bits of towers with Moorish horseshoe openings. He wears a mitre that is an attempt of a hand utterly unversed in foreshortening to depict the later type with the points at front and back. The interest of the frontal lies chiefly in its

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[1] The inscriptions read: over the two scholars in bed, SCOLAS (*scolàs*, Catalan for school-boys, but now usually meaning altar-boys); over the scene of the murder, CARNICERO SCOLAS DEGOLAT(S) (butcher; boys slaughtered) (after the T there seems to be a trace of a letter, which was probably S); over the scene of the consignment of the remains to the tub, CARNICERO SCOLAS EN LA TINA (butcher; boys in the tub); and over the scene of the resuscitation, CARNICERO SCOLAS NICOLAUS (butcher; boys; Nicholas). The only word that would seem to be necessarily Castilian is *carnicero*, for the strictly Catalan form is *carnicer;* but Catalan words ending in a consonant sometimes added a final *o* under the influence of Castilian (cf. G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, I, 853), and this linguistic phenomenon would have been particularly likely to occur at Güel on the Aragonese frontier. *Tina* is either Castilian or Catalan, but a Castilian or an out-and-out Aragonese could not have written *scolas* or the past participle *degolat*(*s*). I do not believe *scolas* is an abbreviation of the Castilian *escolares*, for only in the upper left compartment does there appear in connection with the A any mark that could even conceivably be interpreted as a sign of abbreviation, and the fact that the marks are absent in the three other occurrences of the word confirms me in the impression that in the upper left compartment they are not meant to call attention to an abbreviation. Professor J. D. M. Ford permits me to say that the inscriptions seem also to him to be Catalan.

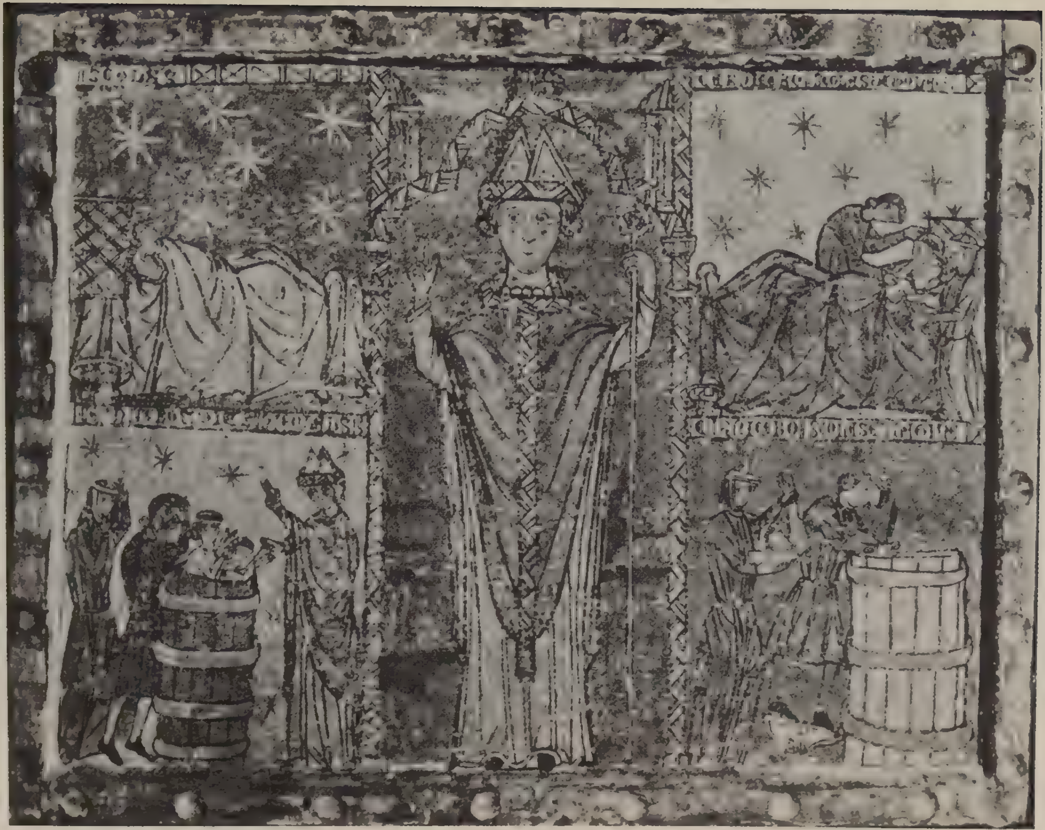

Fig. 110. FRONTAL OF ST. NICHOLAS. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

iconography, since the four lateral compartments depict episodes of the tale of St. Nicholas's resuscitation of the murdered boys, not in its usual form of the widow's three children, but in the version which is embodied also in St. Bonaventura's first Sermon on the holy bishop and which represents the victims as two noble scholars slaughtered by the innkeeper as they stopped to visit St. Nicholas on their way to pursue their studies at Athens. In the upper left compartment, they lie sleeping in their bed; in the upper right compartment the host enters and does them to death; at the lower right, he is putting their dismembered remains in the tub; and at the lower left the saint performs the miracle of resurrection.

Another Aragonese and wholly countrified survival of Romanesque mannerisms is embodied in a desperately injured antependium on the high altar of the Ermita de SS. Sebastián y Fabián at Castejón de Monegros, south of Sariñena. Against a starred background the figures of the two patrons of the church at the centre are flanked by four episodes of their martyrdoms. The tonality, as so often in the Romanesque frontals, shows a great preponderance of red. The most archaistic element is an exaggeration of the frequent Romanesque phenomenon of elongated forms. The hair of youths, however, when they are represented in the antependium, assumes a Gothic coiffure, and the draperies do not permit a date before the fourteenth century. Indeed it is not impossible that in so remote a district and in such rustic hands the Romanesque conventions should have lived on until the fifteenth century.

Among the earliest examples of a more pronounced aspect of the French Gothic manner should be placed the two panels of Sts. Peter and Paul (Fig. 111) in the church of the now ruined and abandoned town of Castro high up on the mountain above Puebla de Castro, northeast of Barbastro, in the province of Huesca. They constituted the doors at the sides of a retable which has now been lost and for which has been substituted a rustic altarpiece executed at the end of the fifteenth or in the early sixteenth century.[1] The upper half of each door is occupied under a trefoiled arch by the effigy of the saint seated upon

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[1] Ricardo del Arco implies (*Guía artística y monumental de Huesca y su provincia*, 226) that the present retable is also of the fourteenth century.

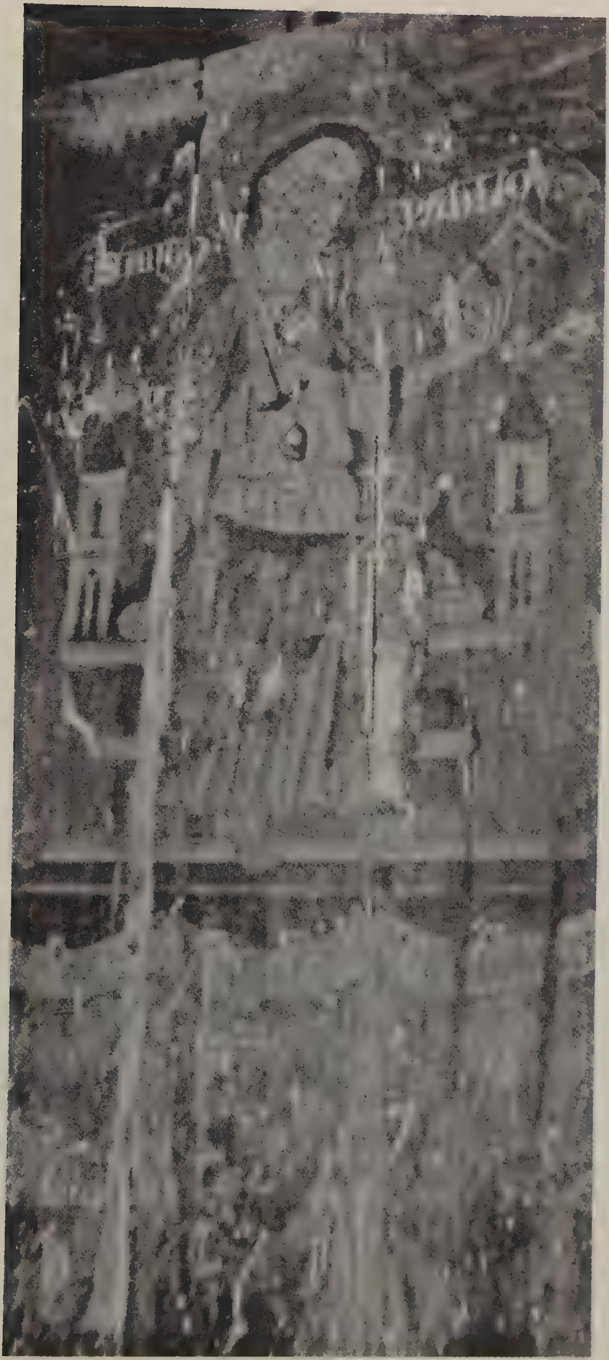

Fig. 111. DOOR OF RETABLE, REPRESENTING ST. PAUL. PAROCHIAL CHURCH, CASTRO

a throne the arms of which end in little turrets, and the lower half of the door displays a simulated curtain. The hand is one of average attainment, but the chief interest of the panels lies in the fact that they are dated by the inscription which is preserved, from the original retable, on a beam behind the present altarpiece. The inscription is written in old Aragonese, which argues against a Catalan provenience in this border region between the two provinces. The words are: "In the year 1303 was(?) made the present(?) retable," i. e., 1303 according to our reckoning, not the year of the Era, which is too early a date for the style.[1] Inasmuch as the epigraphy of the inscription does not seem to be quite that of the names written above the two saints, it is possible that it is a later copy of the original statement.

The best of which the Spanish adaptation of the Franco-Gothic manner was capable is incorporated in the antependium or retable of St. Dominic in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, which might conceivably be of Catalan manufacture, since it comes from Tamarite de Litera in the province of Huesca on the frontier between Catalonia and Aragon. St. Dominic stands in the central section under a polylobed (Moorish?) arch; twelve scenes from his life are ranged in three tiers on either side, framed in Gothic *cartouches*, which are themselves enclosed in rectangular compartments. The background, which Pijoán declares to have been originally silver, now retains only the incised lines of the pattern of scrolls. The color has everywhere faded to neutrality. The delicate draughtsmanship and delightful feeling are those of a master. He tells the stories clearly, and, adapting himself to the smallness of his spaces, he properly restricts himself to a few figures and clings to the simplicity with which the best early Gothic artists treat narrative. It is, therefore, not only in the shape of the frames of the lateral scenes that he suggests Andrea Pisano's doors at Florence. The

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[1] After the FO, which I have translated *was*, are three letters the first and third of which appear to be I and E but the second of which I cannot interpret. They seem to be the end of the word FO. Only the PRE of PRESENTE is preserved. That the inscription is old Aragonese is indicated by the article *lo* before PRESENTE and the form FEITO (= made): cf. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual elemental de gramática histórica española*, Madrid, 1905, pp. 89 and 175. Such forms as *año* and *retavlo* and, on the panels themselves, *Pedro* and *Pavlo* show that we do not have to do with Catalan.

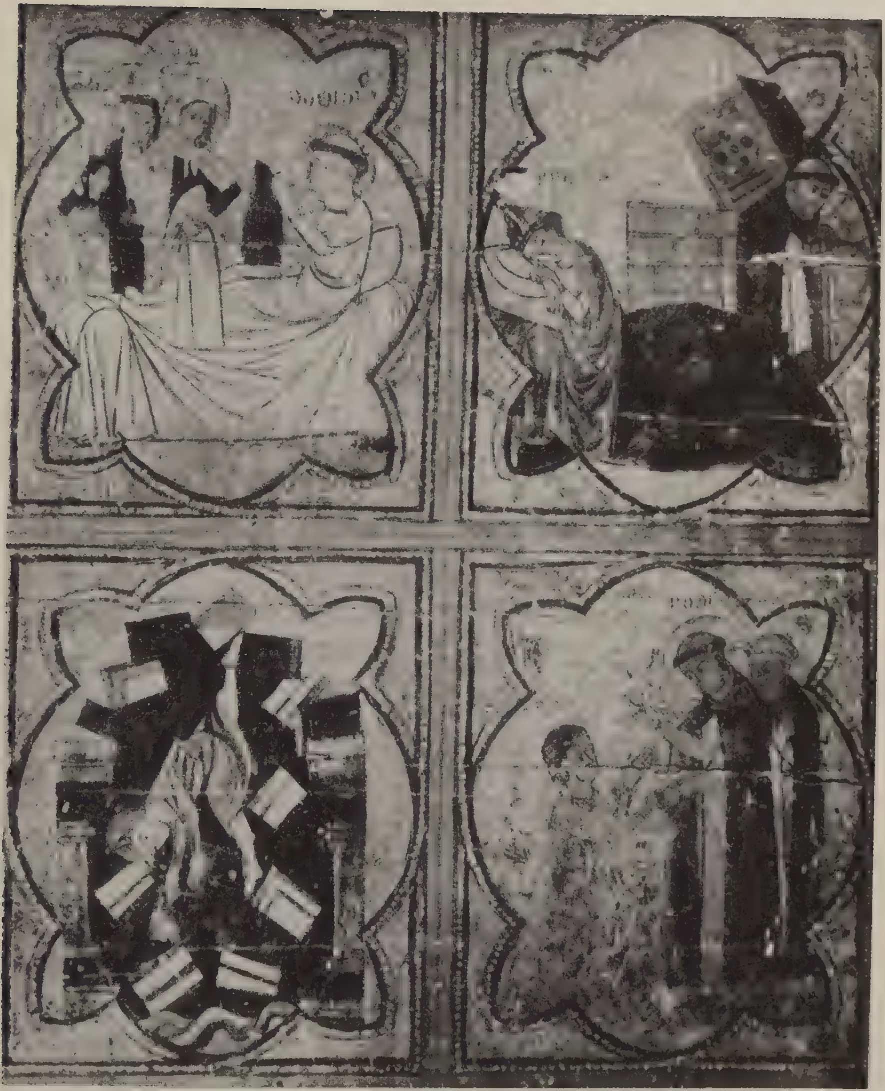

Fig. 112. SECTION OF FRONTAL OF ST. DOMINIC. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

resemblance, however, is fortuitous; and I cannot follow Miss Richert in discerning in him even the slightest Italian strain. Now and then he throws a composition into a very formal symmetry. In the story of the resurrection of an architect crushed through the collapse of a crypt, which is divided between two compartments (Fig. 112), the section depicting the accident itself displays in an arbitrary arrangement not only the falling body but even the dislodged blocks of stone. In the scene of the miraculous protection from a shower, the rain divides and forms itself, over St. Dominic and his companion, into the orderly lines of a tent or pavilion, following exactly the language of the *Golden Legend*, *quasi facto papilione de cruce*. The large central effigy, as so often, is purposely stiffened into a cult-image. The technical means throughout are preponderantly lines. The date is the first half of the fourteenth century.

Of the same period and of much the same manner is the retable of another Dominican saint, Peter Martyr, in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, variously described as coming from Sijena, Barbastro, or merely the province of Huesca but indisputably proved by the Castilian of the inscriptions to have an Aragonese source. The superficial similarity in theme due to the fact that both panels represent effigies and episodes from the lives of canonized Dominican friars might mislead the student into discerning essential stylistic analogies where they do not really exist, and there are enough differences to make it possible that the two works were produced by separate ateliers. The panel of St. Peter Martyr (Fig. 113) is very definitely a retable, in this case of a shape quite other than that of an antependium, higher than it is broad and capped by a sort of ogee arch. The central section is occupied by the effigy of the saint, elongated to fill the space, over whom two angels lean forth from schematized clouds to bestow the three crowns of a confessor (in the technical sense of a champion of Christ), a martyr, and a virgin. The crowns are derived from a eulogistic passage in the account of his life in the *Golden Legend*, although the names of the several crowns vary in the different texts of this compilation. A close literary parallel is provided by one of the visions of Sto. Domingo de Silos as described by the chief Castilian poet of the thirteenth century, Gonzalo de Berceo, in his

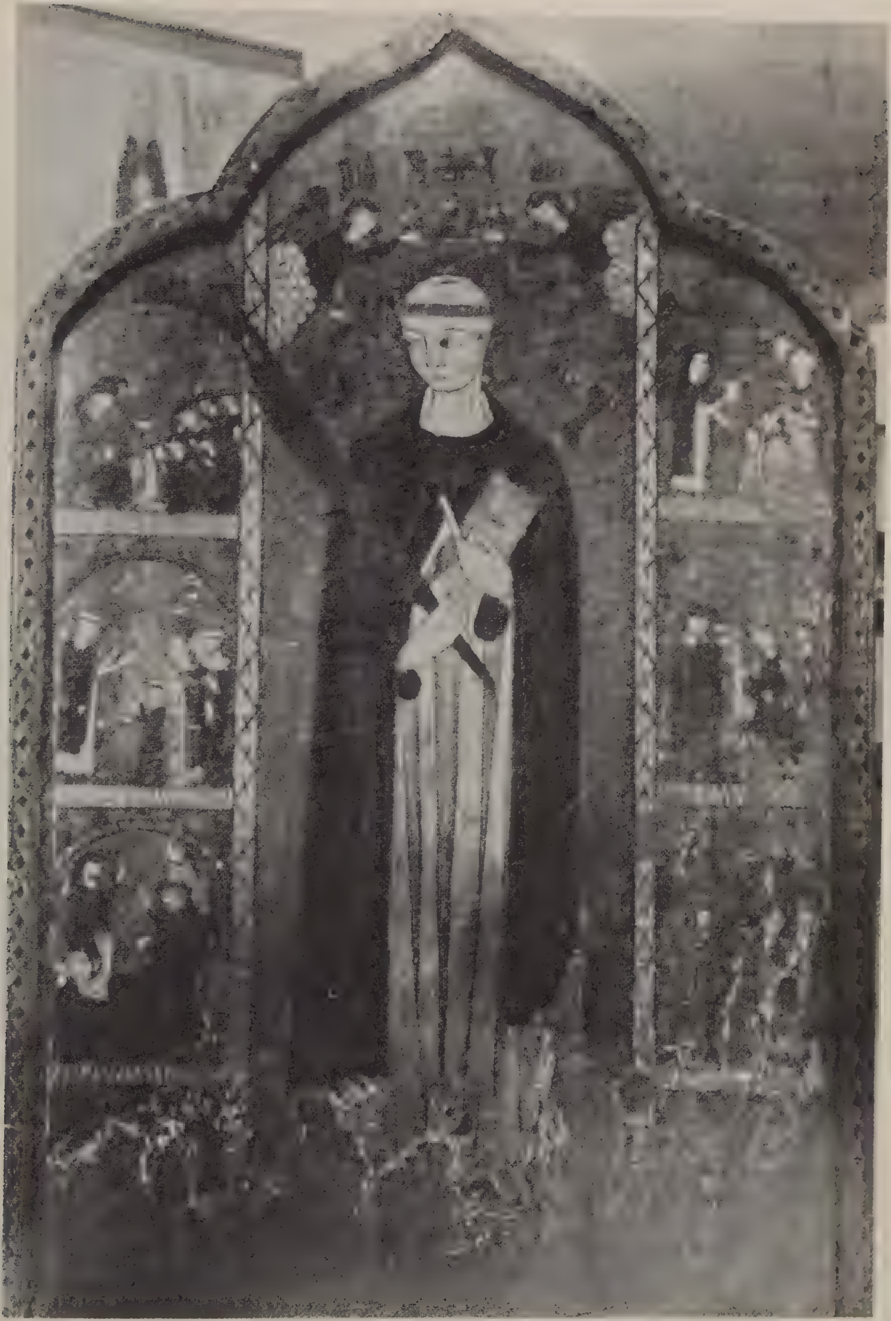

Fig. 113. RETABLE OF ST. PETER MARTYR. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Vida of the saint.[1] At the crossing of a dreadful bridge, he also receives from two angels three brilliant crowns, one for pious observation of the monastic vows, one for devotion to the Virgin, and one for his rehabilitation of the monastery. At either side of the central effigy, in a narrower space, were four scenes from St. Peter Martyr's life, making eight in all, although the lowest one in each case is now virtually destroyed. The scenes are identified by inscriptions on the dividing borders above them or on the round arches that frame them or even in both places. Above the first scene at the left, which depicts the child St. Peter at school, it is written, *Aquí amaestran leer á San Pedro* (Here they teach St. Peter to read). The legend above the second is, *Aquí lo visten Freire Predicador á San Pedro* (Here they clothe St. Peter as a preaching friar). The third compartment (in which I cannot read all of the two inscriptions on the border and arch) enshrines the story of his cure of the man afflicted internally with the two-headed worm. The fourth episode, which has been obliterated, is revealed by the description, *Aquí predica San Per Martir á los ereges* (Here St. Peter Martyr preaches to the heretics). At the right of the retable only the writing above the second scene is tolerably clear, *Aquí dan dineros á los ereges* . . . (an illegible word) *lo maten á San Pedro* (Here they give money to the heretics to kill St. Peter). The compartment above contains his direction of the death or torture of the heretics, and that below, his own martyrdom. Both the painting and title of the lowest compartment on the right are ruined beyond recognition. The incised design in the background, which was once silver or gold, is similar, though not equal, to that of the St. Dominic frontal. The principal interest of the piece is perhaps that it is one of those panels that in shape, arrangement of themes, and style most palpably illustrate the very general dependence of painting at this time upon stained glass windows. The execution is just a shade below that of the antependium of St. Dominic. The narrative is more crowded, and the ethnic type is Spanish. The master has had the temerity to abandon the frontal position for the eyes in the

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[1] Stanzas 226–244. Gonzalo is, of course, merely translating from his Latin source, the life of Sto. Domingo de Silos by the saint's follower and contemporary in the eleventh century, Grimaldus. Cf. C. R. Post, *Mediaeval Spanish Allegory*, Harvard University Press, 1915, pp. 10, 53, and 118.

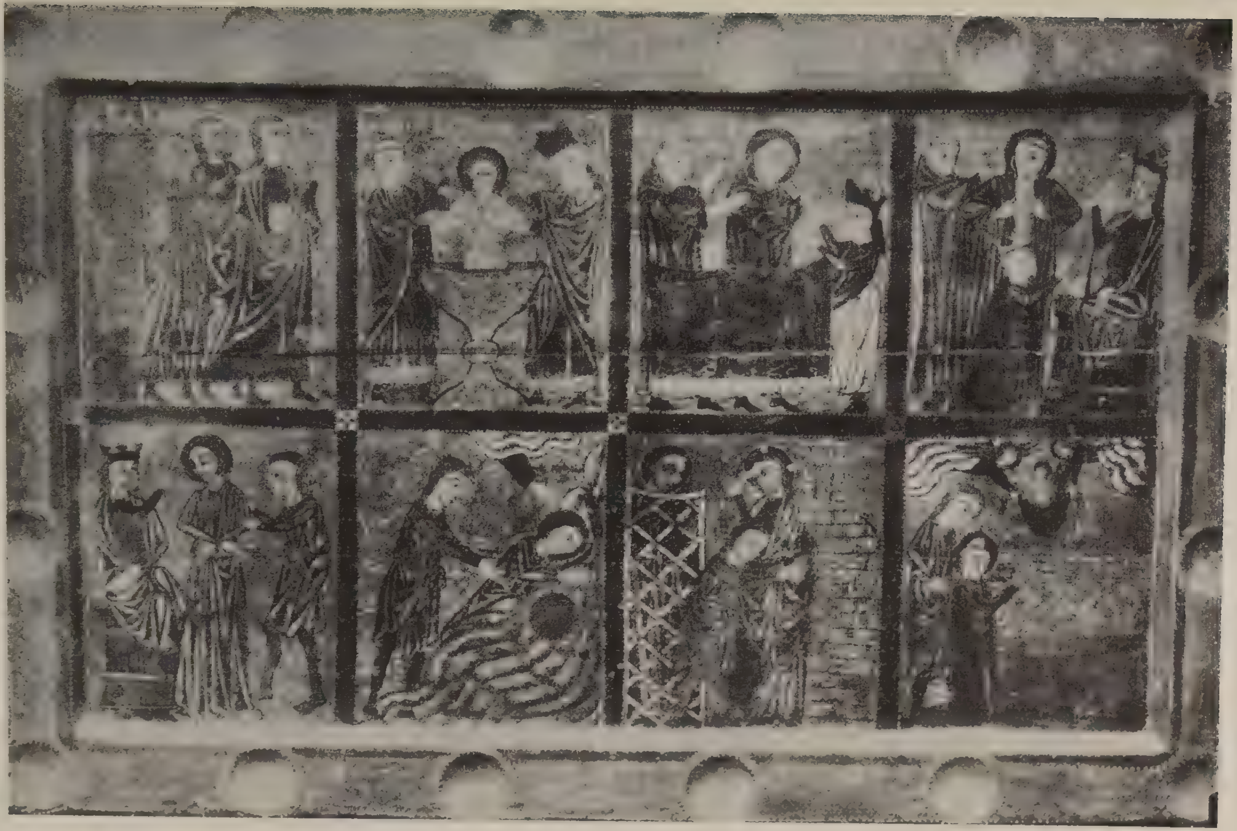

Fig. 114. FRONTAL OF ST. EUGENIA. MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS, PARIS

(Photo. Giraudon)

central saint and, as not infrequently in Franco-Gothic art, to cast them towards the side, imparting to him, thus, a curious effect of furtive timidity.

We shall not err in placing in the same group with these two panels an antependium in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs at Paris (Fig. 114), depicting in two zones and eight compartments the romantic legend of the martyr of the third century, St. Eugenia of Rome and Alexandria, who has now passed into hagiological oblivion but whose cult was popular in the Dark and Middle Ages in Rome, France, and Spain.[1] Her baptism by the bishop or abbot Helenus occupies both of the compartments at the upper left, the actual baptism in the second compartment and three onlookers in the first, among them probably the two eunuchs (here holding books) who were her constant companions from childhood to old age, Protus and Hyacinth. In the third compartment of the upper zone, vested in her long-maintained masculine disguise as a monk or anchorite, she cures the high-born lady of Alexandria, Melanthia (Melancia in the *Golden Legend*). In the fourth compartment, Melanthia, who has fallen in love with Eugenia, believing her to be a man, but whose advances have been rejected, follows the questionable precedent of Potiphar's wife and accuses the saint of having been the aggressor, lodging her complaint before Eugenia's own father, Philip, prefect of Alexandria, who is ignorant of both his daughter's identity and assumed sex; and with this episode is combined the moment in which Eugenia demonstrates her innocence by opening the upper half of her tunic and revealing her femininity, a scene which is represented in much the same way as upon a Romanesque capital at Vézelay.[2] The first compartment at the lower left shows the saint, now advanced in age (though scarcely so represented in the frontal) and returned to Rome, hauled before the prefect Nicetius on the charge of being a Christian. In the next compartment, the stone with which it had been meant to drown her in the Tiber miraculously detaches itself from her neck and frustrates the intent of her persecutors. The third compartment in this lower zone is devoted to Our Lord's visit to her in prison and His gift to her of a loaf of bread to relieve the hunger that the pagans have imposed upon her. Finally (and here only is she delineated as an old woman), she receives the *coup de grâce* from the executioner's sword, and is received into the heavenly mansions. The background of the antependium was originally of gold or silver diapered with an incised and rather freely drawn foliate pattern; the frame is embellished with the old, concave disks decorated with varied designs. It is not only the general style and types that justify the classification with the two Dominican panels, but also the substitution of a series of dots for lines on the haloes and on the edges of the borders, a *motif* probably derived from Mohammedan art. In quality, the Paris frontal is quite worthy of its companions.

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[1] I owe the discovery of the subject of this antependium to the learned perception of Mr. C. M. S. Niver. The most accessible account of St. Eugenia's life, cult, and appearances in art is in P. Guérin, *Les petits Bollandistes*, XIV, Paris, 1878, pp. 456–468 (under the feasts of December 25). Her story is narrated in the *Golden Legend* under the heading of the two saintly eunuchs, her companions, Protus and Hyacinth (there written Prothus and Jacinctus), but with the omission of some of the details that are pictured in the antependium.

[2] E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*, 242–243. The frescoes from the life of St. Eugenia in the cathedral of Nevers are now almost obliterated (cf. J. Locquim, *Les villes d'art célèbres*, *Nevers et Moulins*, Paris, 1913, p. 28); but there exist descriptions of them, when they were in a more distinguishable state, for instance in Guérin, *op. cit.*, p. 467, where it will be noted that four of the five scenes were identical in theme with those of the antependium and similar in composition.

An antependium of St. Christopher in the Plandiura Collection (Fig. 115) is similar enough to the Paris panel of St. Eugenia to be assigned, at least tentatively, to the same Aragonese group. It has usually been called Navarrese, and possesses indeed the richer tonality that attaches to the panels that surely hail from Navarre. The Aragonese and Navarrese schools, however, merge into each other, and, because of the decided parallelisms to the St. Eugenia frontal, I should prefer to think of the St. Christopher antependium as exported from Aragon to Navarre or at least as manufactured by a Navarrese workshop that was strongly under Aragonese influence. In the central section stands the customary, large, strictly frontal, and idollike effigy of the saint, holding the miraculously leaved staff, bracing his abnormally huge feet in prettily schematized water in which disport even prettier fish, and supporting on his shoulders not the usual Child but the mature and bearded Christ, dwarfed to small size to emphasize by contrast Christopher's gigantic stature. Four scenes of his martyrdom, disposed according to the standard fashion, constitute the lateral compartments, each of which is framed in coupled, trefoiled arches. At the upper left, the mammoth size of Christopher is suggested naïvely but very effectively: a henchman of his royal persecutor, Dagnus, has succeeded in getting the saint's head into the prison but is having difficulty in shoving through the door the rest of his Cyclopean body. With his free hand the same bailiff drags after him the women Nicaea and Aquilina to be the giant's unavailing temptresses. The type of the menial is still reminiscent of Romanesque caricaturing of the humbler classes. The lower left compartment represents St. Christopher's torture by fire and the planting of the heated helmet upon his head. At the upper right is depicted the frequently encountered episode of the blinding of Dagnus by one of the arrows that had been directed against the martyr. Into the lower right compartment two events are compressed: the torture by arrows is strangely repeated, although here the saint is bound to a St. Andrew's cross instead of a column, and beside this scene is the actual decollation. The gold background has one of the incised foliate patterns characteristic of the Aragonese Gothic panels. The *mudéjar* frame and the dividing borders are almost wholly modern.[1] The analogies to the Paris frontal are obvious: the posture, throne, and crown of the king, the curious bulging eyes (as in the executioner at Paris and in the St. Christopher undergoing decapitation), the dotted outlines, and the same number of concave disks in each frame (if these be original in the St. Christopher piece). Several divergences, however, such as the different kind of draperies and the more delicate cult of undulating Gothic line in the antependium of St. Christopher, give one pause in carrying the passion for attribution so far as to assign both panels to the same atelier.

The critic may again legitimately vacillate in choosing whether he shall classify the antependium of St. Peter in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs at Brussels with the Aragonese panels or with the Navarrese, but a careful comparison with the extant specimens of both schools will probably bring him to an ultimate decision for the former alternative. The partial identity in theme with the Navarrese frontal of St. Peter in the Plandiura Collection

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[1] I am indebted for this information to Professor Cook.

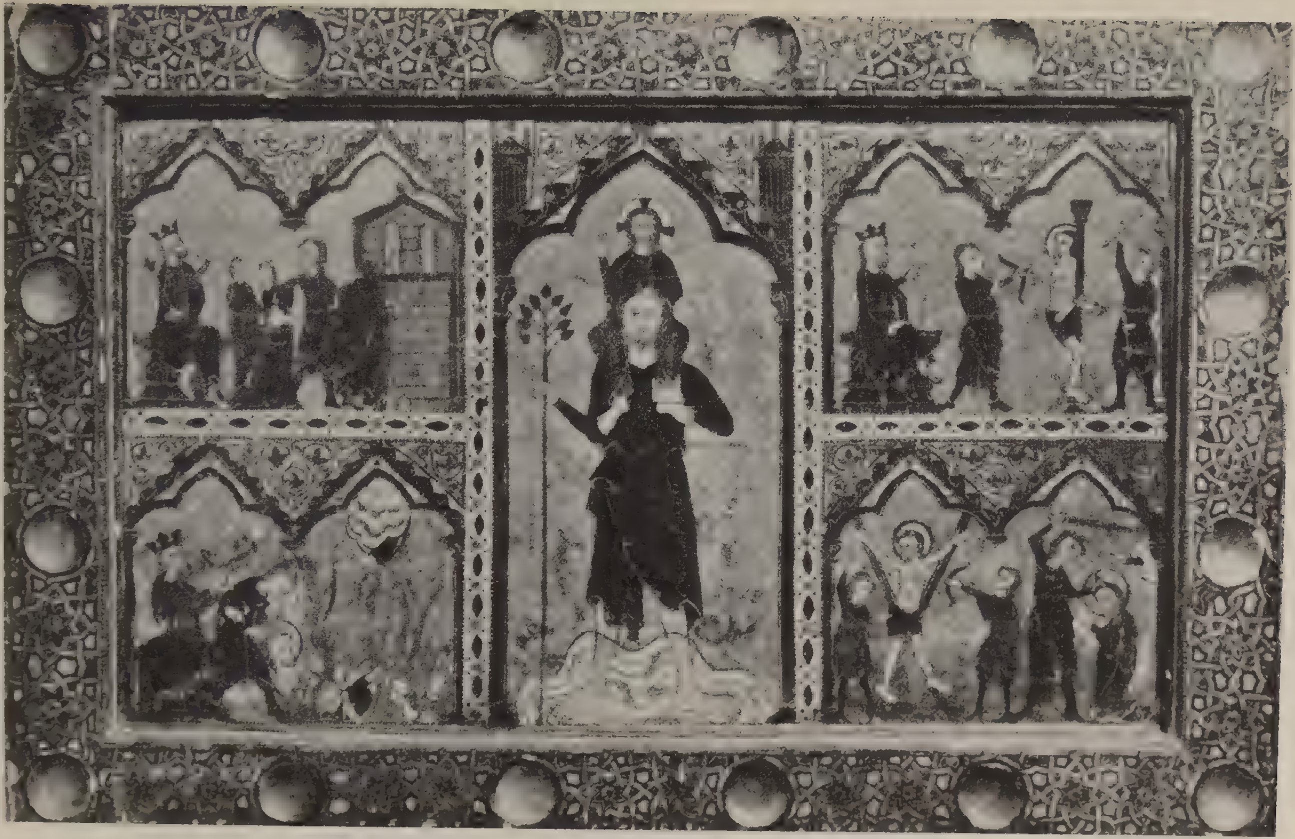

Fig. 115. FRONTAL OF ST. CHRISTOPHER. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

and the similarity of all Franco-Gothic works to one another might befuddle the student for the moment; but the types are less refined than those of Navarre, they possess a certain Aragonese harshness, and, although it is hard to lay one's finger upon any very exact stylistic parallelism to the two Dominican panels in the Barcelona Museum and to the St. Eugenia panel, yet the Brussels antependium shares a kind of community of manner with all these paintings in the character of the personages, in the technical approach, and in that indefinable but none the less determinative factor that we call general feeling. The countenances are more rugged even than the Aragonese norm. The craftsmanship is only of average grade; the date would fall probably within the first half of the fourteenth century. St. Peter enthroned in the large central section is surrounded by eight scenes from his life disposed in two rows. All compartments are framed by trefoiled arches, pointed in the central space and round in the smaller, lateral subdivisions. The backgrounds, from which the gold has almost disappeared, are incised with a foliate design of a rather baroque nature that is usual in the Franco-Gothic panel paintings of the fourteenth century. The color, also, has pretty largely succumbed except on the enthroned St. Peter who wears full episcopal vestments, including a chasuble, which was perhaps originally blue, over a red dalmatic. All parts, even the central compartment, are surmounted by descriptive legends in Latin. St. Peter, seated as pope in the middle of the antependium, holds the keys and a book on the left page of which [1] is written a compressed reading of the first two verses of the Apostle's first Epistle. The text above him comprises a prayer: "Tam (or *iam*) bone pastor, Petre clemens, accipe vota preca . . . (an erasure: *precantium* ?) vincula resolve; tibi potesta(s)." The subjects of the lateral compartments, which follow some account other than the *Golden Legend*, will be sufficiently described if the accompanying inscriptions are quoted. The four at the left read: "Nero [2] et Simon Magus disputant cum Petro (Fig. 116); Hic apparuit Ihesus Petro de nubibus celi; Hic Petrus et Paulus maleficia Simonis detegunt; Hic decapitatur Simon iussu Neri (*sic*) [3] im-

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[1] The writing on the right page I have not been able to identify.

[2] Here where the word "Nero" ought to appear, the letters seem to read "Tiro."

[3] Here the strange genitive "Tiri" seems to appear.

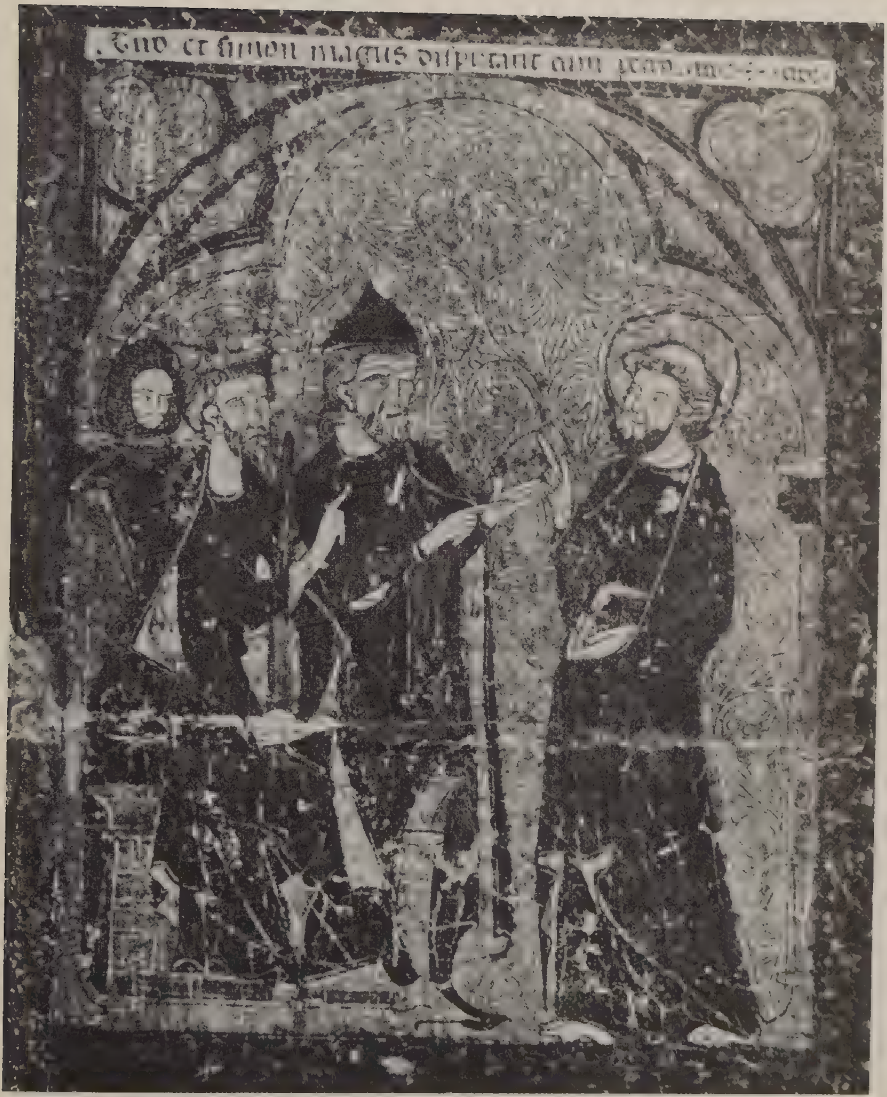
[illegible] et ſimon magus diſputant cum petro [illegible]

Fig. 116. NERO AND SIMON MAGUS DISPUTING WITH ST. PETER, SECTION OF FRONTAL OF ST. PETER. MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS, BRUSSELS

(Courtesy of the Museum)

peratoris." The inscriptions at the right are: "Hic constituit Petrus Clementem . . . (the rest erased, referring to St. Peter's consecration of St. Clement); Hic Paulus venit Romam et occurrit sibi (*sic*) Petrus (saying), Salve, salve; Crucifixerunt Petrum seorsum (= *deorsum*) capud (= *caput*) set (= *sed*) pedes versus celum; Hic fuit sepultus a disciplis SS. Marcello et Apule (*sic:* = Apuleio)."

In the room of the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, that contains the St. Dominic frontal and the St. Peter Martyr retable there is an antependium or retable of the Passion, which, reported to be of Aragonese provenience, recalls in style those frescoes in the region of Huesca that are less sophisticated than the cycle in S. Miguel de Foces. But it is ruder than the mural paintings either at Barluenga or Liesa, indeed so rude that it is hard to say at what time in the fourteenth century it could have been made. The spacing, however, although, like the Urtg frontal in the Plandiura Collection, it breaks with traditional arrangements, embodies a subtle balance that perhaps is not evident at first sight. Each of the two zones is divided into a wider and a narrower space; the width of these divisions corresponds almost exactly in the upper and lower zones; the wider compartment at the right of the upper zone is balanced by the wider compartment at the left of the lower zone; and there is consequently a similar balance of the narrower compartments. Each of the narrower compartments is again subdivided into a broader and a smaller section, and the broader section in the upper zone is towards the right, whereas in the lower zone it is towards the left. The history of the Passion begins at the lower right with (?) Judas selling Christ to the chief priests, followed, in this zone, by the washing of an Apostle's feet, and, in the larger of the wider spaces, by the Last Supper. The wider space in the upper zone contains, for the most part without any separating moldings, the Betrayal, two episodes of the mocking, and the road to Calvary. The narrower space of this zone displays, in its broader subdivision, the Crucifixion, and, again with no separation marked, (?) the Entombment. The background, which was once probably of gold or silver, is diapered with a foliate pattern. In the Last Supper some of the Apostles are naturalistically depicted as in the very act of mastication or sipping; but in places throughout the panel the workmanship sinks to an almost barbaric level.

Another panel painting connected with Aragonese mural decoration is the well preserved retable of St. Peter, originally in the church of S. Pedro at Daroca but now moved to a chapel at the right of the nave in the Colegiata of the town. This altarpiece was almost certainly produced by the atelier or interrelated ateliers that did the frescoes in the churches of S. Miguel and S. Juan at Daroca. The stylistic parallelism to the mural cycle on the wall at the end of the right aisle in S. Miguel is particularly pronounced. St. Peter appears as pope in the central section and is flanked by four scenes from his life. At the top are the Crucifixion and at either side of it seated figures of Christ and the Virgin in the postures that they ordinarily assume in the Coronation. Opposite, in the same chapel, is another pictorial structure which has evidently been compounded from two or more altarpieces and which contains at the sides compartments with further episodes of St. Peter's life that appear to have been originally additional parts of the retable from S. Pedro now under discussion. If other eyes than mine are able to discern any Italianate elements in the altarpiece of St. Peter, they may be explained, like the possibly similar details in the Daroca frescoes, as a dim and undecisive superimposition upon the fundamentally Franco-Gothic style.

Professor Cook has published [1] a fragment of a frontal or retable in the Städel Art Institute of Frankfurt am Main which he assigns to the general Franco-Gothic group called by him the school of Aragon-Navarre but which he afterwards specifies as Aragonese, largely on the evidence of the accompanying inscriptions. The language of the inscriptions, however, is, in my opinion, pure Castilian and contains nothing peculiarly Aragonese, so that, as far as this evidence goes, the panel might have been produced in Navarre, Aragon, Castile, or almost any section of the northwest of the peninsula. Neither is the style any closer to that of the panels which I have classified as Aragonese than to that of those which I place in the Navarrese or Logroño groups; but the fact that the background is of raised stucco in a small foliate pattern may justify us in ascribing the fragment to Aragon because this province, among those in which Castilian was spoken, lay nearest to what was probably the most active centre for panels in this medium, Lérida. Enough of the central effigy remains to seem to show that it depicted a deacon-saint; but if such was the case, the iconography was quite anomalous, for the two lateral compartments, the only ones that are preserved and these merely in part, contain representations of the Nativity of Christ and of His Presentation in the Temple. Professor Cook rightly denominates the style as fundamentally Franco-Gothic, although it is just possible that the master had also seen productions of the early Spanish Italianizers. There is nothing, however, in the contemporary frescoes or panels of Aragon quite parallel to the rather lyric and ethereal types and to the dramatic passion of the Presentation. The closest analogy is perhaps the retable of Pero López de Ayala from Álava,[1] in which also, however, the manner and mood are different. Possibly it is some glimmer of an acquaintance with Italian painting that creates the peculiarly individual style of the Frankfurt panel. The execution is too distinguished to have been the property of a mere hack of the trade; and, if we must, with Professor Cook, confine the date within the first half of the fourteenth century, we should at least push it along to the very end of these fifty years.

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[1] *An Early Aragonese Panel at Frankfurt am Main, Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen*, Bonn, 1926, pp. 375–380.

The existence of a third style in Aragon during the fourteenth century, in addition to the Franco-Gothic that now chiefly concerns us and to the Italianate that will be the subject of a later chapter, seems to be proved by a retable dedicated to St. Martin in a chapel at the right of the nave in the church of the village of San Julián de Banzo, just north of Barluenga, in the vicinity of Huesca. The altarpiece once adorned the convent of S. Martín de la Valdonsera (Val de Onsera) in the mountains above San Julián, to which it is reported to have been given by Peter IV of Aragon (1336–1387), and the predella and frontal are still said to exist in that religious establishment.[2] The style reveals no tangible evidence of an acquaintance either with French or Italian Gothic painting but appears to be an indigenous development from the native Romanesque manner of Catalonia and Aragon, marked by the greater technical sophistication that was to be expected at this later period from so estimable a master as the author of the San Julián picture. If he was familiar with Gothic achievement, he knew it or was interested in it only as it had undergone a thoroughly Spanish adaptation, probably in sculpture; but the rigid and archaic quality of his forms makes it quite possible that he was merely a talented member of some lingering Romanesque workshop which still clung conservatively to the antiquated fashions. The autochthonous character of the style is confirmed by the strongly ethnic impress upon his personages. St. Martin is enthroned as bishop in the central panel accompanied by two donors, who, according to the tradition, would be Peter IV and one of his four successive queens. At the sides and in the lateral pinnacles are six scenes from the saint's life, and the central pinnacle is devoted, as usual, to the Crucifixion. The backgrounds are of beautifully preserved gold, the borders of which are incised with a pattern. Some of the episodes from St. Martin's story here depicted are difficult to interpret. The scene in which, mounted on a horse, he embraces another man is not the encounter with the beggar, which is represented in one of the pinnacles, but perhaps his healing of the leper. Many miraculous cures are accounted to him, but I can find none analogous to one that evidently occurs in another of the compartments, where, as a youth, he blesses two persons guarded in their bed by a woman. Still another section may embody the supernatural presence of St. Ambrose at the death and obsequies of St. Martin (as in the cycle by Simone Martini at Assisi) or St. Martin's own visionary appearance, at the time of his passing, to his disciple Severus, bishop of Cologne. In contrast to the imitation of miniatures and glass in the lateral compartments of Franco-Gothic antependia and retables, each section here contains a few large and impressive figures, consisting, according to the old Romanesque decorative fashion, of rather broad, juxtaposed blocks of color. It is possible that we ought to recognize another manifestation of the curious, archaic style of the San Julián altarpiece in the frontal or retable of Sts. James Minor and Philip from the cathedral of Huesca, now in the Plandiura Collection, although in this instance, as we shall see, some Italian influence is also to be taken into the reckoning.

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[1] See below, pp. 126 ff.

[2] I owe these pieces of information to the courtesy of Don Ricardo del Arco.

The predella and frontal in the monastery of Valdonsera I have not seen, but I do know the latter through inadequate photographs. The central section is occupied by a standing effigy of St. Martin in chasuble and mitre, but I cannot make out the themes of the twelve lateral scenes. The frontal belongs to the same period as the retable, but it is impossible, from the photograph, to determine whether it is by the same hand. The workmanship, in any case, appears to be inferior to the standard set in the altarpiece, and in one or two of the figures in the lateral compartments it is perhaps justifiable to discern more decided Gallic leanings.

To the category of Aragonese panel painting should be assigned, also, the polychromy of the seat of the abbess of Sijena now in the Diocesan Museum, Lérida. The outside of the back is daubed over by a negligible peasant hand of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, but the rest is decorated by a true artist of the first half of the fourteenth century, educated in the Franco-Gothic manner. Each of the inner surfaces of the sides displays two large figures of feminine saints, Catherine and Agnes at the right (Fig. 117), Lucy and an unidentified virgin at the left. On the inside of the lower part of the back three nuns and two acolytes are represented as marching in an ecclesiastical procession. The upper pieces of the back have been cut off at the top: in what remains there are expanses of pure design, like that on the outer surfaces of the sides, concluding at the right in the paired forms of Sts. Francis and Dominic and at the left in those of St. Bartholomew and an unrecognizable canonized companion. The saints in all cases are designated by Latin inscriptions. Above the masculine saints may be seen the lower part of the other forms that have been lost through the cutting. The projecting bits of the arms are painted on both sides with large decorative masculine countenances that look as if they were meant for those of hermits and as if they were suggested by the sculptured heads in which Gothic corbels of stone or wood sometimes end.

Of polychrome wooden ceilings, the most celebrated Aragonese specimen is the *mudéjar* roof of the nave in the cathedral of Teruel now concealed by vaults constructed in 1685. The style is the regular conventionalized form of the Franco-Gothic

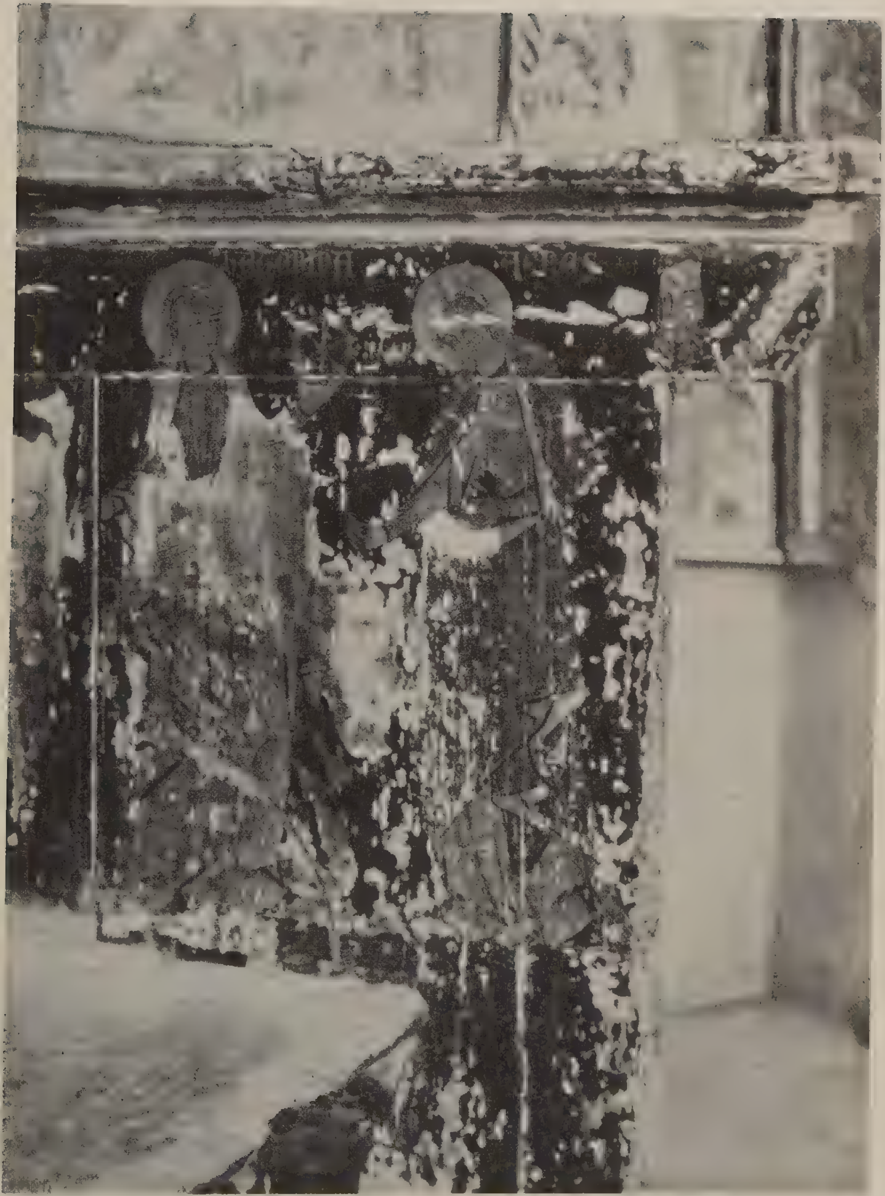

Fig. 117. SECTION OF SEAT OF ABBESS OF SIJENA. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, LÉRIDA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

manner which was suitable to this kind of decoration, which was used for the painting of ceilings throughout Spain, and which has been described in the discussion of the Catalan examples. The repertoire includes a bewildering profusion of the subjects usual in the painted embellishment of roofs — heraldry, Gothic beasts and monsters, types of the various sorts and conditions of men from king to rustic, a tournament, other scenes of *genre*, large heads of ideal or unidentified personages, and figures of saints; but the actual religious scenes are restricted to a few episodes from the Passion nearly above the high altar. Mariano de Pano [1] has sought to bring order out of the medley by reading into it a series of events, activities, and symbols of the history of Teruel from the foundation of the church in the second half of the thirteenth century to the marriage of the Infante Alfonso (afterwards Alfonso V), the son of Ferdinand the Just of Aragon, to the Infanta María, the sister of John II of Castile, in 1415; but it requires so liberal an interpretation of the thematic material in order to arrive at this conclusion that it remains highly doubtful whether any such systematic conception was in the minds of the makers of the ceiling.

Its date is an involved problem, and the evidence is conflicting. The types, draperies, and general style agree with the Franco-Gothic norm for the adornment of ceilings in the fourteenth century, except that in the secular themes the decorative conventionalization of the forms is somewhat less pronounced than was usual, whereas in the sacred subjects there is a curious archaistic imitation of Romanesque precedents. The mode of the fourteenth century in roof-painting, however, lived on here and there in the next century, and there is good reason for assigning the ceiling of Teruel to the first third of the fifteenth century. The frequent recurrence, on an Aragonese roof, of the heraldic castles and lions of Castile and Leon is almost conclusive proof that the painting was begun during the reign of Ferdinand the Just (1412–1416), who was a scion of the royal house of Castile and the founder of a new Aragonese dynasty. Moreover, one of the representations on the roof may refer to the nuptials of the Infante Alfonso in 1415, and Mariano de Pano is possibly right in connecting the imperial emblem of a dragon that appears in one place with the friendly interchange of heraldic devices between Ferdinand and the Emperor Sigismund at their meeting in the same year at Narbonne in order to settle the schism in the church. It is conceivable, however, that the emblems of the house of Castile and Leon should still have been employed during the reign of Ferdinand's son, Alfonso V (1416–1458), and that the dragon and marriage should have been merely reminiscences of the days of the paternal rule: the occasion for a new ceiling in that case might have been the elevation of the church to the dignity of a Colegiata in 1423.[1] At any rate, the whole pictorial cycle could scarcely have been completed during the four short years of Ferdinand's sway. But a new bomb has been thrown into the question by the discovery of the record of payment in 1335[2] to a certain Domingo Peñaflor for polychrome work upon the roof. The style of the paintings might perhaps be reconciled with a dating in the first half of the fourteenth century, but the insignia of the royal family of the western kingdom would remain an insuperable obstacle, unless we were to assume — with difficulty — that they are only meaningless bits of ornament or the unidentified emblems of some Aragonese noble or prelate. For the present, the best way out of the dilemma is to suppose that Domingo Peñaflor was employed on the original painting or subsequent retouching of a ceiling that is known[3] to have existed in the edifice before the specimen now under discussion was built and decorated.

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[1] *La techumbre de la catedral de Teruel, Revista de Aragón*, V (1904).

Mrs. Byne has published the extensive pieces of two ceilings that purport to have adorned other edifices in Teruel and are now in American possession. The earlier of the twain, in the possession of Mr. Myron C. Taylor of New York, unfolds the characteristic Franco-Gothic style of a rather early date in the fourteenth century. In the midst of an impartial confusion and plenitude of the sacred and profane like the repertoire of the roof of the cathedral of Teruel, the occupants of the dwelling could have amused themselves especially with gazing at a wrestling match(?) of a cleric and a layman, a rather shameless feminine nude (Fig. 118), and the fable of the cat who pretends to have hanged himself to allure the wary mice. The other ceiling, in the collection of Mr. George E. Steedman at Santa Barbara, includes a similar thematic galaxy in which notice is particularly attracted by the pretty Gothic forms of music-making angels; but the date may be as late as the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.[1] If these examples were in truth found in Teruel, the pictorial decoration of ceilings must have enjoyed peculiar favor in the town. Despite the potent *mudéjar* strain in the architecture of the roofs, the figure-painting reveals no further evidence of a Moorish influence than in the case of ceilings in other parts of Spain. The style is schematized Franco-Gothic, whether the execution is by Christian artists or by infidels trained in the European traditions.

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[1] It did not become a cathedral until 1577.

[2] J. F. Ràfols, *Techumbres y artesonados españoles*, Barcelona, 1926, p. 71.

[3] De Pano, *op. cit.*, 104–105.

The Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona contains a number of roof-boards with figured embellishment said to be of Aragonese provenience. Of two fragments stated to have come from the province of Teruel,[2] one depicts a cavalcade of horsemen riding at full speed, with lances poised and banners flying, towards a castle from which a woman parleys with their herald; and in another section are two galleys, manned with oarsmen and soldiers, and a sailing vessel landing at a town. The second fragment displays further mounted gentlemen, watched by children. The caparisons of the horses, the shields of the knights, and the banners, particularly in one of the galleys, bear the badge of a cross which has been called the cross of Aragon but which is rather the emblem of the crusades. It is likely, indeed, that the themes have to do with the crusades, and there are significant resemblances both in subject and costume to the frescoes of Alcañiz. The types still distantly reflect the Franco-Gothic manner, and the date may be put down as the end of the fourteenth century. Bits of yet another ceiling that purports

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[1] Mrs. Byne mentions also another roof from Teruel, which is owned by Mr. William Randolph Hearst at Santa Barbara but which I do not know even in reproductions.

[2] Their provenience is thus stated by Pijoán, but Mr. and Mrs. Byne credit them to Catalonia. If a reference in the *Anuari de l'Institut d' Estudis Catalans*, 1907, p. 481, alludes to this ceiling, it is there recorded as having come from the border of Aragon and as of the same provenience as the piece of a ceiling with the Passion that has been discussed above among the Catalan monuments (p. 45).

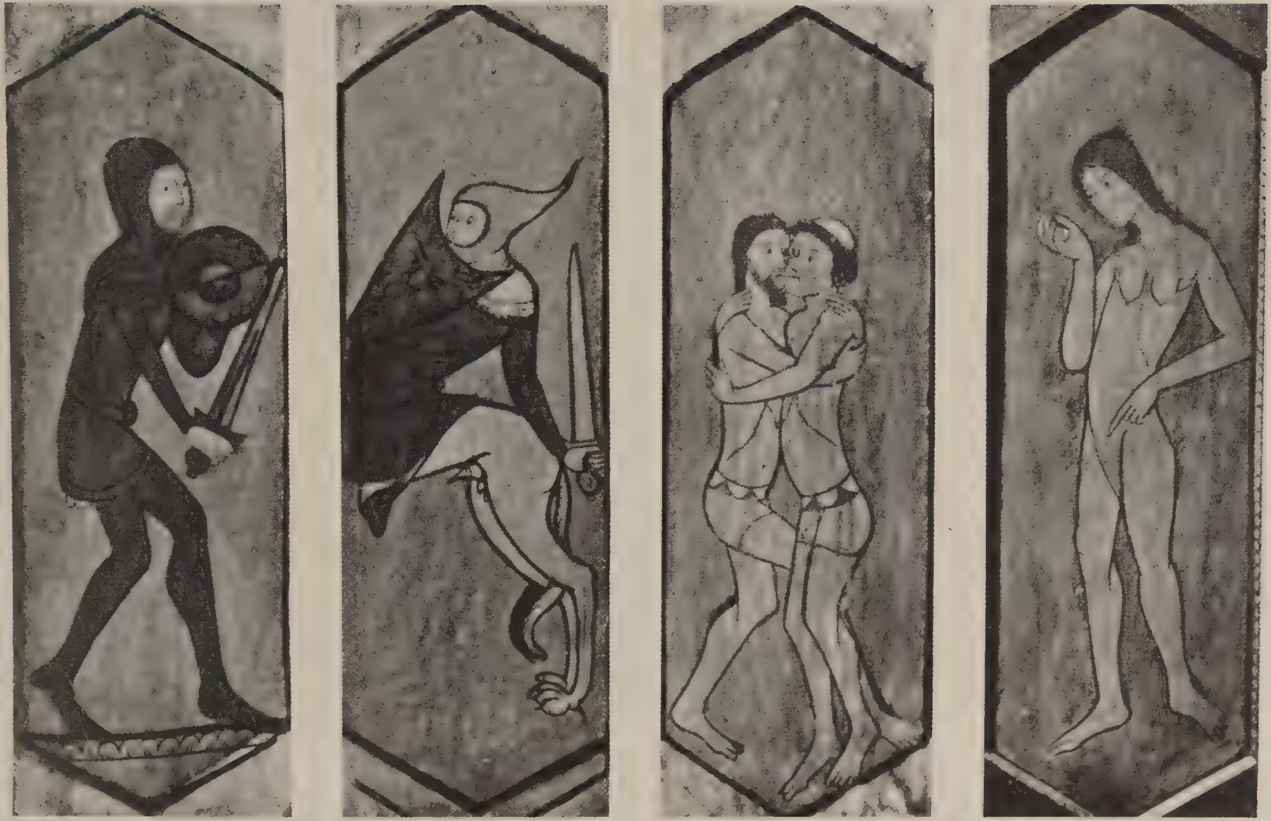

FIG. 118. PANELS OF AN ARAGONESE CEILING BELONGING TO MR. MYRON C. TAYLOR OF NEW YORK

(From "Gothic Painted Ceilings from Teruel" by Mildred Stapley Byne)

to be Aragonese are harbored in the same collection, some of them, at my last visit, still in the curator's office. They might be as late as the early fifteenth century. The figures, including angels, cavaliers, the Prophet Isaiah, and a grotesque of a rabbit, are larger in size than in the case of the so-called Teruel roof in this Museum.

CHAPTER XVI

FRANCO-GOTHIC PAINTING IN NAVARRE

1. The Frescoes

Navarre, also, was the seat of considerable activity both in mural and panel painting during the first phase of Gothicism in Spain. The fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were likewise a great, perhaps the greatest, period for Navarrese sculpture, and this general artistic movement seems to have flourished in the face of political conditions which, at least until the reign of Charles the Noble (1387 to 1425), were not very propitious. The Gallic influence was more pronounced than elsewhere for geographical and historical reasons that have already been enumerated. Like the Jacques Pérut who collaborated in the sculptural decoration of the cloister of the cathedral of Pamplona in the fourteenth century, the painters may have often been Frenchmen, and the probability of this is increased by a level of artistic attainment above that of the rest of Spain at the period. The Italian influence declared itself in Navarre by about 1364, as it had already established itself in many other regions of the peninsula. Throughout Spain in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Italianism was partially indebted to lessons learned from the Sienese masters working at Avignon; but in Navarre, the models of Avignon, as Bertaux suggests, may have been the sole source, so that the Italian influence would have been merely an aspect of the Gallic strain, imported by French artists who had come into contact with it at the transplanted papal court in southern France. To some eyes, however, a knowledge likewise of Giottesque and Florentine mediaeval painting may seem to be fused with Sienese imitation even in Navarre, and if such be the case, an entrance of Italianism by further channels, in addition to that of Avignon, would have to be postulated as in the rest of Spain.

Navarrese mural painting of the epoch is represented — if one can apply the word "represented" to works that have faded to such indistinctness — in the cloister of the cathedral of Pamplona and the adjoining former refectory. In the bay of the interior wall in the south walk to the right of the door called La Preciosa, the style is unadulteratedly French, with a predilection for the characteristic *déhanchement* of the fourteenth century. Although time has reduced the figures to almost exactly the state of blackness and decay that one finds in Cimabue's frescoes in the upper church at Assisi, the subject is still plainly discerned to be a variation on the theme of the Tree of Jesse. On the lowest zone of the Tree, kings of the Old Testament, the ancestors of Christ, point to or discuss the Annunciation and Epiphany and probably another episode of the Infancy, which is now hidden by a modern Station of the Cross. The next zone displays the Virgin and Child in the midst of six similarly occupied royal forebears. The third zone is assigned to the Crucifixion, attended by four more kings of Israel; and the Tree reaches its culmination in the Trinity enthroned between seraphim enfolded in wings. The worthies of the Old Testament, as usual in these sacred genealogies, carry scrolls with inscriptions. The style would suggest the middle of the fourteenth century. This south walk, as well as the west, is always stated not to have been built until after 1390 by Charles the Noble, but the bay on the other (left) side of the door of La Preciosa contains the tomb of Miguel Sánchez de Asiain, who died in 1364. It is true that the bay with the tomb, being at the corner of the south and the east walks, might be considered a part of the latter, which the books declare to belong to the architectural activity of the Bishop Arnaldo de Barbazán that began about 1318; but the work of Barbazán could scarcely have stopped mathematically at just the end of the east walk, and the inner wall of some of the adjacent bays of the south walk, as well as the bay of Asiain's sepulchre, may very easily have been built before Charles the Noble's architect took up the task in 1390, even if the tracery of the outer section of these bays, opening into the centre of the cloister, was executed in the later period. Indeed, the sculpture of the portal of La Preciosa, which lies between the bay of the Tree of Jesse and that of the episcopal tomb, is generally acknowledged to have been executed prior to Charles the Noble's continuation of the cloister. The date of the wall upon which the Tree of Jesse is painted, therefore, does not seem to supply evidence for placing the fresco at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.

Within the bay on the left side of La Preciosa, the niche that enshrines the above-mentioned tomb of the Bishop Sánchez de Asiain was also the recipient of frescoes which are partially preserved and are dated by the death of the dignitary in 1364. A long and careful examination brought me, after much wavering, once again to the position, in which I have often found myself, of bowing humbly to the keen eye and critical perception of Bertaux, who long ago discerned that these paintings are Italianate in contrast to the pure Gallicism of the Tree of Jesse. This discussion might, therefore, have been postponed to the chapters that treat, in general, the Italianate school in mediaeval Spain, but it is perhaps less confusing to consider together at this point all the frescoes in the cloister of Pamplona, especially since some of them are solely Franco-Gothic without Italian influence. The apex of the tympanum of the sepulchral niche is decorated with an effigy of the Pantocrator, to whom the Virgin, at the left, seems to present two old men, one of them perhaps the deceased prelate. The subject that balances, at the right, the Virgin and the two masculine forms, I cannot make out; it might possibly be the Entombment of Christ. In the lower zone of the tympanum are the Birth and Presentation of the Virgin. The edifice in which the Presentation is conceived as occurring is treated in the same manner as the architectural backgrounds of Italian paintings of the later Trecento, and constitutes, in itself, sufficient proof of an acquaintance with Italian models. The soffit of the arch that frames the niche is embellished with medallions of Prophets and possibly of other sacred personages; the outer border of the arch consists of full-length figures of saints. The rest of the wall of the bay outside the niche was also frescoed, but little else can now be distinguished except two angels overcoming demons. One of the most convincing indications of Italian indebtedness is found, throughout the mural adornment of this bay, in the broader folds of drapery. In spots, the color is better preserved than on the Tree of Jesse.

The adjoining bay on the east walk also contains vestiges of frescoes, but only a scene representing the Meeting at the Golden Gate or the Visitation can be deciphered, and even this not clearly enough to justify an opinion in regard to whether the style is French or Italian.

When, however, we saunter farther in the cloister and come upon the painted frieze of the twelve standing Apostles directly over the sarcophagus in the tomb of Charles the Noble's natural brother, Lionel of Navarre, we are no longer troubled by doubts, despite the state of deterioration: the fresco is Italianate, it is dated by the prince's death in 1413, and, more significant, it possesses a beauty quite superior to that of almost all the other Navarrese monuments of painting. That it should reveal unmistakable Italian influence is surprising in view of the fact that the sculptured Crucifixion above is just as tangibly Franco-Flemish. The style, a somewhat later aspect of the Italian-Gothic manner than is embodied in the paintings over the monument of Asiain, seems to lie about half-way between the Giottesque models of Florence and the modes of Siena. The most Sienese detail is perhaps the lovely figure of St. John Evangelist, whose kinship with the art of the Tuscan city is denoted especially by a delightful delicacy and by the character of the eyes. In the midst of the general dilapidation, the gold haloes are well preserved. Tatters of frescoing, now of unrecognizable theme, may be seen on other parts of the wall of the sepulchre.

Another assemblage of frescoes, beautiful examples of the purely French style, adorns the wall behind the modern altar in the old *refectorio bajo* (lower refectory) attached to the cloister. It is generally stated that the refectory was not constructed until the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, by Charles the Noble.[1] If this date is correct, the mural paintings must be taken as witness to an unusually late persistence of the French Gothic manner, and the sculptures in this hall are ordinarily assigned to the concluding years of the Trecento. Were it not for the accepted chronology of the architecture, the style of the frescoes in itself would not have suggested a date after the middle of the fourteenth century. The subjects are the Passion and Resurrection of Our Lord. The Agony in the Garden in the topmost zone is a repainting of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Repainting appears to have once disfigured the next zone, but it has now been largely removed, to reveal a fine representation of the Crucifixion, similar in composition to the rendering of the theme on the panel of about 1300 which is preserved in the cathedral and will soon concern us. The noblest artistic attainment of the cycle is embodied in the third zone from the top, where, from left to right, are depicted the Entombment, the angel proclaiming to the Holy Women the Resurrection, and a figure of the risen and blessing Saviour. The several rhythms that run across the face of this zone create a pleasant decorative effect. First, there is the rhythm of the arcade of Gothic niches against which the Burial and the Resurrection are set, the two scenes being divided by a gilded column. A second rhythm is produced by the arches of the Holy Sepulchre, repeated in both episodes. A third sequence is incorporated in the almost uninterrupted line of sacred personages, first, above the body of the dead Christ, and then continuing in the women before the angel at the empty grave; and a final horizontal rhythm is made by the Roman soldiers who appear under the arches of the tomb not only in the Resurrection but also, curiously enough, as in the Passion frontal of the Barcelona Museum, in the Entombment.[1] The postures of the soldiers, particularly in the Resurrection, where the intent was to represent them prostrate with awe at the stupendous miracle, are rendered with surprising naturalness and sense of the drama, and are cleverly varied. Their feet often protrude from the space of the zone into the foliate border beneath. The lowest zone of the cycle contains a series of escutcheons surrounded by charming figures of musicians in contemporary costume. The whole mural assemblage is framed by Prophets in Gothic niches. Gold is much used for accents in the frescoes, with fine decorative effect, as, for instance, on the armor of the soldiers, the fields of the escutcheons, and the edges of the niches of the background in the Entombment and Resurrection. The master, whoever he was, possessed not only sensitiveness but also an imagination of considerable power, and, to express these spiritual gifts, he wielded the instrument of a delicate and obedient draughtsmanship.

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[1] P. de Madrazo, *Navarra y Logroño*, II, 358, and E. Serrano Fatigati, *Los claustros de Pamplona, Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, IX (1901), 170.

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[1] Cf. above, p. 96.

Since we have already digressed from our present path to consider the early Italianate frescoes of Pamplona, we may as well stray a little farther to mention at this point the small mural painting of the Crucifixion and two kneeling clerical donors on the wall at the end of the Sala Preciosa, which likewise adjoins the cloister and which once was often the meeting-place of the Cortes of Navarre. The fresco has, indeed, been assigned to the fourteenth century, but in reality it is a mediocre work of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, incarnating a moment in the history of Spanish art when the great wave of Flemish influence that in the second half of the Quattrocento had overspread the western part of the peninsula was beginning to subside.

The early Gothic phase of mural painting is represented, in the neighborhood of Pamplona, in the apse of the church of the monastery of the Crucifijo at Puente la Reina, which still exhibits the desperately injured remains of a cycle of frescoes executed in the fourteenth century and dedicated to the Passion.[1] At my visit to the monument it was so difficult to see the paintings and the state of preservation is so poor that I could not determine whether they were produced under Gallic or Italian stimulus. The Entombment shows the soldiers under the arches of the sepulchre according to the strange iconography of the refectory at Pamplona.

2. The Panels

The history of extant Navarrese panel painting begins with a small retable of the Crucifixion, now safely guarded in one of the inner rooms of the cathedral of Pamplona, so surpassingly exquisite in its technique of illumination that it may actually be reckoned to the account of French art (Fig. 119). Upon this basic style of the miniatures, however, is superimposed a sense of monumentality which suggests that the master was thinking

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[1] For the history of this monastery in the hands of the Templars and of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, see P. de Madrazo, *Navarra y Logroño*, II, 538 ff. The frescoes must have been painted long before the acquisition of the establishment by the Order of St. John in 1448.

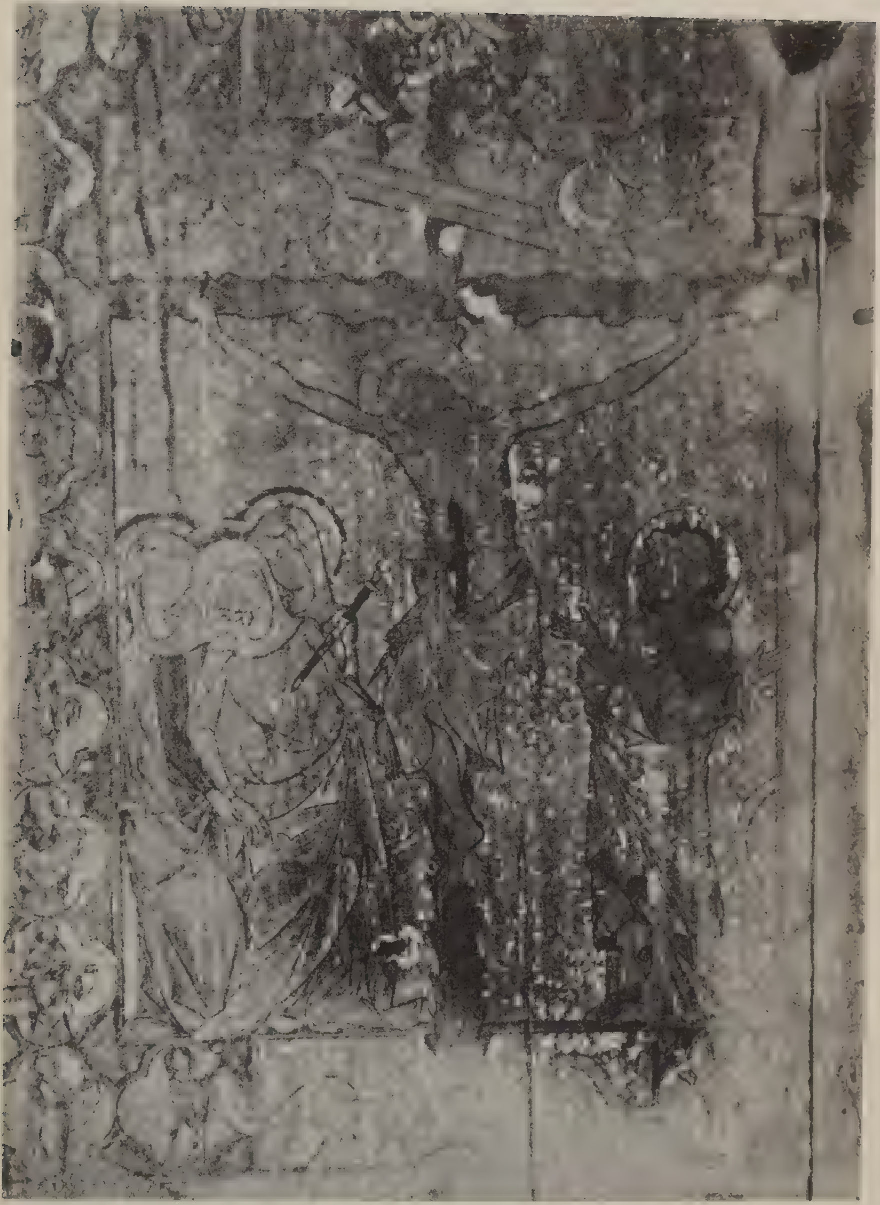

Fig. 119. SECTION OF RETABLE OF CRUCIFIXION. CATHEDRAL, PAMPLONA

(Photo. Bertaux)

in terms of large stained-glass windows. The ordinance of the subjects, as Bertaux hints, points in the same direction: the Crucifixion in the larger rectangle above; a bishop surrounded by other contemporaries, both lay and clerical, disposed under three Gothic arches, in a smaller rectangle below (representing, perhaps, the bishop of Pamplona with the members of his court or embodying an allegory of the Church); and the whole framed in a series of quatrefoils containing figures, masculine and feminine, holding scrolls with prophetic and symbolistic inscriptions. The colors have faded almost to monotone. The gold has likewise largely disappeared from the background, where it was diapered with an incised design, but it is preserved here and there where it was used for accents in the foreground, as on the orphreys. To the high intrinsic merit of the piece is added the interest of the elaborate and rather anomalous iconography of the Crucifixion and, indeed, of the whole *ensemble*.[1] The date is probably the early fourteenth century.

The story of panel painting in Navarre continues with three antependia probably produced by a single atelier and incorporating, with considerable distinction, an indigenous interpretation of the Franco-Gothic style, two of them in the Plandiura Collection at Barcelona, and the third in the Gualino Collection at Turin. They exhibit the peculiarity of decorating the upper section of the frame, not with pure design according to the ordinary custom, but with representations of the activities of the twelve months disposed under segmental arches. So far as can be determined from the injured condition of the frontals, the months were symbolized in all three cases by virtually the same iconography. The bottom section of the antependium of Christ and the Apostles in the Plandiura Collection retains vestiges of an embellishment with a series of episodes of some other (undiscoverable) theme beneath like arches, and it may be assumed that the destroyed corresponding parts of the other two frontals once bore an analogous ornament. The provenience of the antependium of Christ (Fig. 120) is said to be the church of the hamlets of Góngora and Laquidain near

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[1] For a detailed description of the panel, as far as the various elements have been identified, see P. de Madrazo, *op. cit.*, II, 295 ff., and E. Bertaux, *Exposición Retrospectiva de Arte, Zaragoza, 1908*, pp. 41–42.

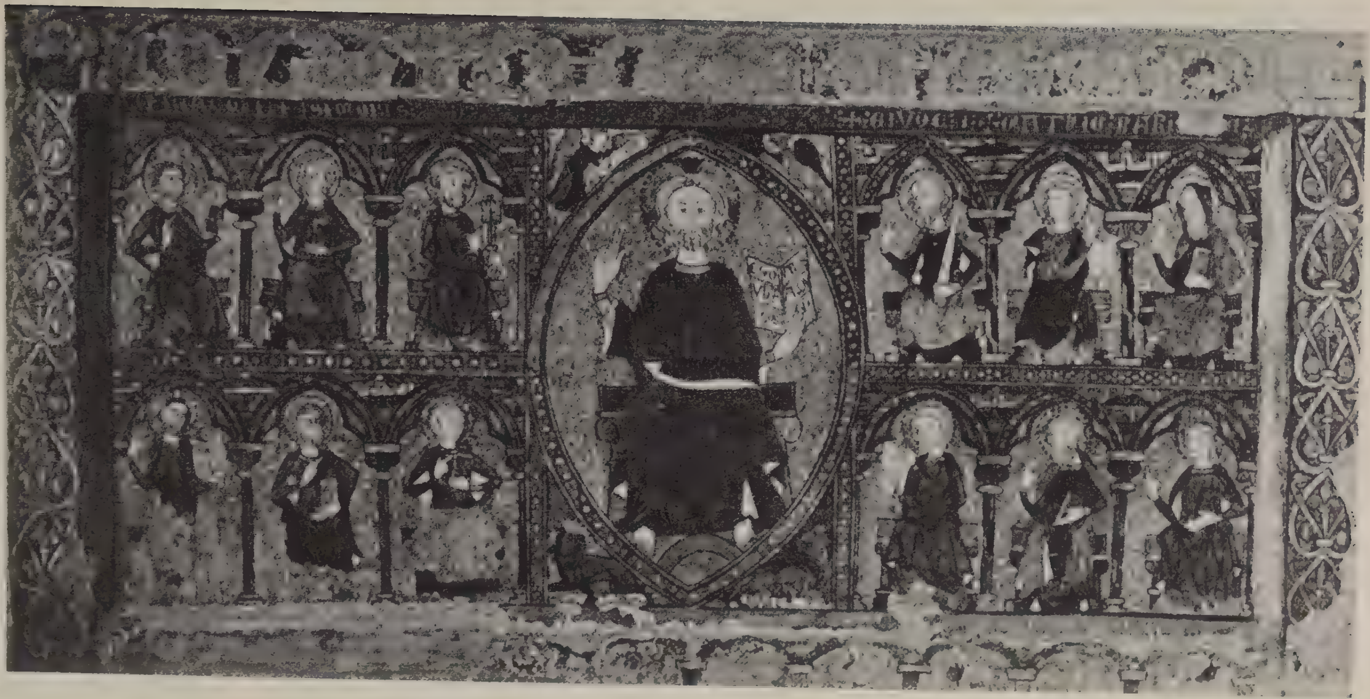

Fig. 120. FRONTAL. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

Aranguren, just southeast of Pamplona. It displays at the centre in a mandorla the Pantocrator surrounded by the Evangelistic signs, a figure that is still very Romanesque in feeling, although the details are Gothic. The seated Apostles are ranged in two zones at the sides under trefoiled arches. Except for the important difference of the substitution of St. Michael crushing a hydra-like dragon in the central compartment and except for insignificant variations in such details as the character of the trefoiled arches, the Gualino panel is identical in themes and composition (Fig. 121). Even the conventionalized foliage *motif* that ornaments the sides of the frame is the same. The Apostles of the Gualino frontal almost repeat those of the Plandiura antependium, figure by figure, and the types and precise phase of the Franco-Gothic manner are so nearly equal that the same workshop, if not actually the same craftsman, must be postulated. The central St. Michael is an impressive example of characteristic Gothic stylization of outlines in animated and arbitrary curves.

The third specimen in the series, the antependium of the Virgin in the Plandiura Collection coming from Arteta,[1] although it betrays some differences in style and although a certain chronological interval must separate it from the other two pieces, may be assigned to the same atelier not only because of the introduction of the symbols of the months but also because of a similar linear technique with little or no chiaroscuro (Fig. 122). The Gualino panel I know only in photograph, but the two Plandiura frontals resemble each other in the rich tonality of dark reds and blues and in the florid pattern incised in the gold background. A certain angularity in the figures and disjointedness in the gestures, as well as the more meagre draperies, indicate that the antependia of Christ and of St. Michael were earlier productions of the workshop; the antependium of the Virgin has a fullness of Gothic drapery that implies a date as late as the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The subjects are set under trefoiled arches that break, as so frequently, into leaf. The Madonna and Child in the large middle section

[1] Pijoán (*Aragonese Primitives*, *Burlington Magazine*, XXIV, 80) declares that he was informed that it came from Tudela in Aragon; my authority for its provenience is its present owner. I do not know, however, whether it is the Arteta near Ollo, west of Pamplona, or the Arteta near Ezprogui, southeast of Pamplona.

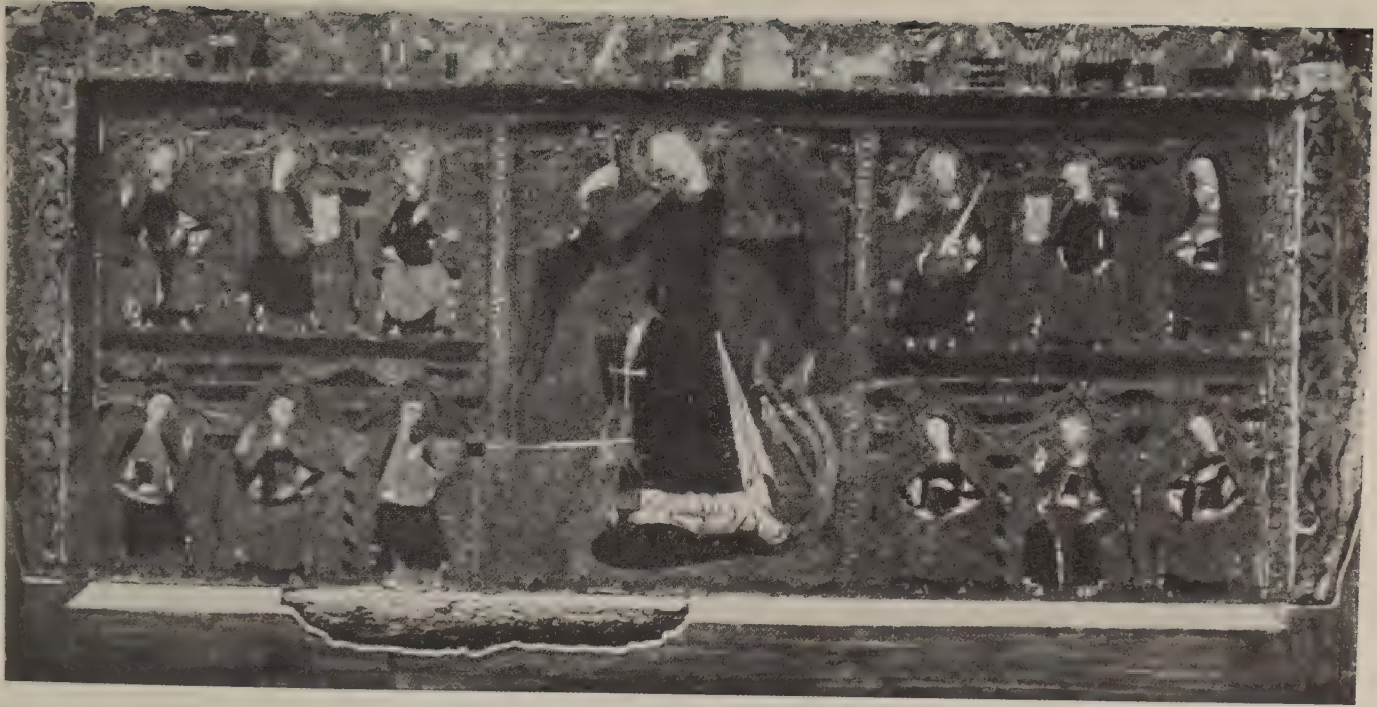

Fig. 121. FRONTAL. GUALINO COLLECTION, TURIN

(Courtesy of Mr. Lionello Venturi)

are flanked by two zones of twelve compartments, containing scenes connected with the birth and infancy of Christ; but the Presentation and the Massacre of the Innocents are each distributed over two compartments so as to preserve early Gothic simplicity by not crowding the compositions, and the three Magi, in the old Romanesque fashion, are relegated to two compartments at the lower left, worshipping the larger holy personages in the centre.

Of perhaps more skilled craftsmanship than any of these frontals is another Navarrese antependium in the Plandiura Collection, the provenience of which is no more definitely stated than the kingdom of Navarre. The theme is St. Peter (Fig. 123). He sits in the central compartment under a polylobed arch, blessing with one hand, holding the keys with the other, and wearing a cone-shaped headdress which looks like the tenth-century species of mitre but which is probably the attempt of a person unversed in the fashions of the papal court to depict the earlier form of tiara before it assumed at the beginning of the fourteenth century the two or three crowns.[1] Round about, in rectangular compartments without arches, are eight scenes from his life, the titles of which are inscribed in Castilian upon the border dividing the two zones. Five of these have to do with the story of Simon Magus: at the extreme upper left, St. Peter disputes with him; the two lower left compartments depict Simon's futile attempt to resuscitate a corpse and St. Peter's success at the same task; and the two upper right

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[1] Cf. J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907, pp. 498 ff. Even though Navarre is not far from Avignon, the seat of the papal court in the middle of the fourteenth century when the picture was painted, the artist might never have made the journey and so would be unfamiliar with the latest novelties in papal costume. The tiara does not seem originally to have been distinguished from the pointed-cap type of mitre of the tenth century, but by the beginning of the twelfth century it began to add at the bottom a ring or fillet usually set with precious stones, which eventually might be replaced by a crown with a scalloped upper edge. The thirteenth-century papal saints on the portals of Rheims and the lateral portals of Chartres wear the cone-shaped tiara with a ring at the base; and the border around the bottom of the cap in the antependium of St. Peter, although it has no precious stones and does not look like a simple ring-crown, may be intended to represent this detail. The tiaras of French Gothic sculpture, however, are taller. After all; the head-covering in the frontal may not be a tiara or at least not a tiara of the thirteenth century, and the painter may be struggling to be archaeologically correct in bestowing upon St. Peter the only kind of primitive mitre that he knew from conning some old book of miniatures or from ferreting about in some church-treasury.

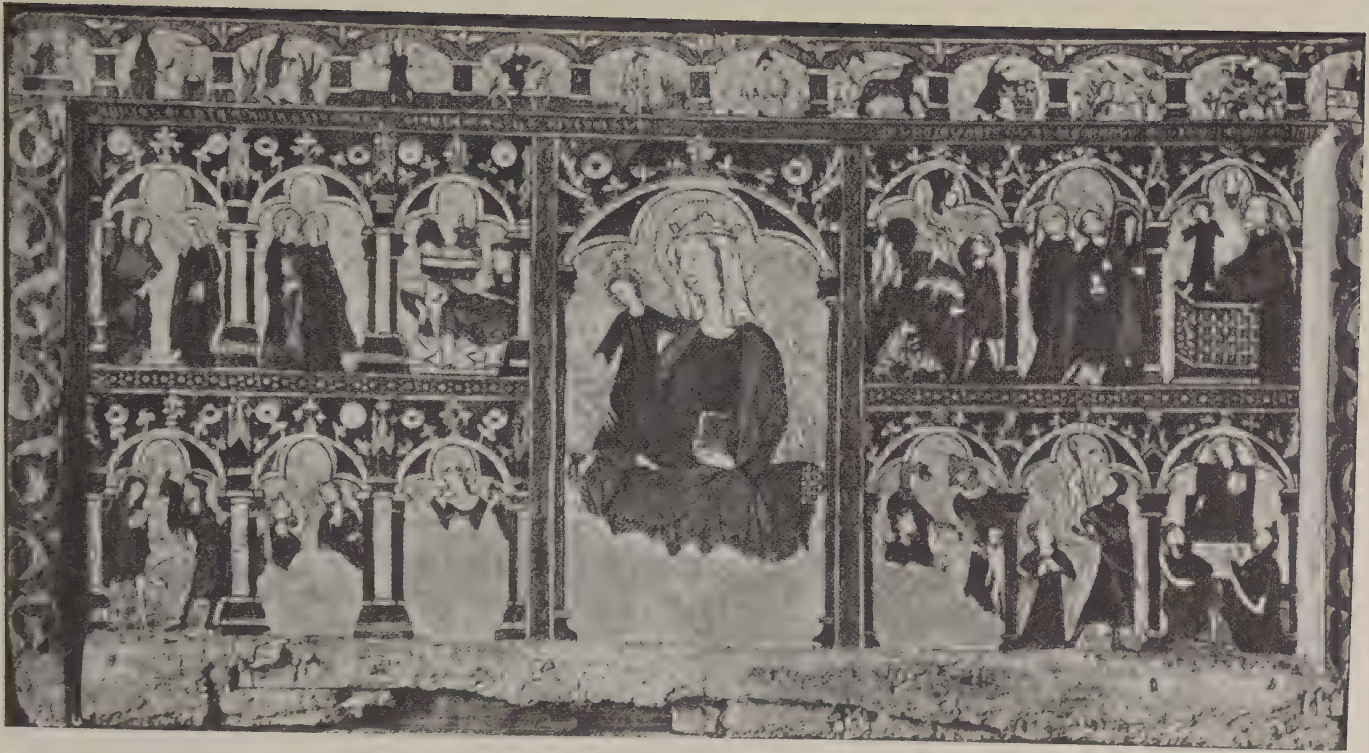

Fig. 122. FRONTAL OF VIRGIN. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(*Photo. Serra*)

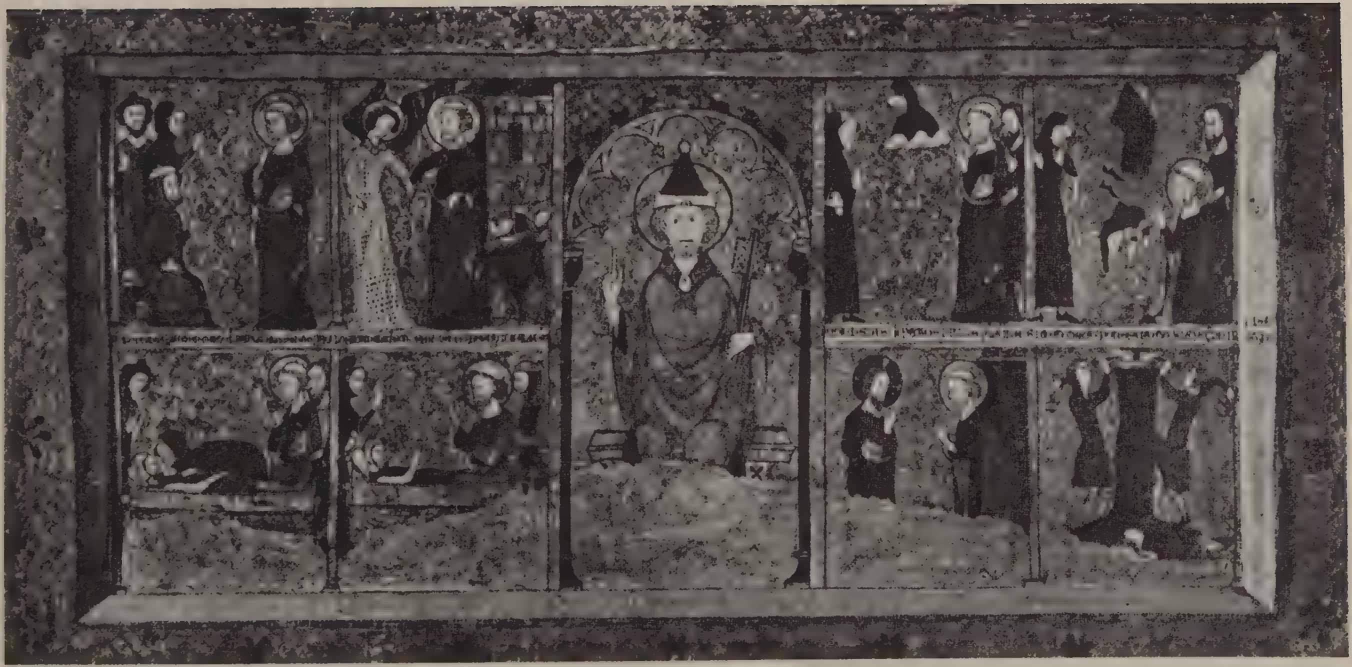

Fig. 123. FRONTAL OF ST. PETER. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

compartments are devoted to Simon's fatal adventure at levitation. The other three scenes are St. Peter's angelic delivery from prison, the "Quo vadis" episode, and his crucifixion. The foliate pattern of the gold background is more ostentatious than in the other antependia, the chasuble of the central effigy of St. Peter is a red brocade, and the whole panel has already evolved a characteristic Spanish richness. The style is that of a sophisticated Spanish artist trained in the Franco-Gothic tradition and working about 1350, but the atelier does not appear to be the one that produced the other frontals.[1]

Similar in style to these works, especially to the frontal of Arteta, is still another antependium or retable in the possession of Señor Plandiura, dedicated to St. Ursula, but of unnamed provenience (Fig. 124). The standing effigy of the saint in the central section is surrounded by twelve scenes from her life arranged in three tiers, not under Gothic arches but in simple square compartments. The purposed idol-like rigidity and frontality of the central figure are contrasted with the Gothic flow of line in the lateral compartments, where the amplitude of the garments implies a date in the second half of the fourteenth century. Chiaroscuro is likewise beginning to be indicated. The frame, however, still seeks to counterfeit in paint the jewelled borders of the metal frontals. The artist, despite his technical ability, was dull of imagination and unable to elicit charm or picturesqueness from the delightful legend of St. Ursula, which has so often inspired painters to pleasing flights of fancy.

One of the latest Franco-Gothic Navarrese paintings is a retable of Sts. Sebastian and Nicasius (Fig. 125) which has recently entered the Valencia de Don Juan Collection at Madrid and which I know only in photographs. The year of the retable's creation and its provenience are included in an inscription on the bottom of the frame, which reads as follows, so far

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[1] Professor Cook (*An Early Aragonese Panel at Frankfurt, Festschrift zum Geburtstag von Paul Clemen*, 378) states that the language of the explanatory inscriptions is Aragonese; but it is pure Castilian, so that in itself it would not help in determining whether the panel was produced in Navarre, Aragon, Castile, or any other part of the northwest of the peninsula. The shortened writing, *Aqī* for *Aqui*, that he adduces as a proof of Aragonese, is common to all early Castilian. (In Professor Cook's text, *St. Peter Martyr antependium* is a misprint for *St. Peter antependium.*)

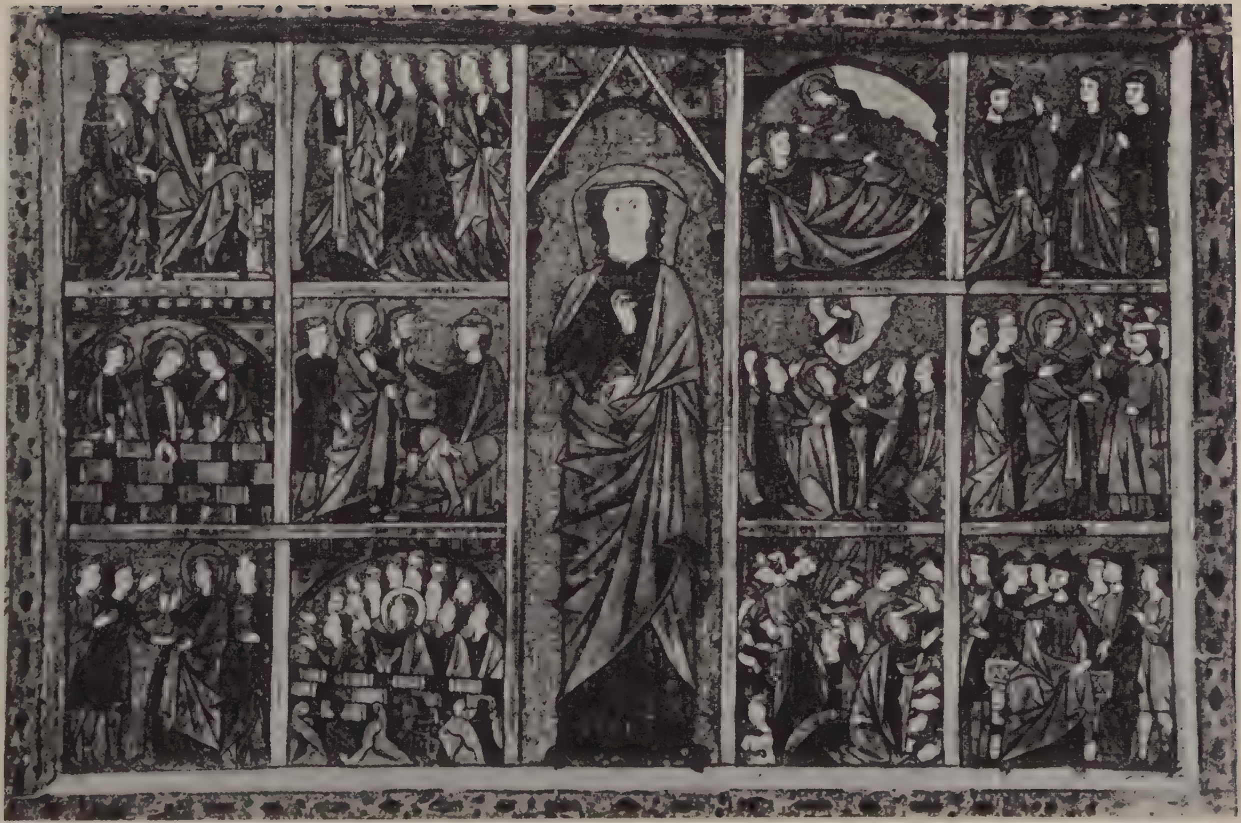

FIG. 124. FRONTAL OR RETABLE OF ST. URSULA. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

as it has been deciphered by some one who has examined the original: AÑO DNI (Domini) MCCCC SEGUNDO ESTA OBRA FIZO FAZER . . . DE EULATE . . . A MEMORIA DE NICASIA SU MUGER A ONOR ET SERVICIO DE DIOS ET DE SEYNOR SAN SEBASTIAN ET DE SANT NICASIO ET QUE . . . MEDIADORES A DIOS POR MI ET POR TODOS. (A.D. 1402. This work was

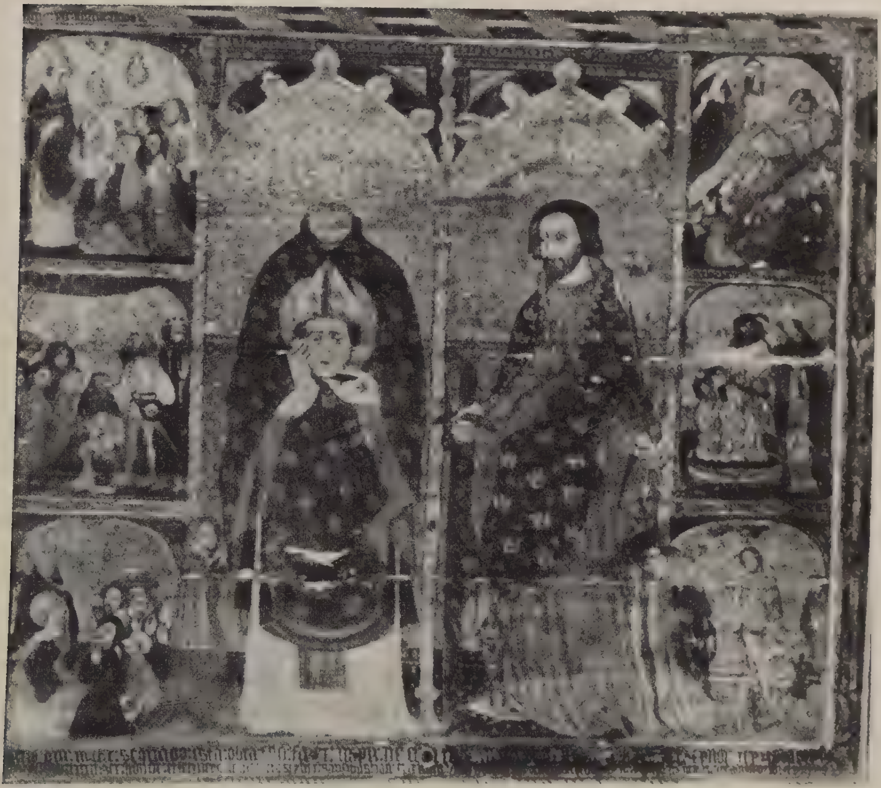

FIG. 125. RETABLE OF STS. SEBASTIAN AND NICASIUS. INSTITUTO DE VALENCIA DE DON JUAN (?), MADRID

ordered by . . . de Eulate . . . in memory of Nicasia, his wife, to the honor and service of God, Señor St. Sebastian, and St. Nicasius . . . mediators to God for me and for all.) From the photograph I myself cannot read the words *a memoria de*, *su* (before *muger*), and *Nicasio* (after *Sant*). The last letters of *servicio* are not clear; *mediadores* looks more like *mediador;* and *todos* perhaps should rather be *todo*. In the break after *Eulate*, the words *seynor rey* are legible, perhaps meaning that the donor, whose name is hard to recognize in the inscription,[1] held some office under the king. The *Eulate* itself is far from lucid. A hole has been punched through the wood, destroying part of the U and of the A and the whole of the L, and the TE is not very obvious; but the traces of the letters make the town northwest of Estella in Navarre the most likely solution. The style, although not quite identical with that of the other Navarrese panels, perhaps because of the later date, is nevertheless similar and plainly of the Franco-Gothic stamp as it manifested itself in Navarre, Aragon, and the adjacent provinces of Álava and Logroño; the Castilian dialect of the inscription precludes a Catalan origin.

The middle of the retable is occupied by the standing effigies of the rarely represented episcopal martyr of Rheims, Nicasius, at the left and of Sebastian at the right, each under an individual ornate arch; but the diminutive Nicasia, the donor's wife, does not kneel at the feet of her patron but at those of St. Sebastian, thus resigning the place of honor at the two saints' right (the left from the spectator's standpoint) to her lord and master. Since St. Nicasius is one of several French bishops whose stories and iconographical representations are similar to those of St. Denis of Paris, he is here depicted as a decapitated body in a chasuble carrying his own head. St. Sebastian would scarcely be recognized by one accustomed to the Apollo-like conceptions of him in Italian art or even to the knightly treatments characteristic of Spain. He is, to be sure, represented as a bearded man of a relatively youthful age, clasping in one hand his attribute of the arrows and in the other a sheathed sword; but his garments spread forth with the length, amplitude, and outlines that in sacred art usually clothe the Apostles, although his outer mantle is brocaded with a courtly *motif* of crowns. The fullness is particularly copious over the abdomen, as if the painter were strangely applying to the masculine form a peculiarity of contemporary feminine dress. Probably, however, the whole costume is only a somewhat exaggerated attempt to reproduce one of the long, flowing masculine robes of the time, for the garb of the little donor is much the same. Each saint is further commemorated by three lateral scenes from his life, not based closely upon the *Golden Legend* and described in inscriptions above the respective compartments. The scenes assigned to St. Nicasius are his preaching to his people (directing them to submit to martyrdom at the hands of the Vandals?), his own decollation, and the miracle of his exhibition of his severed head. The corresponding episodes on the other side devoted to St. Sebastian are the roasting of two of the large number of Christians who were involved together with him in his martyrdom, the baptism of some of those who were converted at the time, and his employment as a target for the archers.[1]

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[1] The letters of his name look as if they were M PIR, with the letter between M and P invisible.

[1] While my book is in press, I have finally seen this retable in the Barcelona Exposition (No. 2189). The Catalogue of the Exposition states that it now belongs to the Archaeological Museum, Madrid, and not to the Valencia de Don Juan Collection. A long and careful examination of the inscription enables me to decipher little more than I could see in the photograph. The letters of the donor's name appear to be M PIZ (and not M PIR), which I take to be an abbreviation for Martín Periz — whether the Martín Periz who ordered the St. Helen retable at Estella (cf. vol. III, pp. 178–180) I cannot say. The backgrounds are of gold with a design of a vine in the central panel and of a small brocade in the lateral sections.

CHAPTER XVII

FRANCO-GOTHIC PAINTING IN ÁLAVA AND LOGROÑO

At this point there may properly be recorded four monuments of panel painting executed for churches in the provinces of Álava and Logroño, bordering on Navarre, because they are stylistically similar to the Navarrese antependia. Whether they were produced by Navarrese ateliers or whether, *vice versa*, the Navarrese examples were imported from Álava or Logroño, remains an open question. The latest of the monuments may be considered first, because it is dated, because we are fortunate enough to have it now in America, anonymously loaned to the Art Institute of Chicago, and because it possesses a tremendous and as yet largely unrealized historic and literary importance in addition to its intrinsic artistic worth. This importance consists in the fact that the altarpiece, as the inscription on the lowest molding states, was ordered by one of the greatest men of his age, the statesman, general, poet, satirist, translator, and scholarly historian, the chancellor of the realm, Pero López de Ayala (1332-1407). The inscription names as joint donor his distinguished wife, Doña Leonor de Guzmán, and gives the date, 1396. The panels include also figures that represent the illustrious nobleman and his family but are little more than types, not yet having achieved the delineation of personality through true portraiture. Until 1913, the retable and accompanying antependium were preserved in the place where they had first been set up, the sepulchral chapel of the family in the Dominican establishment of San Juan at Quejana (northwest of Vitoria near Amurrio), a convent founded by Pero López's father, Fernán Pérez de Ayala, in 1374 and protected by Pero López himself and his son. The retable, larger than was the custom in the Franco-Gothic examples of Spain, being more than twenty-two feet long and eight feet high, is divided into two zones, consisting chiefly of scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin disposed under a Gothic arcade from which a colonnette descends to separate the episodes at every third interval (except at the centre of the lower zone, where there are only two arches between the colonnettes). In the upper zone there are three compartments on either side a central, narrower compartment which displays the Crucifix (Fig. 126); in the lower zone, all the compartments are less wide to give space for four divisions on each side of the still narrower central section.

The sacred story begins at the left of the lower zone, but in this lower zone the New Testament narrative is framed at either end by a compartment containing the effigy of a saint with two kneeling votaries, identified by scrolls with inscriptions. At the left St. Blaise blesses Pero López de Ayala and his eldest son, Fernán Pérez (named after his grandfather); at the right St. Thomas Aquinas (since it was a Dominican institution) imparts his benediction to the donor's wife and to the son's wife, Doña María. At the left of the central compartment in the lower zone, the narrative includes the Annunciation, the Visitation, and the Nativity; at the right, the three Magi, the Purification, and the Flight into Egypt. Like some other sections of the altarpiece, the Nativity exhibits bits of peculiar iconography, St. Joseph stretching out his arms to the Holy Child and the Mother, with the ox and the ass looking like Evangelistic symbols and brought forward as if they were endpieces to the manger in which the Infant lies. The theme of the central compartment itself is a perplexing problem. We should expect at this point the enthroned Virgin and Child, receiving the adoration of the Wise Men at the right; and indeed the legend above reads *Santa Maria*, but in front of this name there seem to be the enigmatical words *los do tores*.[1] In the compartment is represented what looks like a throne without a seat.

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[1] They have been interpreted as *los dotores*, an old spelling for *los doctores*, since the *c* is even now popularly often not pronounced; but what "the doctors" could mean, is hard to see, unless it might refer to the Wise Men. The word can scarcely refer to the doctors with whom the young Christ disputes in quite another part of the retable, the extreme left of the upper zone. The *do* of *dotores* does not emerge clearly in the photograph of the retable published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XXIV (1916), 158, and may be a later restoration. Manuel Betí in this same number of the *Boletín*, 246, suggests that the word was *pastores*, in which case the reference would be to the shepherds in the preceding Nativity.

At the bottom of its back is depicted a panel that some have interpreted to represent a door; on the upper part of the back is a thirteen-pointed star; and an angel rises above the top, blowing a trumpet. The Spanish scholar Tormo has plausibly guessed that it may have been the background for a statue of the Virgin set in front of the retable or that it may be a representation of a tabernacle for the reserved Sacrament, so that the three Kings would be conceived as adoring the presence of Our Lord in the Eucharist instead of in the Epiphany. But the star [1] would still need interpretation, for it can scarcely be the star that the Kings saw in the east, which appears in the compartment with them at the right and has eight points. Perhaps the structure was intended neither as a background for a statue nor as a tabernacle but as a symbol of the Virgin with the Child. Could it be meant as the ark of the covenant from the Old Testament, which was one of the symbols of Our Lady,[2] and could the door beneath (if it be a door) stand for the closed gate of the forty-fourth chapter of Ezekiel, which is another of her emblems? The structure does not correspond to the description of the ark in Exodus xxv and xxxvii, except that the angel might possibly be one of the cherubim on the mercy seat. A further symbol of the Virgin was the throne of Solomon described in I Kings x and II Chronicles ix, but here again there is no similarity to the Biblical account. Perhaps the painter had not read the passages and is simply giving us his own idea of an ark or throne; but in any case the star and inscription would remain unexplained. Even if there was originally a statue of the Madonna in front, the panel might still depict the ark or the throne of Solomon, adding a symbol to the actual sculptured representation of the Virgin.

The narrative continues at the left of the upper zone with the young Christ among the doctors, iconographically curious since He stands at the right at the gate of the Temple lecturing a group of them on the other side of the compartment. One might almost think that the next scene was the Last Supper, did not the inscription identify it as the Marriage at Cana, for the

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[1] Might it be the *stella maris* as a symbol of the Virgin?

[2] I owe the idea of the ark to Professor Porter. For this as a symbol of the Virgin, see W. Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 33; for the closed gate, p. 140; and for the throne of Solomon, p. 138.

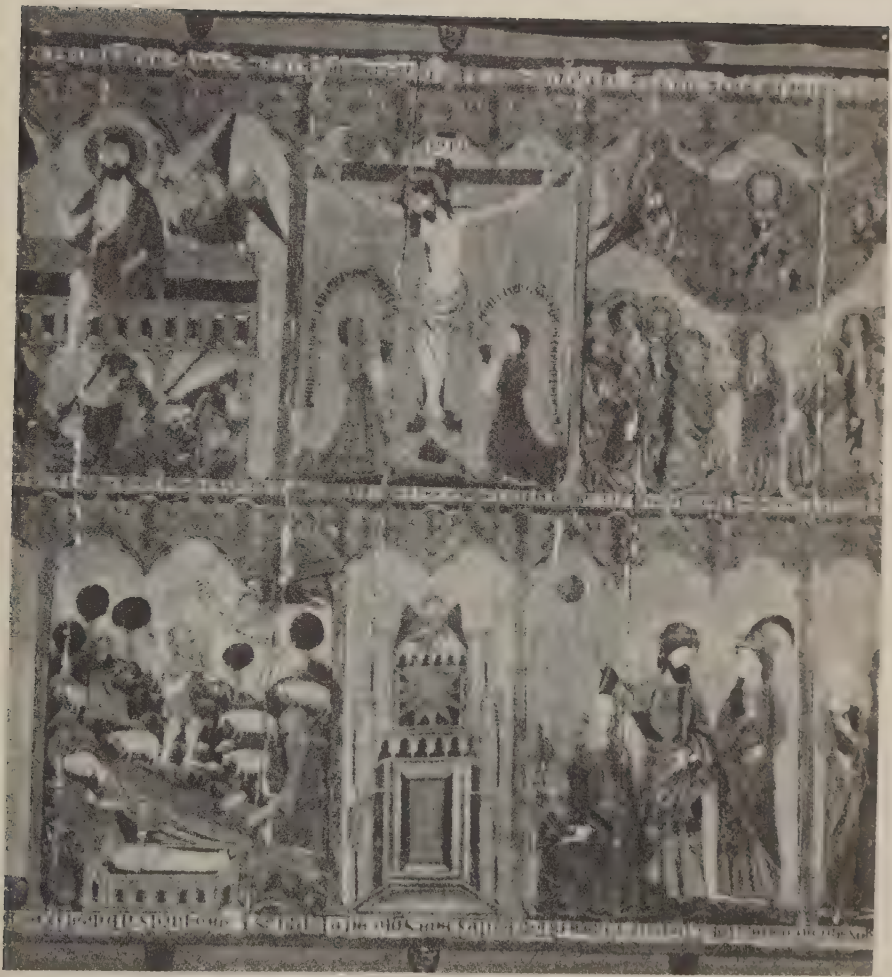

FIG. 126. CENTRAL SECTION OF RETABLE OF PERO LÓPEZ DE AYALA. ART INSTITUTE, CHICAGO

(Courtesy of the Art Institute)

bride and groom are absent, and, with a very ritualistic conception, Christ at the centre, surrounded by the Virgin and Apostles, performs the miracle with a benediction. In chronological order, the Crucifixion ought to follow next, but it is transferred to the place of honor in the upper row and the Resurrection intervenes. The Crucifixion displays merely Our Lord on the cross worshipped by another kneeling effigy of the Chancellor and, on the other side, by his sister, Mari (*sic* in the scroll that she carries) Ramírez.[1] The three scenes to the right of the Crucifixion — the Ascension, Pentecost, and the Assumption — constitute a magnificent decorative expanse. One composition effectively almost repeats another, and a degree of monumentality rare in the panels of this period is achieved partially through the stylization of the sky in each compartment into a broad blue crescent the edges of which are scalloped in the form that was so often a convention for clouds in Romanesque and Gothic art. For the sake of the rhythm of repetition, the composition for Pentecost is queerly accommodated to that of the Ascension, with Christ in the same position at the centre of the cloud-bank sending the Holy Spirit, in the shape of a dove in front of His chest, upon the Virgin and Apostles drawn and grouped in an almost identical way. The Assumption is varied only so far as to multiply the attendant angels to four, to unite the Virgin to Christ in the sky, and to push the Apostles to the left in order that the right corner may be devoted to St. Thomas's reception of the girdle. The frontal, by the same hand, is divided into three compartments, in the left of which is depicted the Annunciation to the Shepherds and through both of the other two of which is spread out the Epiphany. The former scene is very similar to its rendering in the background of the Nativity in the retable; nor is the Epiphany very different from the same theme above, except that the Virgin and Child are now actually represented upon a couch and the *genre* of an esquire trying to control three horses is introduced into the right compartment in order to fill the double space over which the subject is expanded. In general, however, neither in the retable nor in the frontal are there many bits of *genre*, and the mood is somewhat solemnly religious. The only other significant episodic details crop out in the Nativity of the retable and in the Annunciation to the Shepherds of the frontal — the grazing flocks of monotonously similar, defectively drawn, obese sheep, a pair of fighting rams, another ram nibbling a tree, a more carefully delineated goat, in the Nativity, engaged in the same pastime, and, with the shepherds of the frontal, a rather strikingly naturalistic black and white dog.

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[1] Manuel Betí (*op. cit.*, 246) suggests that they may be the grandchildren of the Chancellor, the children of his son, Fernán Pérez, but the male figure is too old — a bearded man in his maturity. It is true that he does not resemble much the effigy with St. Blaise, but portraiture was as yet an embryonic art.

The backgrounds of the retable and frontal form an exception to the usual Spanish Gothic practice, since they are not of gold but of a whitish color. The framing arches and colonnettes, however, are gilded, and throughout there is considerable gold accentuation of such details as haloes, orphreys, and borders of costumes. Bits here and there, by exception in the fourteenth century, are embossed in low relief, for instance, the arches, the haloes, St. Blaise's staff, and parts of the thirteen-pointed star. The frame is embellished with the shields of the Ayala and Guzmán families.

Even though the retable and frontal were not painted until the very end of the fourteenth century, the style reveals nothing of Italianism but is Franco-Gothic. The Chancellor might have acquired Gothic leanings during his sojourn in Paris as ambassador at the court of Charles VI in 1395 and 1396, the very time at which the works were executed. It is hard, however, to find anything in the pictures that could be definitely labelled as a sign of the "international style" which was already developing in France as well as in Spain. The constant resort to contemporary costume is not confined to the international movement. The manner of Franco-Gothic illumination is so thoroughly translated into the indigenous artistic idiom, especially in the types, that the master, as Tormo states, is demonstrated to have been a Spaniard. His aesthetic capabilities were not quite equal to the high office to which the panels were destined as a commission from so great a man as Pero López de Ayala. The Spanish artistic standard, in general, was, with many exceptions, somewhat below that of contemporary Italy, and these paintings, though not without some distinguished qualities, do not reveal loftier gifts of craftsmanship than those of a secondary follower of Giotto. The extremities are badly drawn, most shockingly in the visible foot of Gabriel in the Annunciation, with its two monstrously projecting toes. The legs, when clothed in contemporary hose, as in the first standing Magus of the antependium, are strange pieces of anatomy. The right arm of the Virgin in the Nativity is attached to her body in an impossible position. Perspective is scarcely attempted, so that certain objects or parts of objects do not take their proper places behind others, as in the architecture of the edifice of the Visitation, in the central throne, in the table of the Marriage at Cana, in the sepulchre of the Resurrection, or in the landscape of the Nativity in the retable and of the Annunciation to the Shepherds in the frontal. The horses in the stall do not assume their proper relation to one another or to the door, and the Virgin in the Epiphany protuberates as if detached from the couch on which she is supposed to lie. A rudimentary use of shadow appears in the garments, at least to a more evident extent than in the linear style of the Navarrese antependia. Among the painter's distinctions are the lovely undulations that he gives to his Gothic line in the draperies. He likes arbitrarily to create flutters of folds about or behind his figures, as in the foremost Wise Man of the Epiphany (in the retable), the Christ in the Temple, and the angels of the Resurrection. In the Ascension, Pentecost, and Assumption, the ends of the angels' robes are conventionalized into a different but prettily schematized linear pattern. With agreeable decorative effect, the master frequently coerces the whole composition or details of the composition into a formal and often symmetrical design. Examples of conventionalization of details are the arrangement of the articles on the table in the Marriage at Cana, or the stylization of the earth, shrubs, and trees, which make a charming pattern against the background in the Nativity, Annunciation to the Shepherds, and Flight into Egypt. In the Marriage at Cana and in the episode of Christ in the Temple, he creates decorative rhythms of the hands disposed in identical or subtly symmetrical positions; in the two portraits with St. Blaise, this effect is accentuated by the way in which the repeated gold bands on the garments stand forth from the composition. The tonality, with a predominance of blue, light reds, and rose, would suggest that affected by Giotto's Florentine followers, were it not that it is a degree richer and were it not that the Iberian ethnic types, with their dark beards, impart to the work a very Spanish feeling.

The second monument of this group, the fragment of a retable(?) of St. Andrew in the Barnard Cloisters, New York, is not only thus also in America, but it exhibits many stylistic similarities to the López de Ayala paintings and apparently comes from the same general region, namely from the town of Añastro in the Condado de Treviño, just southwest of Vitoria close to the road leading to Mirando de Ebro. If the picture of which it was a section did really constitute a retable, its arrangement and iconography were anomalous, unless the original disposition of the compartments has been disturbed (and of this an examination reveals no palpable signs) and the parts put together in a new fashion. In its present condition, both the back and front are painted, and the thinness of the wood and the absence of evidence of joining render it hardly possible that scenes originally on the front should have now been transferred to the back. In what is left from the altarpiece, the lower half of the front (Fig. 127) is occupied by a large half-length of St. Andrew, conceived like a Pantocrator, censed by two angels, and worshipped by three donors. The scenes from his life, of which six now remain, are relegated to the back. The calling of Sts. Peter and Andrew is divided between the two topmost compartments. The two other pairs of compartments are devoted to events of a general character from St. Andrew's life, not based upon the specific stories of the *Golden Legend*. In the middle set, he preaches to a king (of Margundia, perchance?) and his family; in the left of the lowest pair, he baptizes a child (or the wife of Aegeas?), and in the right exorcises a demon from an idol adored by a king. The upper half of the front side, above the large effigy of St. Andrew, displays, strangely enough, two pairs of small compartments with scenes from the beginning of Genesis, the creation of the birds and beasts, the creation of Adam, God drawing the rib from Adam's side in symbolization, as the inscription shows, of the creation of Eve, and God standing between our first parents. The content of each narrative scene and of the principal compartment is described

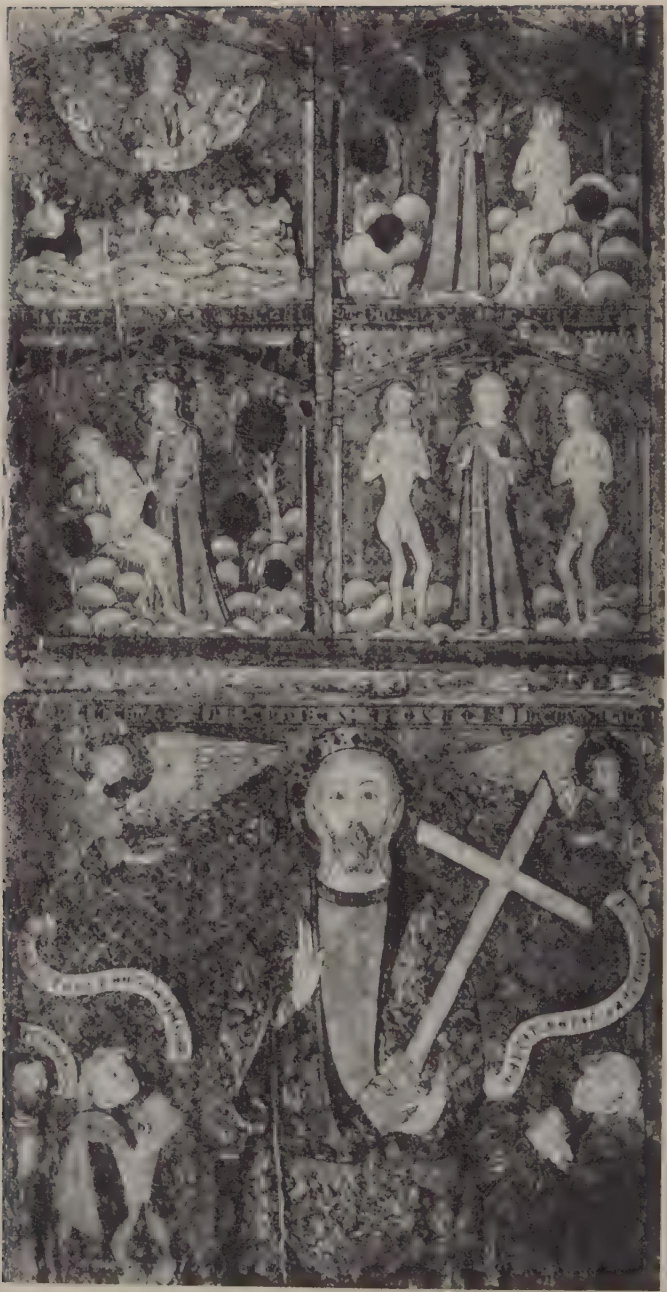

Fig. 127. FRONT OF PANEL OF ST. ANDREW.
BARNARD CLOISTERS, NEW YORK

(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum)

by a Castilian inscription above it on the framing border. Over the two middle compartments in the life of St. Andrew, for instance, it is written: "St. Andrew preaches to the pagans"; over the lowest compartments, "St. Andrew baptizes: the king adores the idol: St. Andrew" (referring to the figure of the saint in the scene); and above the large effigy of St. Andrew the words are: "The angel censes: St. Andrew Apostle: the angel censes." More important for our purpose, the donors are identified by inscriptions on flying scrolls that they carry: the principal one at the left (at the right of St. Andrew as the chief donor) is Sancho[1] Ferandes (Ferrández or Fernández) de Añastro, and the one at the right is Martín Peris de Añastro, Cura, that is, parish priest.[2] It is also these inscriptions that give us the name of the village, Añastro, for it is hardly likely that *two* men should by coincidence have moved from Añastro to another town and have caused the retable to be executed for their second place of residence. Behind Sancho Ferrández is another man, whose scroll I am not able to interpret.[3] Sancho Ferrández and Martín Peris both hold books on which is inscribed, *O Senor Sant Andres, rog[ad por nosotros]*,[4] that is, "Oh Señor St. Andrew, pray for us," with the section that is enclosed in brackets conceived as written on the unseen, ensuing pages;[5] and in front of each of them is a heraldic lion. The backgrounds of the front of the panel, from which the gold has largely worn away, are diapered with a lozenge *motif*. On the other side of the panel, where the scenes from St. Andrew's life are depicted, the pattern is different, as of a small, conventionalized flower, and is embossed. The garments are also now and then of gold, being well preserved in the representation of St. Andrew's sermon; but the color has everywhere sadly succumbed to the ravages of time.

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[1] The S in front of ANCHO is erased, but ANCHO could be the last part of no other Christian name.

[2] The RA of this word is certain, but the C might be an E and the U an L, though slightly different from the usual L of these inscriptions. I should be at a loss, however, to interpret ELRA, EURA, or CLRA. A Martín Peris commissioned the virtually contemporary retable of St. Helen in the church of S. Miguel at the not very distant Estella in Navarre, but if *Cura* is rightly read, it cannot be the same personage, for the donor at Estella is depicted with a wife and children; cf. above, p. 125, n. 1, and vol. III, pp. 178–180.

[3] The first part of it is perhaps cut off; what is left seems to read, IS DAMIGO. Is the word, *amigo* (friend), here hidden, or is *Damigo* a surname?

[4] Since Professor J. D. M. Ford tells me that the plural is very unusual for address in prayers at this time, the *rog* may have been intended to end merely in *a*, making *roga*, possibly a dialectical form for the regular singular imperative *ruega*.

[5] OSE is separated from NOR by two dots, but such a separation of two parts of one word is not unparalleled in Gothic inscriptions. Another difficulty is the absence of the tilde over the N of Senor, whereas it is present in AÑASTRO; but I see no other way of reading the inscription than that which I have given.

The style and the tricks of the trade resemble closely those of the Ayala retable and frontal, but the Añastro picture belongs to a somewhat earlier moment in the fourteenth century and scarcely appears to be a performance of the same hand. In certain details, the parallelism approaches identity. In the scenes of creation, the earth and trees are conventionalized in exactly the same way as in the Nativity episodes of the Chicago paintings; God, the creator of the beasts and birds, is ensconced in a semicircular expanse of sky, bordered by clouds stylized into scallops, like the Christ of the Ayala retable in His manifestations after the Resurrection; even the striped cords of the angels' censors are the same; and the halo of the large St. Andrew has a design of lozenges alternating with coupled dots, analogous to the general pattern for the haloes in the Ayala monument. Yet the types are not quite equal, particularly in the treatment of the eyes. The drawing is somewhat more confined within the limits of primitive rigidity; the draperies fail to reveal so much Gothic sinuosity; and the artist is less of an enthusiast for the French costumes that were soon to become the general vogue in the international style. The indications are that he was a forerunner of the master who painted the Ayala altarpiece and antependium.[1]

The other two retables of this region of the peninsula may be judged, from their style, to have been painted, like the Añastro piece, earlier in the fourteenth century. One is still in its original place, in the old, upper church, San Millán de Suso, of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla near Nájera in the province of Logroño. Of the four rows of sacred story, the two lowest are assigned to the titular saint. All the episodes are included in the rhymed life of San Millán (St. Emilianus) by the Castilian poet of the thirteenth century, Gonzalo de Berceo, who came from Berceo, a village close to Cogolla, and who used as his source the Latin account by St. Braulius. In the upper of these rows from right to left, the episodes are: San Millán giving alms;

[1] See Appendix.

his preaching at Berceo; San Millán visited in his rocky hermitage; his healing of the sick; and (in two scenes) his temptation. The row at the bottom contains: his exorcism of the palace of the nobleman, Honorius;[1] his restoration of the deformed to their normal state; the demoniacal attempt to burn him in his bed;[2] and his burial. The Virgin is honored in the third row, where are represented the Annunciation of her death, her actual decease, her Assumption, and Coronation. The boyhood of Our Lord is the theme of the highest tier — the supernatural warning to St. Joseph to flee into Egypt (?), the Massacre of the Innocents, the apocryphal but charming legend of the Holy Child's riding of a sunbeam,[3] and His sojourn among the doctors in the Temple (where He preaches from a little pulpit such as those with which the painter must have been familiar in his own day). The backgrounds are of gold, and contemporary costume is much affected. In the episode of San Millán's charity, one of its recipients is caricatured with a long nose. The style is that of a talented Spaniard trained in the tradition of Franco-Gothic miniatures. He has a taste for splendor, which he chastens by his sense of refinement. His trees are bright with conventionalized flowers or fruit, but the trees themselves are dainty pieces of vegetation. The Virgin, in the Annunciation of the death, in the Assumption, and in the Coronation, and San Millán in his exorcism of the palace, wear gold brocades, but the patterns are delicate.

To this same group of panel paintings, though in a manner perhaps not so Gallicized or quite so skilful, belongs the retable from the church of S. Pedro at Zuazo de Cuartango,[4] now in the possession of the Marqués de Urquijo at Madrid. The execution suggests an artist thoroughly conversant with models of illumination or glass. Pieces have been lost at the centre and sides, but enough of the inscription on the lowest molding remains to show that the donors were a Gómez de Zuazo and his wife, María. The painted scenes from the life of St. Peter constituted a setting to his statue at the centre, for which the original polychrome background is preserved, consisting of a pattern of cross-hatching on a red ground capped by a design that imitates the tracery of a Gothic oculus. The episodes from the life of St. Peter are identified by inscriptions above them. In the upper tier, from left to right, are represented: (in two panels) the delivery of the keys to Peter combined with a scene that depicts either his calling or Our Lord's encounter with him and the other Apostles by the Sea of Tiberias after the Resurrection (set in a landscape that resembles those of the Ayala retable, though the author is not the same); the debate of Peter and Simon Magus before Nero; and the disastrous end to Simon's attempted aërial exploit. The lower tier comprises: the enthronement of St. Peter as pope; his preaching and healing of a personage whose name has been cut off from the inscription; and (once more expanded over two panels) his crucifixion at Nero's command. The partly destroyed legend over the enthronement, as in the Aragonese antependium at Brussels, apparently embodies an invocation to St. Peter, for his name appears in the vocative. The background is of gold, incised with a pattern at the edges. The rear of the altarpiece, now invisible in the Urquijo house, is likewise said to be painted, displaying larger figures of the Apostles, but the Catalogue of the London Exhibition of 1920–1921, where the monument was shown, makes no allusion to such further ornamentation.

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[1] Cf. the poem by Gonzalo de Berceo, stanzas 181 ff.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, stanzas 201 ff.

[3] Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, p. 70.

[4] Some twenty kilometres west of Vitoria, not the Zuazo de Álava, close to Vitoria itself.

CHAPTER XVIII

FRANCO-GOTHIC PAINTING IN THE REST OF WESTERN SPAIN

1. The Frescoes in the North

The Franco-Gothic yield from the rest of western Spain is, at least quantitatively, a poor one. It is not likely that many more panel paintings will be discovered; but, as in the case of Romanesque frescoes in this region, each year witnesses the publication of Gothic mural paintings hitherto unknown to the general archaeologist or the release of others from an overcoating of plaster, so that in the end the comparison with Aragon, the richest province in this respect, may prove not too unfavorable. On the other hand, the western school of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries must suffer some counterbalancing losses, through being stripped of certain cycles of frescoes in the Asturias and Galicia which have been falsely attributed to this epoch and which in reality embody rustic aspects of the Hispano-Flemish manner of the fifteenth century. These paintings will be considered in their proper chronological place, but some of them may be at least mentioned here. In the Asturias, the cycle in the church of Sta. María at the hamlet of Celón (six kilometres south of Pola de Allande, near Tineo) is the production of some lumbering countryman of the end of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, who had seen, without much edification, the works of his betters in the great centres. The frescoes that Mayer assigns to the early Gothic period in the church of Sta. María at Berducedo some thirty kilometres farther west in the mountains have now disappeared, victims (so far as I could discover in my onerous but fruitless visit to the distant town) of the widely prevalent plague of whitewash. In Galicia, the mural paintings in the church of Sta. María at Mellid, half-way between Santiago and Lugo, are of about the same date, general manner, and debased grade of craftsmanship as those of Celón. The style of the examples in Sta. Eulalia de Espenuca, near

Coirós, southeast of La Coruña, since they were done by a clodhopper who knew very little of the various schools of painting, is of so nondescript a cast that the possibility of a date in the fourteenth century is not absolutely to be repudiated; but on the whole they appear to have been executed in the Quattrocento.[1]

Galicia does, however, contain a cycle of frescoes that may be assigned to the Franco-Gothic period and indeed to the earliest part of that period, the episodes from the story of Lazarus and Dives on the south wall of the nave at the east end of the church at San Martín de Mondoñedo, near Barreiros, north of Mondoñedo itself. They belong to that moment in the history of art transitional from the Romanesque to the Gothic when it is so difficult to draw a sharp dividing line and say that all on one side is Romanesque and all on the other Gothic, and the difficulty is increased in this instance by the poor state of preservation; but several factors confirm the propriety of voting for a classification in the Gothic rather than in the Romanesque group. The most easily recognizable scene is the feast of Dives, with the dogs licking the sores of Lazarus at the gate. The banqueters cross their legs under the table, and in the doorway a waiter or a maidservant, occupied with Lazarus, is caricatured in much the same fashion as are the lower classes in the Romanesque art of Catalonia. The composition for this whole episode of Dives and Lazarus seems to have been taken from one of the Romanesque capitals in the church. The dilapidation of the next scene to the right makes it harder to identify. It may depict the death of Dives while a devil stands on the bed-posts ready to seize him with hooks. The outline of the bed seems fairly clear, and under it are the forms of dogs or demons. But perhaps the figures in this fresco that have here been denominated as infernal may not be devils after all, and the death rather of Lazarus may be depicted; or, in the lack of absolute certainty in the recognition of a bed, the episode may be the torment of Dives in hell. The demon or personage on top of the bed or whatever he stands upon recalls the so-called jugglers of the Catalan church of S. Juan de Bohí; and, in addition to the caricatured retainer, there is another analogy to Catalan Romanesque painting in the thematic parallelism to the figures of Lazarus and the dog on the triumphal arch of S. Clemente de Tahull. But none of these details are sufficient, of course, to establish a connection with the distant art of Catalonia, and the general Romanesque reminiscences are what was to be expected in transitional work and are discounted by the Gothic feeling in other respects. The cycle in San Martín de Mondoñedo includes also the subject of the Resurrection of Lazarus, introduced either because of a strange identification with his homonym of the parable or merely because one St. Lazarus[1] suggested the inclusion of the other. Above the scene of the feast of Dives a cavalcade of three horsemen is visible, a part perhaps of some other episode in the story of Lazarus or of a representation of the Epiphany. A section of the cycle has been lost, since a frescoed, Hispano-Flemish figure of St. Barbara has been superimposed upon it. The elements that particularly weigh for a decision in favor of Gothic are the drapery of Our Lord in the Resurrection of Lazarus, the advanced drawing of the virtual nude of Lazarus's body, and the costumes, especially those of the banquet. The date would probably be about the middle of the thirteenth century, long after the church had ceased to be the cathedral of the diocese, a dignity that it enjoyed from *c.* 866 to *c.* 1112.[2] The present edifice on the walls of which the frescoes are painted is a Romanesque structure of the late eleventh or twelfth century.

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[1] I note that Lampérez (*Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española*, I, 573) places them in the fifteenth century.

We have now reached the point where we may properly speak of the Gothic additions to the Romanesque cycles in S. Isidoro at Leon. The principal examples are the frescoes, dedicated to St. Catherine and arranged as if in a retable, over the altar of the Panteón on the wall that fills the space of the original east door and therefore under the Romanesque painting of the Agnus Dei upheld by two angels in the tympanum of the door. Although of later date than the works at San Martín de Mondoñedo and belonging to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, and although by a much ruder hand, they still may be characterized as transitional and cling to certain Romanesque traits. The centre, as in a retable, is occupied by a large, standing figure of St. Catherine,[1] whose draperies appear to be white perhaps merely because the pigment has worn off; and episodes from her life are disposed round about in two tiers, four smaller scenes at the left and two broader scenes at the right. At the upper left she is depicted standing with someone and next engaged in her famous dispute with the philosophers.[2] In the compartments below she is visited in prison by an angel in the presence of another woman, perhaps the converted empress, and endures the torture of the wheels. Of the two larger spaces at the right, the lower contains her decapitation and the upper the supernatural transportation of her body to Mount Sinai.

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[1] The Lazarus of the parable was often considered in the Middle Ages a real and even canonized personage: E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, third ed., 1910, p. 238.

[2] *España sagrada*, XVIII, 53.

Although the date is possibly no later, the Franco-Gothic style is fully evolved, with marked *déhanchement* and with typically undulating draperies, in a well executed but badly injured fresco on a wall of the cloister of S. Isidoro. It is no longer possible to make out the subject. The middle is occupied by a building at the left portal of which two women are depicted as meeting and at the right portal of which appears a king accompanied by two personages that seem to be vested as deacons. One might guess that the scene at the left were the Visitation, but only one of the women is adorned with a halo; and it is doubtful whether any part of the fresco represents stories from the New Testament instead of some hagiological legend.

The most important mural paintings of the first phase of Gothic in the western kingdom are preserved in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca. At the northwest end of the nave the pitch-dark chapel of St. Martin, illuminated now only by electricity, contains frescoes of which not the least curious thing is the iconography. One cycle of representations, on the east wall above the space where perhaps once stood the altar, groups itself about a niche which is hollowed out from the wall and of which the surfaces are treated with a polychromy of checkers containing fleurs-de-lis. Underneath the niche is painted the inscription stating the dedication of the chapel to St. Martin. It may be deduced from the surrounding subjects that the space probably contained of old a statue of the Madonna and Child. The wall that immediately frames the niche is painted to simulate a piece of a Gothic edifice from four pointed arches in which, along the vertical sides, there look forth as many lovely serenading angels. Above the edifice hovers St. Raphael, identified by an inscription, and below the dedicatory legend may be seen a frieze of the heraldic symbols of Leon and Castile. Another still broader arch is then formed about the opening, and its sides are frescoed with figures under painted Gothic trefoils, the spaces at the right, by a strange neglect of symmetry, being wider than those at the left. Inscriptions enable us to recognize in the upper arch at the right Isaiah and Daniel (Fig. 128) and in the upper arch at the left Jeremiah. Joachim occupies the whole lower arch at the right (Fig. 129), and the blurred corresponding figure on the other side may be Anna. Angelic forms embellish also the soffit of this broader niche. At the sides of the painted gable that frames at the top this whole section two further angels display scrolls with the *Gloria in excelsis*. Beneath the Joachim may be seen the indistinct traces of a scene that appears to depict a struggle, perhaps the Massacre of the Innocents, and beneath the hypothetical Anna there remain vestiges of haloed figures. On the north wall of the chapel the Ascension is represented with an iconography quite as odd and with a rigid formality that, despite the Gothic forms, embodies a strong persistence of the Romanesque tradition. A more or less usual arrangement of the theme is apparently combined with the Byzantine subject called the Etimasia, or Preparation of the Throne.[1] From the midst of the Virgin and the Apostles divided into two groups at right and left, Christ is borne aloft in a mandorla, upheld by nine angels, to a celestial mansion segregated from the earth by a *motif* of parallel lines and containing the vacant throne made ready for Him. Six adoring angels encompass the throne, and just beneath the parallel lines are the sun and moon and two further troops of symmetri-

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[1] Surely not Our Lord, as Gómez-Moreno would have it.

[2] The scene might represent merely St. Catherine surrounded by her worshippers, but her extended finger seems to betoken that she is lecturing.

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[1] Dr. Kuhn kindly calls to my attention a similar representation of the Ascension in the Psalter of Polirone, Cod. C, III, 20 of the Biblioteca Civica at Mantua, a manuscript probably of the eleventh century; see P. Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia*, 75.

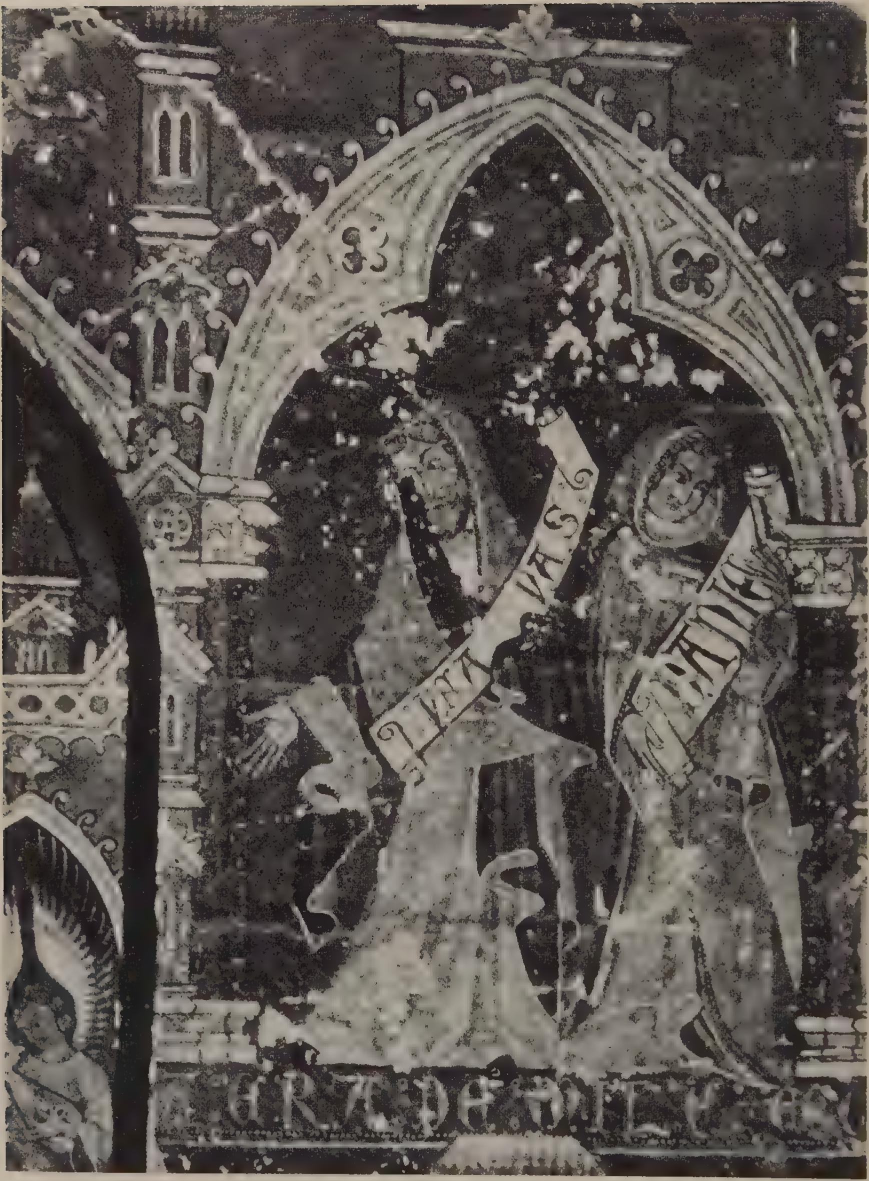

Fig. 128. ISAIAH AND DANIEL, CHAPEL OF ST. MARTIN, OLD CATHEDRAL, SALAMANCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

cally disposed angels, now conceived as flying. Several of the Apostles carry high processional crosses. The whole scene is framed in a border of foliate spirals, and the background below heaven is ornamented with a pattern that looks like a wire netting. Beneath the scene on either side of its central axis are depicted angels presenting the blessed, better preserved at the left than at the right. Beyond the Ascension towards the west on the same wall is an episcopal tomb adorned with polychromy, the repertoire of which, so far as it is any longer distinguishable, includes: on the soffit of the sepulchral arch, at the left the figure of a prelate and at the right an esquire holding three horses; on the pilasters supporting the arch the vestiges of standing forms; and in the gable above the arch apparently the dead Christ.

The chapel has the great interest of bearing a signature, Antón Sánchez de Segovia, beginning above the trefoil harboring the figures of Isaiah and Daniel and continuing below on the left side under the Jeremiah, with the final *A* of *SEGOBIA* on the right side of the niche under Isaiah; but, since the artist's activity is described as *esta obra fiso*, we are forced at once to question whether it is the name of the architect or the painter. Certainly the other inscription beneath the niche, stating the dedication, refers to the whole chapel and not to the paintings. The interest increases when we find the name of Antón Sánchez followed, beneath the Isaiah and Daniel, by a date ERA DE MIL E CCC, 1300, i. e., according to present chronology, 1262. For stylistic reasons that will be set down forthwith, I, like Mayer, find it impossible to place the frescoes so early. Does the date, then, refer to the beginning or the completion of the fabric of the chapel? It would perhaps be strange that in paintings done, let us say, forty years later there should have been inscribed a mention of the previous building of the chapel, but it is significant that the bishop Pedro Pérez, who is buried in this chapel, died in this very same year of the Era, 1300. Did he order the chapel, the tomb, and the frescoes at his death, and does the inscription allude to the moment of the initiation of all these enterprises? And did they, then, not get around to doing the frescoes until a date considerably subsequent to that

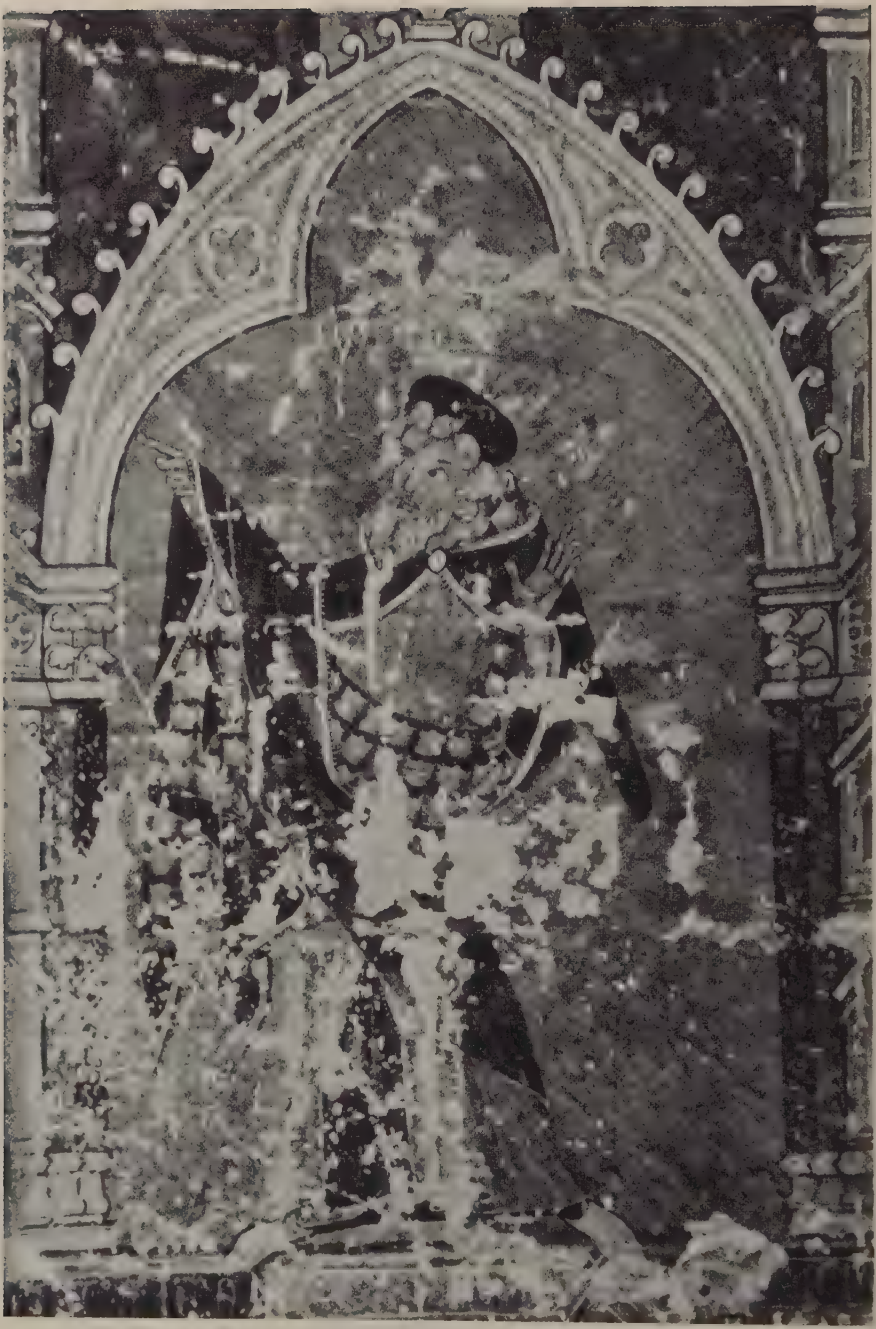

Fig. 129. ST. JOACHIM, CHAPEL OF ST. MARTIN, OLD CATHEDRAL, SALAMANCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

of the commencement of the undertaking? The frescoes to which the signature and date are attached are superior to the Ascension and surely by a different hand; and the ample, elaborately involved and undulating draperies conclusively prove that this hand could not have worked before the first years of the fourteenth century or at the earliest the very last years of the thirteenth. Indeed, in the case of the Isaiah and especially the Joachim, the folds attain almost the spread, intricacy, and magnificence that we connect with Burgundian sculpture about 1400; but the types of the countenances and the treatment of the eyes pull the date back pretty securely to the beginning of the fourteenth century. In order to realize that these paintings at Salamanca must be at least as late as about 1300, it is only necessary to give a glance at the much stiffer and constrained manner of the frescoes in the Tour Ferrande at Pernes (near Carpentras) in southern France, which are definitely dated shortly after 1266[1] but which, lying closer to the disseminating centre of Gothic in northern France, ought to be more advanced in style than the Salamanca examples, if these had been executed at about the same time. Nor will the manifestly higher artistic talent of the master of Salamanca account for so wide a stylistic divergence from the French specimens. His true distinction may be gauged by the expertly and beautifully posed and draped Joachim. The Ascension is painted by a less proficient, less vivacious, and duller Gothic craftsman, and yet, despite the fact that the forms of the flying angels are still affected by Romanesque precedent, not a craftsman who labored much, if any, earlier. The polychromy of the already mentioned tomb in the chapel was perhaps carried out by the artist responsible for the decoration of the east wall.

The niches of several other tombs in the Old Cathedral and in the cloister display the vestiges of Franco-Gothic mural paintings executed by capable hands at about the same period as the chapel of St. Martin and, as on the monuments in S. Miguel de Foces in Aragon, reproducing the themes that were more usually rendered on sepulchres in sculpture. The most extensive remains are found in the south transept on the tombs of a Doña Elena, a benefactress of the church, and of an Alonso Vidal, dean of Avila and canon of Salamanca. In the former instance the space within the niche above the recumbent effigy is embellished with an Epiphany divided between four compartments created by the ribs. To the corresponding section on the other monument is assigned the Coronation of the Virgin, divided by no ribs, although separated into three parts by the painted colonnettes of an arcade; and the soffit of the broad arch that encloses the niche has received as decoration at the left the paired figures of (?) Sts. Peter and Paul and at the right two holy deacons. Doña Elena's death occurred in 1272, and in this instance I cannot follow Mayer in finding any difficulty in dating in the immediately succeeding years the frescoes of either sepulchre, which exhibit more primitive forms, less sinuous draperies, and, generally, a less emancipated style than either the Ascension or the Prophets and angels of the St. Martin chapel.

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[1] J. Guiffrey, *La peinture française, Les primitifs*, II, 1925, p. 5.

The semidome of the apse of the church of Zorita del Páramo, two kilometres from Herrera de Pisuerga in the province of Palencia, is adorned with frescoes that are also plunged in darkness, in this instance by the retable built in front of them. To crawl through the winding and contracted passage-way to the space behind the high altar requires even more serpentine contortions than to see the Romanesque paintings at San Martín Sescorts in Catalonia; but despite the fact that I accomplished this with the danger of being stuck in the aperture like a cinematographic actor, I was able, even with the aid of candles, to distinguish only some of the letters of the accompanying inscriptions. The dimly seen palaeography appeared to me Gothic rather than Romanesque, whether of the fourteenth or fifteenth century I am unable to say. Dr. Kuhn, whose eyes are younger than mine, has identified the now extant figures as a Christ of the Last Judgment set against a starred blue background and flanked by the Evangelistic symbols of Sts. Mark and Luke; and he proposes the first half of the fifteenth century as a date.

The Franco-Gothic frescoes of the first half of the fourteenth century that once embellished the ruined Gothic Ermita de S. Baudelio at Los Balbases, just southwest of Burgos, have almost totally disappeared, but on the south wall of the nave the enthroned Christ and the soul-weighing of a Last Judgment may yet be descried.[1]

The likewise ruined and abandoned churches of S. Pedro del Olmo at Toro and of S. Pedro at Alcazarén (south of Valladolid just off the road to Olmedo) preserve more extensive remains of mural decoration, the major part of which in both instances is a line of Apostles in the zone beneath the semidome of the apse. The work in the apse at Toro was perhaps executed in the early years of the fourteenth century, and, notwithstanding the rather fine draughtsmanship in the draperies, is, on the whole, technically inferior to the attainment at Alcazarén. Of the niches, under round arches, by which the monotony of the wall is architecturally relieved, the central one is devoted to the seated Saviour, holding the orb and bestowing His benediction. In the other niches and on the mural spaces between them six standing forms have been spared, all of whom are probably Apostles except perhaps the figure immediately to the left of the centre, who, clad in a garment that may possibly be a dalmatic and grasping the attribute of what may be a comb or fork, could conceivably represent St. Vincent. St. Paul and Santiago are unmistakable, and another of the Apostles, bearing a small St. Andrew's cross, would be St. Andrew or St. Philip. On almost all of the figures brocades of delicate designs are still visible. Some further bits of fresco are left in the church. Over the arch leading into the north subordinate apse, the color has crumbled away, but the outlines remain of a Madonna and Child seated between two candle-bearing angels (Fig. 130), highly creditable Franco-Gothic productions of perhaps a slightly later date in the fourteenth century than the paintings of the main apse; and on the wall that is substituted for a south subordinate apse the form of a fighting angel (St. Michael?) is yet further effaced and, besides, truncated to below the waist.

Although the drapery of the blessing Christ at Toro indulges in rather elaborate Gothic curves, the sinuosity is more developed in general in the forms at Alcazarén and perhaps implies that they were executed less early in the fourteenth century than those at Toro in the apse. The zone beneath the semidome is not broken into niches at Alcazarén, and the Apostles, from whom the color has now virtually faded *in toto*, are framed in narrow rectangular compartments rendered merely in paint (Fig. 131). From left to right the five extant figures are Sts. Bartholomew, Philip, Peter, Paul, and an unidentified Apostle. Beneath this first zone of painting the dim vestiges of another tier of decoration may be discerned, the Virgin and Gabriel of the Annunciation on either side of an expanse of pure design. Faint and unrecognizable forms are also left adorning one of the windows at the level of the Apostles.

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[1] The penitential procession painted on the left wall of the nave of the Ermita de S. Millán at Puentedura, south of Burgos, and assigned by Juan Sanz (*Iconografía Mariana*) to the thirteenth century seems to me a work of a date at least as late as the fifteenth century, and its discussion may thus be postponed to a subsequent volume.

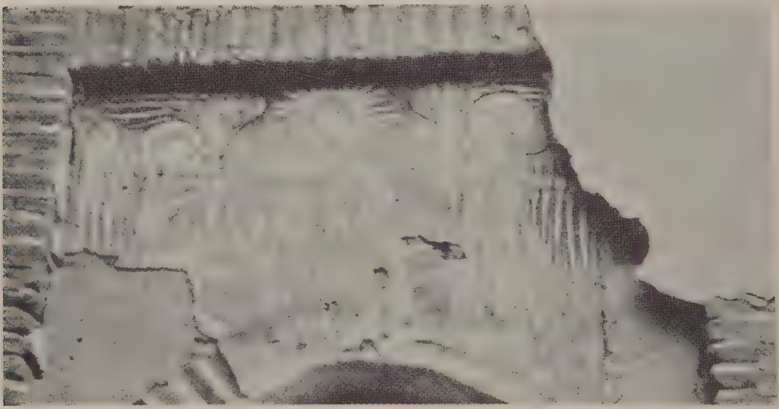

Fig. 130. MADONNA AND ANGELS,
S. PEDRO DEL OLMO, TORO

Since, because of the rigid *clausura*, I have not been able to visit the Dominican convent at Segovia within which the so-called Torre de Hércules is situated and since the reproductions of the frescoes of this tower in the *Monumentos arquitectónicos* and in Lozoya's article in the twenty-seventh volume of the *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* are inadequate, I cannot determine to my own satisfaction whether the paintings should be classified as Romanesque or Gothic. The tower, a part of an old palace, is probably a structure of the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, and the polychrome embellishment would presumably have been added soon after. The frescoes are found in two large rooms which

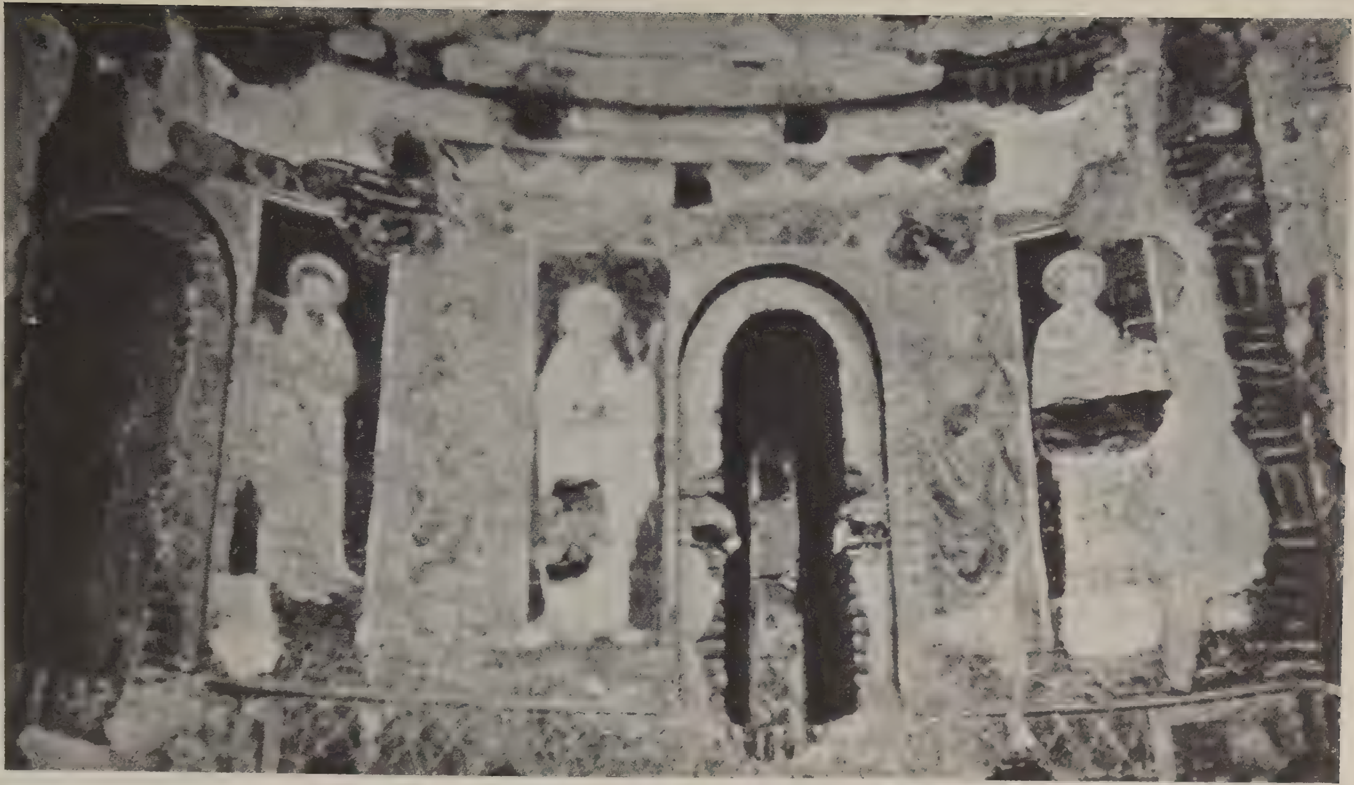

Fig. 131. FRESCOES OF APOSTLES, S. PEDRO, ALCAZARÉN

occupy two of its stories and which are completely faced with plaster. They consist, in each room, of a dado painted on the stucco and divided into compartments, the subjects of which are military scenes, forms of animals, or mere passages of Moorish pure design. The polychromy is continued also on the stairway. The intent evidently was to reproduce in flat paint the modelled plaster walls of Mohammedan dwellings. Among the *motifs* of the pure design the geometrical interlace is very frequent, sometimes admitting small figures of animals in its interstices, but there are also other Moorish patterns of flowers and of imitation of tiling. The meaning of all this is that the artists were *mudéjares* pursuing their own style, as so often, for Christian employers or that Christian artisans here aped the insinuating charm of the interior decoration of the infidels. The unsatisfactory reproductions render it impossible to discern what is the actual style in the painting of the human figure. Perhaps, as the Marqués de Lozoya suggests, it is simply Mohammedan, although we have no Moorish painting of this period in Spain as a standard by which to judge it. The frescoes of the Torre de las Damas in the Alhambra, if they be Moorish, are of the fourteenth century. The manner of the ceilings of the Sala de la Justicia in the Alhambra is Christian and Franco-Gothic, and it is not out of the question that here at Segovia Christian example should have afforded the style for the delineation of the human form, even in the midst of the Mohammedan decoration. Whether in that case the style should be described as late Romanesque or early Gothic, I cannot say. The beasts, utilized as large, separate *motifs* or entwined in the interlace, look as if they had come off oriental fabrics and sometimes recall the animals in the Romanesque capitals of the cloister of Sto. Domingo de Silos, where Moorish intervention of some sort is also likely; but the human forms, in the illustrations, give a vague impression of being Gothic. A similar combination of patches of *mudéjar* design with figured themes we shall encounter in the monastery of Santiponce near Seville in the early fifteenth century.

The fresco of Our Lady of the Fleur-de-lis, formerly in the no longer extant church of the Virgen de la Almudena at Madrid and now in a chapel on the Gospel side of the crypt in the new cathedral, has undergone such extensive pious retouching that any stable conclusion in regard to the style and date is impossible (Fig. 132). The simulated framing architecture, consisting of a polylobed arch borne on columns and capitals, might have been painted at the end of the thirteenth or in the fourteenth century; and the general stylistic evidence of the figures themselves almost compels the belief that the overlay hides a characteristic seated Franco-Gothic Madonna. A choice between the thirteenth and fourteenth century for a date is a knottier problem. There is much that points to the earlier moment — the stiff, frontal pose of the Virgin, the narrowness of her head, the rigid oval of her countenance, the sharp lines of her almond-shaped eyes, the resemblance of the type of the Child to the thirteenth century Tusco-Byzantine representations of the infant Christ with His mother, and the leafage of the capitals. Yet the outlines of the Virgin's mantle, elements which are least

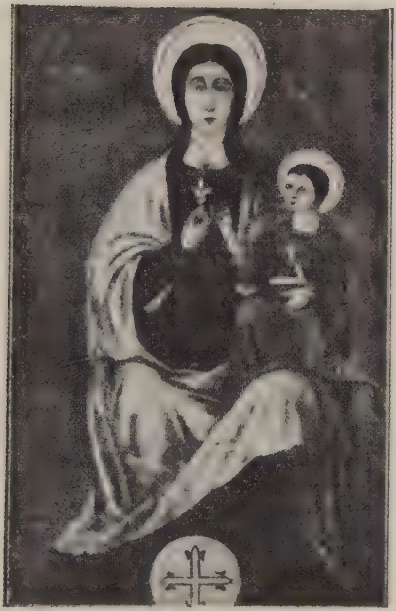

Fig. 132. OUR LADY OF THE FLEUR-DE-LIS, NEW CATHEDRAL, MADRID

likely to have been disturbed by restorations, expand into a fullness of Gothic folds that betokens the fourteenth century and would not be out of place even in the first half of the fifteenth century. I should not, indeed, absolutely exclude the possibility that the work emanated from the Italianate Gothic movement of the end of the fourteenth century or even from the Italian form of internationalism imported into Castile in the first half of the fifteenth century by Dello Delli.[1]

2. The Christian Section of Southern Spain in the Franco-Gothic Period

Southern Spain, with the exception of the kingdom of Granada, was now in Christian hands, but in this Christian part of Andalusia nothing remains to us, either on wall or panel, of the first phase of Gothic, unless it be three frescoed Madonnas of the fourteenth century at Seville. Like Our Lady of the Fleur-de-lis at Madrid, they have been subjected to so thoroughgoing a job of restoration that it is now impossible to decide whether they are Gallic or Italian in inspiration; but since, on the whole, the scale of truth seems to tip rather in the latter direction and since, in any case, it will make for greater order to discuss the different aspects of the early art of Seville together, we may more conveniently postpone their consideration. The Franco-Gothic illuminations of the works of Alfonso the Wise, which were executed at Seville towards the end of the thirteenth century, fall without the scope of this book. The Mohammedan section of Southern Spain, however, does preserve cycles of ceiling and wall paintings that will find their proper place at the end of the present chapter.

3. Franco-Gothic Panels in Northwestern Spain

The western kingdom can present to the student but few panel paintings in the Franco-Gothic manner besides the already mentioned retables of Álava and Logroño. The best known is a reliquary of the patron of Madrid, St. Isidore the

[1] Only a few shadows remain of the frescoes on the south portal of S. Juan del Mercado at Benavente in the province of Zamora, described by Gómez-Moreno in his *Catálogo monumental* and assigned by him to the thirteenth century.

Ploughman, now kept, in a sad state of deterioration, in the Archiepiscopal Palace of that city. It is a question whether the term, panel painting, is here strictly applicable, for the painting is done upon the leather or parchment that covers the wooden chest. The style is that of the lively, Gallicized illuminations, admitting the introduction of much detail from contemporary existence, which adorn the literary compositions of Alfonso the Wise of Castile. The master performs his task with extraordinary delicacy and skill, drawing the forms of horses, for instance, with unexpected correctness; but there is an indigenous overtone in the various themes depicted which, as in the miniatures of Alfonso the Wise, imposes the belief that the hand was not a Frenchman's but a Spaniard's. The monument has been assigned to the reign of this monarch (1252–1284), but it cannot have been executed before the very last years of his reign, and it is more likely that, whether the miniatures in the manuscripts of his compositions were done before or after his death, the reliquary itself was not painted until the beginning of the fourteenth century.[1] The pictorial embellishment of the back of the shrine has disappeared; but, of the compartments under pointed, trefoiled arches on its face, the first four at the left are devoted to the miracle of the supernatural oxen ploughing for St. Isidore, the next two embody the story of his feeding of the famished doves, and the last pair the charity to the beggar from the wonderfully replenished pot. The similarly framed episodes on the lid are almost obliterated, but Amador de los Ríos thought that he distinguished in the first two compartments at the left the canonized farmer kneeling before two images of the Virgin to which he had a special devotion, and guessed that the rest of the lid depicted miracles wrought at the saint's sepulchre. The ends of the chest display an Annunciation, the central compartment of which is occupied by a vase of flowers, and a Pietà between the Virgin(?) and the Magdalene (or St. Mary of

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[1] I should, therefore, virtually agree with the old opinion of Amador de los Ríos (*Museo español de antigüedades*, IV, 593–625), who places the monument at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. I should not, however, concur in his discernment of Italian influence, nor am I sure always of the validity of the arguments by which he arrives at his dating, for instance his belief that the word *tumba* used of the saint's shrine in the fourteenth century implies the existence of the present wooden reliquary in contrast to the more ancient stone receptacle.

Egypt). The pointed triangular spaces above these two subjects at the ends of the lid contain censing angels.

In the Museo Diocesano attached to the cathedral of Avila is preserved a proficiently executed figure of St. Paul, three or four feet high and painted upon a narrow strip of wood, a fragment of a retable, a door at the side of a retable, an organ-case, or some other piece of ecclesiastical furniture (Fig. 133). The style belongs to that moment in the first half or middle of the thirteenth century when the Gothic is just emerging from the bonds of the Romanesque. The form is elongated like the statues on the jambs of church portals, the legs appear to be crossed in the manner of so many of such sculptured Romanesque figures, and the head retains something of Romanesque schematization. The draperies still betray the Romanesque adhesion to the body but are beginning to loosen into Gothic sinuosity. We might think that the painter had definitely in mind such transitional statues between Romanesque and Gothic as those upon the west portal of S. Vicente at Avila, particularly since the panel is said to have once adorned this church; but neither the facial type nor the folds of the garments are the same.

The Plandiura Collection at Barcelona has recently been enriched by the acquisition of a number of Franco-Gothic panels coming from the town of Mahamud, southwest of Burgos, and executed at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century in a manner like that which was then practised in Navarre, Logroño, and Álava. The group of panels, all of which have gold backgrounds, have been alleged to be parts of the wooden sarcophagus of Don Sancho Saiz de Carrillo, but their present owner may be right in his belief that only the pieces depicting the lamentation for the dead and heraldic themes served this purpose and that the panels with sacred subjects, although in the same style, adorned some other monument in the church. Four panels from the longer side of the sarcophagus, display lines of mourners, the theme that was common on the sculptured tombs.[1] On three of the panels the mourners are men, one of whom has a child with him (Fig. 134); on the fourth the figures are women. The manifestations of grief are everywhere cleverly and beautifully varied. Each of the end-

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[1] C. R. Post, *A History of European and American Sculpture*, I, 129.

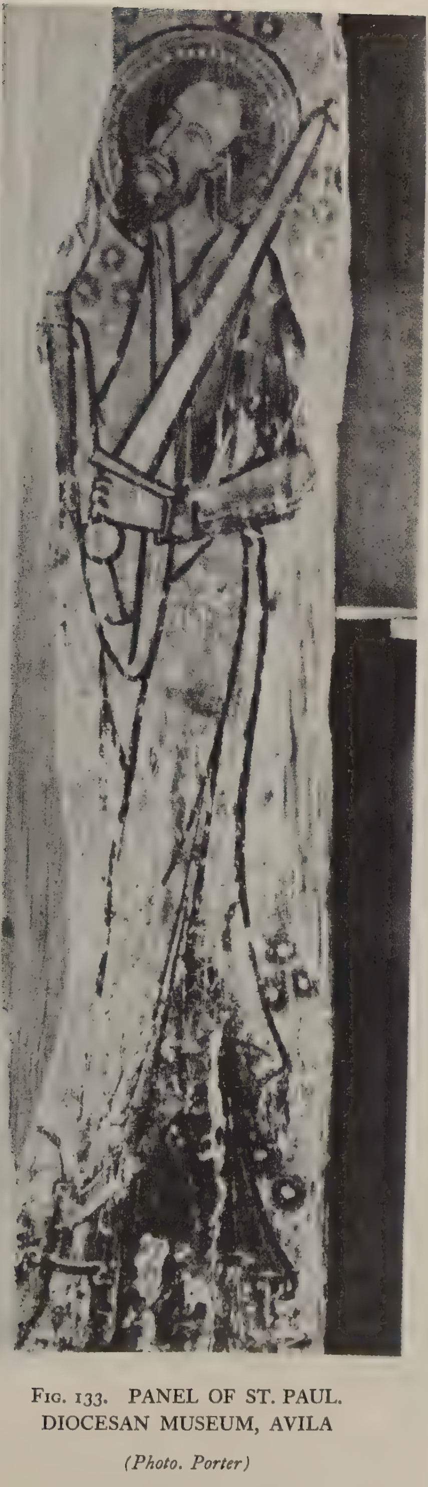

Fig. 133. PANEL OF ST. PAUL.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, AVILA

(Photo. Porter)

pieces of the tomb is embellished merely with a pair of escutcheons. Of the other two panels, which may or may not belong to the tomb, one is ornamented at the right with a mandorla-enclosed Pantocrator surrounded by the signs of the Evangelists and at the left with a Crucifixion; the second is subdivided into four compartments, one pair above the other, containing representations of the Annunciation, Nativity, Dormition, and Coronation.[1]

Western Spain has preserved also a certain number of the typical polychrome, Franco-Gothic ceilings, of which those in the lower cloister of Sto. Domingo de Silos have received most archaeological attention (Fig. 135). The roof in the east walk is a modern substitution for the ruined old one, and that in the south walk is pretty largely a recent imitation, but in the west and north walks the restorations are comparatively few. Only the vertical sides of the cross-beams and the frieze-boards are adorned with human and animal forms, whereas the soffits of the beams and the spaces between the beams display merely pure design; but nowhere at the period are the indiscriminate profusion and confusion of secular and sacred themes characteristic of the ceilings squandered more lavishly than on these vertical faces. Angels, saints, and monks engaged in ever varied activities are mingled with beasts, birds, monsters, and grotesques. An unusual wealth of episodes of *genre*, chiefly from the life of chivalry and of the aristocracy but including even bull-fighting, are set side by side with such religious subjects as the Madonna and Child. The large intrusion of the secular, appropriate enough to the hall of a castle, might surprise us in a monastic enclosure, did we not find the same phenomenon in other ecclesiastical roofs and did we not have the analogue of Romanesque and Gothic carving. The technical methods conform to the restrictions and conventionalizations that were the norm in painted roofs,[2] and the drawing is not above that habitual summary treatment which betrays the authors to have been, not master artists, but mere honest craftsmen. The backgrounds of the figures are red and green, but the green may

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[1] I have not seen the Crucifixion on canvas in the convent of Sancti Spíritus at Toro, which Gómez-Moreno, in the *Catálogo monumental*, describes as a work of the fourteenth century repainted in the sixteenth.

[2] See above, p. 44.

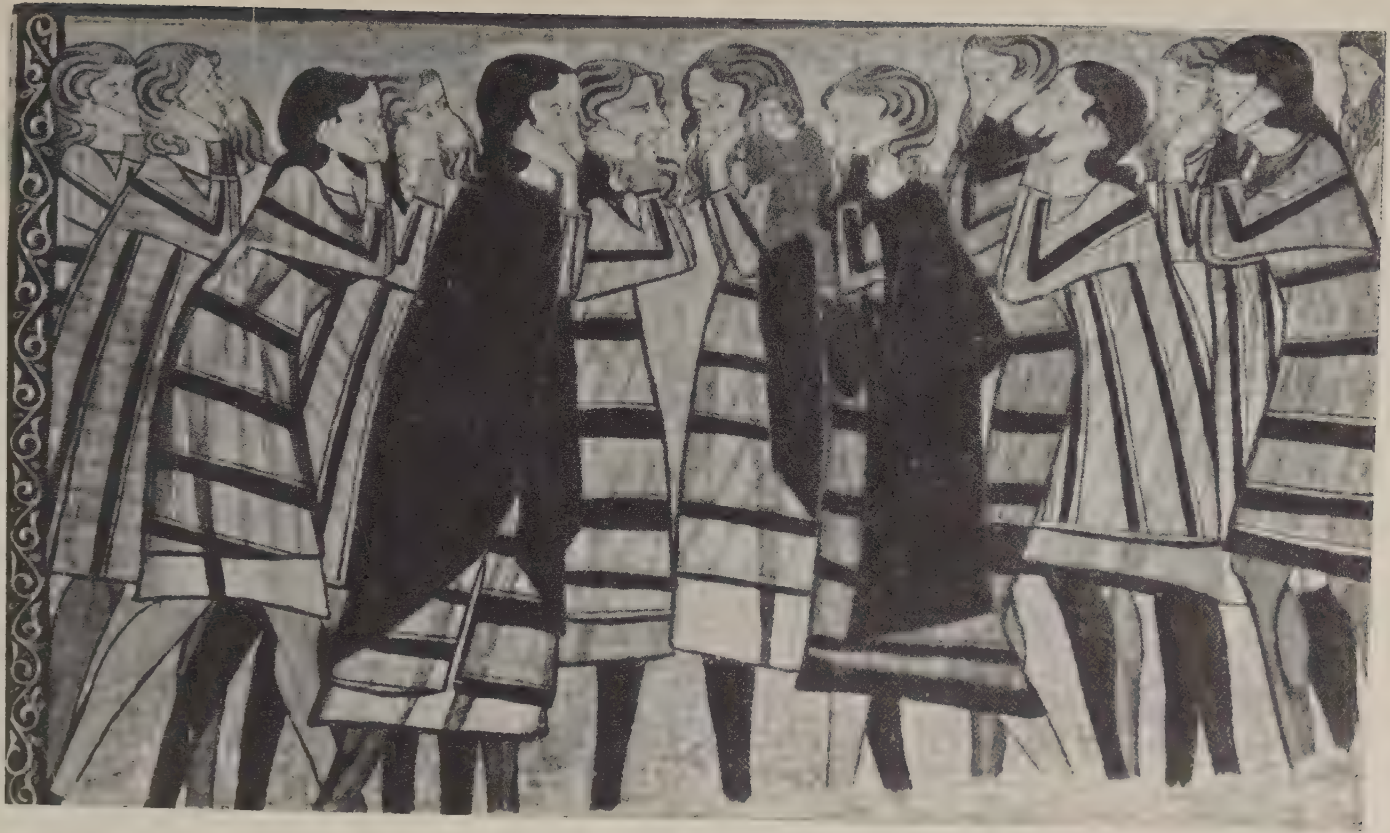

Fig. 134. PANEL OF MOURNERS FROM TOMB OF SANCHO SAIZ DE CARRILLO AT MAHAMUD. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

represent an original blue, as was evidently the idea of the modern restorers. The roofs have ordinarily been ascribed to the end of the fourteenth or to the early fifteenth century, and it has been conjectured that they were done shortly after a fire that occurred at Silos in 1384 during the episcopate, at Burgos, of Gonzalo de Mena y Roelas Vargas (1382–1394),[1] who immediately after the conflagration authorized the bestowal of benefactions upon the monastery. It is probably his escutcheon that frequently appears in the ceilings together with the royal shields of Castile and Leon.

In the ceiling of the cloister of S. Juan at Castrogeriz, directly west of Burgos, it seems to be only the frieze-boards that exhibit decoration with human forms, consisting of busts whose costume would set the execution already in the fifteenth century. The numerous pieces of a roof now installed (besides two bits of the ceiling of the cathedral at Teruel) in the Archaeological Museum of Madrid once decorated the castle of Curiel close to Peñafiel, east of Valladolid. Similar in style to the ceiling of Sto. Domingo de Silos and probably about contemporary, the roof exhibits, nevertheless, more consciously artistic draughtsmanship than any of its fellows. Against red and blue backgrounds are depicted, with even more than the usual charm that attaches to this phase of Spanish painting, a plenitude of grotesque and romantic themes, comprising, for instance, animals hunting one another, a combat with a wild man, and an amorous scene in a tent. The same Museum contains two heraldically embellished fragments from the ex-convent of the Concepción at Leon.

4. Mohammedan Spain

The subject of the decoration of ceilings carries us finally, as we follow the distant ramblings of the Franco-Gothic style, not only to the southern part of the peninsula but out of Christian Spain into Mohammedan Granada. The examples in question are the celebrated paintings in the small elliptical domes of three niches in the Sala de la Justicia or (more properly) Sala de los

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[1] So Eubel (*Hierarchia catholica*) gives the dates of his episcopate; the less authoritative Gams (*Series episcoporum*) confines them to 1388–1393.

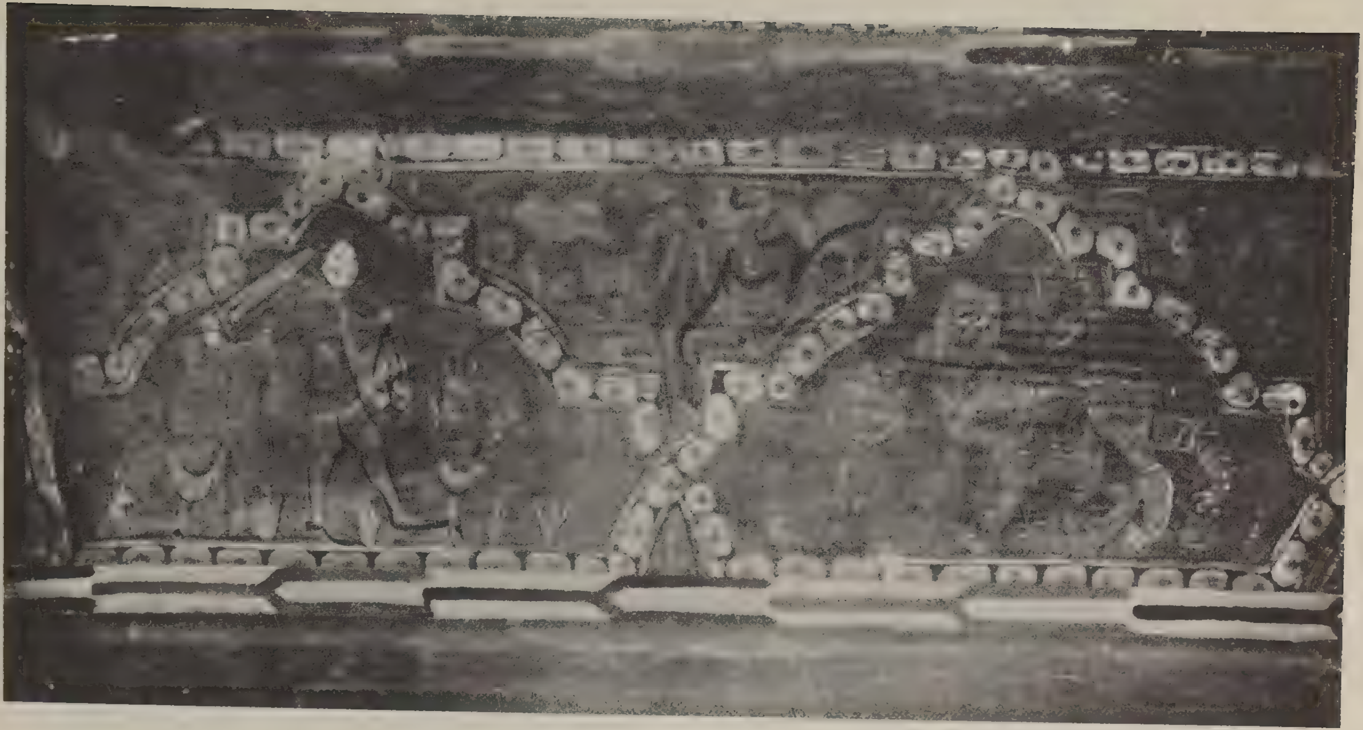

FIG. 135. SECTION OF CEILING, CLOISTER OF STO. DOMINGO DE SILOS

(Photo. Porter)

Reyes in the Alhambra. The process, since the execution is upon *gesso* spread over leather, is different from that of the wooden ceilings; but, although the mood and *genre* of the international movement are prophesied, the fundamental manner is still certainly Franco-Gothic, and, although the stylization that distinguishes the polychromy of the roofs in northern Spain has given way to freer compositions and less schematized figures, yet the conventions of these roofs are retained in the flat, bright color, with almost no modelling and with the restriction of what modelling there is to lines. The theme of the central ceiling assists in the computation of the date. Following the course of the ellipse, there are seated on cushions, placed upon a carpet or divan, ten Moorish princes who have been taken to represent the first ten sultans of the Beni-Nasr dynasty, so that the paintings would have been ordered by the tenth, Mohammed VI, who reigned from 1396 to 1408, a period that accords perfectly with the style of the works as a belated expression of Franco-Gothic artistic fashions. It should be pointed out, however, that this calculation involves two difficulties, for the interpretation of the subject as the first ten kings of Granada is conjectural, and the consideration of Mohammed VI as the tenth of the dynasty excludes from the reckoning the usurpers of the fourteenth century, Ismail II and Abu Saïd, who are often numbered in the regular line. Kühnel places the paintings prior to 1390 for no other reason than the doubtful hypothesis that artists would not have been admitted to the room after that year, when it became a part of the harem;[1] but the style and costumes betray no elements that would gainsay a date anywhere in the last third of the fourteenth century. The background of the central ceiling is of gold stamped with a slightly embossed foliate pattern which is varied at the apex by a line of stars. In the two lateral domes the backgrounds are blue (one of them more darkened than the other) striped at the top with a red band again accented by a stellar *motif* in low relief. Gold is sparingly used also for the accenting of costumes, armor, harnesses, and the like.

The subjects of the two lateral domes are excerpts from aspects of the chivalric life of the epoch that involve a contact

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[1] Kühnel, *Granada*, 84.

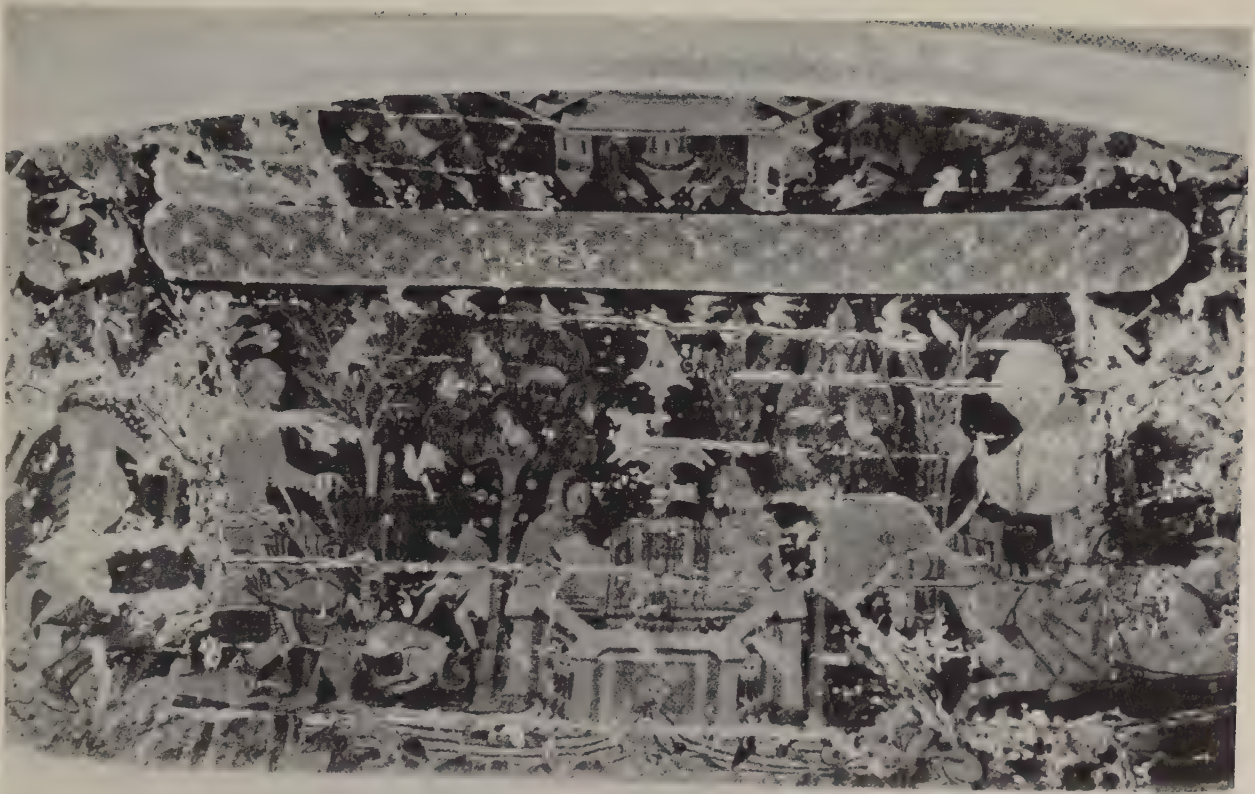

FIG. 136. CEILING, SALA DE LOS REYES, ALHAMBRA, GRANADA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

of Moors and Christians, and perhaps the episodes are united, in the mind of the artist, by some as yet undiscovered literary source, a Moorish tale or a Spanish short story. With multiple and scattered detail, the scenes are presented, without separation from one another, in a rather confused mêlée, and yet there is some attempt at composition, on each side of each ellipse, by a balance of groups and of object with object about a central edifice. On one side of one ceiling, an exotic fountain of complicated form and charming components, the trysting place of a Spanish youth and damsel, is flanked by a Christian hunt of a bear and a Moorish chase of a boar (Fig. 136). The axis of the other side is constituted by an elaborately depicted Christian castle, which displays another picturesque fountain in its façade and many personages peering forth from its openings. To the left the Moorish huntsman, with his companions, presents the slain boar to a Catholic maiden and her attendants (Fig. 137), while at the right (to judge from Saravia's copies of this now ruined section) his Christian rival does the same thing with the bear that he has killed. The space at one end of the ellipse is occupied by the previous loading of the boar upon a horse, and the space at the other end by further details of the bear hunt. The better preserved of the two longer sides of the other ceiling very evidently enshrines some tale of chivalry. At the left of the central castle a maiden, holding a chained lion, is saved from a wild man by the onslaught of a Christian cavalier, and the same lady appears again in a loggia of the castle watching her defender at the right discomfited in a mounted duel by a Moor. The other longer side has been nearly erased, but it can be seen that the central edifice covers a larger space than in the other instances and that in the midst of it a Christian youth resting on a cushion is playing chess with a (?) maiden. To the left are further hunting episodes. Not only are the buildings and castles already bright with the romantic picturesqueness of the international style, but the scenes are enacted amidst luxuriant groves richly dotted, in the international way, with all manners of birds, beasts, and, in the water of the fountain, even swimming ducks.

Nevertheless, it is only these factors of an exuberant and sprightly imagination that look forward to the international

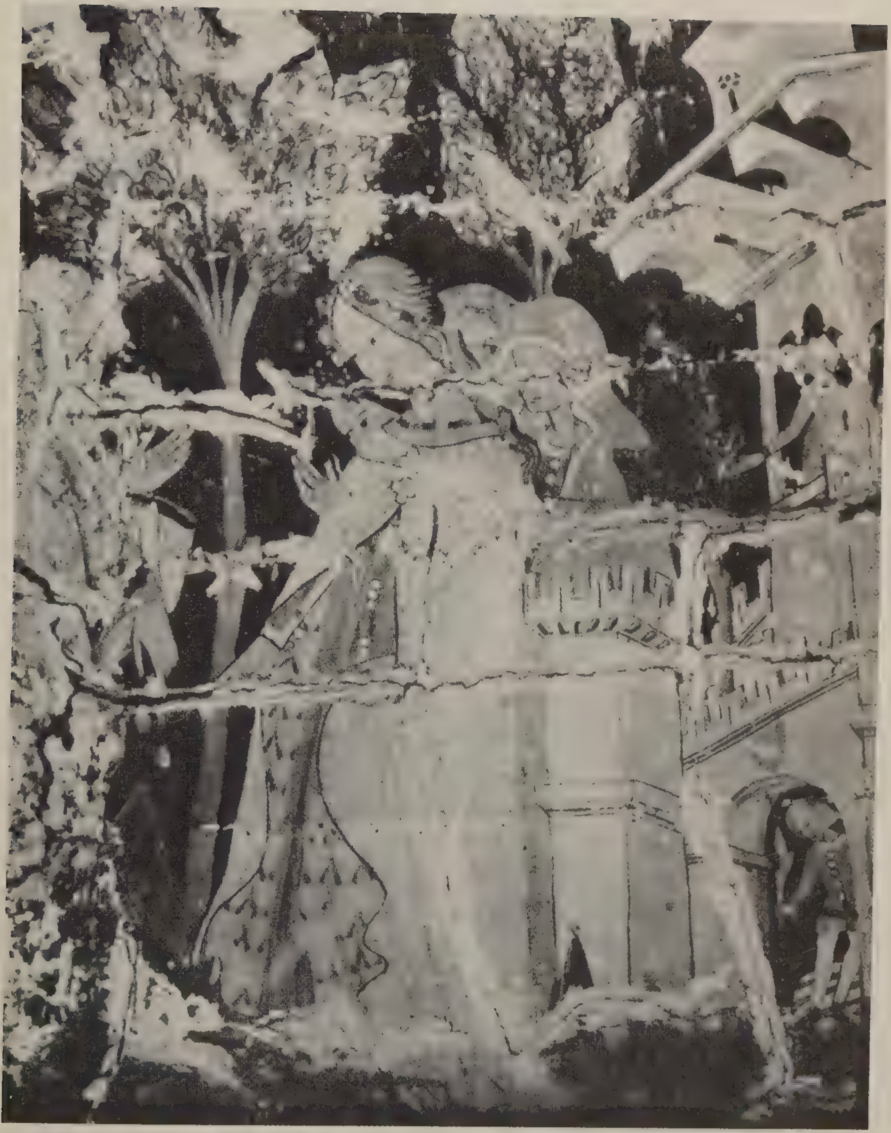

Fig. 137. DETAIL OF CEILING, SALA DE LOS REYES, ALHAMBRA, GRANADA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

movement, and the general style is not yet "international" but the purer Franco-Gothic manner that led into it. The forms are not the elegant and attenuated physiques of international art; the draperies possess neither the Sienese undulations that found their way into the international style nor the Burgundian fashions of costume; and the types and methods are those of the fourteenth century, whereas the "floruit" of the international movement belongs to the early fifteenth. Those who have written upon these paintings before, however various their opinions in regard to the author, have been almost unanimous in acknowledging some Italian elements. The types are said to be derived from those of contemporary Italian art, the costumes of the women have been called Italian, and the representation of the basin of the principal fountain as supported by a group of nude statues has been ascribed to the spirit of the young Italian Renaissance. An oral opinion of Mr. Berenson is reported as assigning the ceilings to a Florentine master, and he kindly confirms to me in writing that he recalls them as Italianate. Mayer allows himself only the vague phrase "an Italo-Spanish master," and he even follows this with a point of interrogation. Tormo, on the other hand, has been so venturesome as to become specific and suggest some Valencian pupil of Starnina for the honor. Bertaux, while admitting a potent Giottesque strain, believed that the painter had been influenced also by the Franco-Gothic school of miniaturists at Seville that had begun at the end of the thirteenth century with the illumination of the works of Alfonso the Wise. As so often, I find myself seeing again with the eyes of this great French scholar who first discovered the solution of so many problems in early Spanish art: my desire would be to emphasize even further than he the Franco-Gothic contribution and practically to exclude the Italian. Nor, in view of the large number of Franco-Gothic frescoes and panels that have become known since Bertaux wrote, is there any necessity of deriving the Granada paintings from the school of illumination at Seville, with which, despite the pretty settings of foliage and architecture in the miniatures of the works of Alfonso the Wise, they have no more specific affiliations than are implied by membership in the same general artistic tendency. The types are like those of many another

Spanish adaptation of the French Gothic style, particularly those of the women and of the bobbed-haired young men. A single detail often gives away the truth in criticism as well as in life. Such is the red headdress of the last woman in the group conversing with the Moors (Fig. 137), which resembles closely that of many a French statue of the Madonna in the fourteenth century. It is undeniable that Gallicism of this sort tinged also the Trecento painting of Italy, especially at Siena, but there is nothing to show that the artist of the Alhambra had in mind the Sienese interpretations of French Gothicism rather than the original French or even Spanish Gothic models. The Christian youths on the ceilings, for instance, look more like the French type than like Simone Martini's manipulation of this type for the representations of the adolescent St. Martin at Assisi. I can discern no trace of the influence of Giotto or the Florentine Giotteschi in the figures of the ten sultans in whose more monumental forms it would perhaps be most expected. It is not impossible that the painter knew examples of Italian art, but, if so, he does not delineate his personages in such a way that the Italian strain stands out or is distinguishable from the French. When similar feminine costumes put in their appearance in Italian art, as in the work of the Lombard Giovanni da Milano, they are of Gallic origin. Some of the frescoes in the Palace of the Popes at Avignon, executed by Simone Martini's pupil, Matteo da Viterbo, and by Matteo's *bottega*, resemble the paintings of the Alhambra, with which they are contemporary, in subjects from the chivalric life of the day, in the setting of opulent foliage, and in an affection for ornithological *genre;* and they are likewise transitional to the international style. These qualities are probably Gallic superimpositions upon the Sienese foundation of Matteo's style, and Matteo's Sienese types are not those of the Granada master. We have already encountered similar knightly and romantic themes in the Franco-Gothic frescoes of Alcañiz. Certainly the nudes of the fountain cannot be taken alone as proof of Italianism, particularly when they are so lamely rendered, and it must be remembered that the undraped human form was no anomaly in French art of the period.

The technical ability, indeed, is below the average skill of even secondary Italian masters of the epoch, but the same defect may be imputed to Italianate Spanish painters. The craft is no higher, to say the least, than that of other artists who used the Franco-Gothic manner in the peninsula. The drawing is often very rudimentary in figures and landscape alike, being at its worst in the horses, and movement is awkwardly rendered. Among the more carefully executed passages are some of the heads of youths, the episode of the Moorish rider attacking a boar, and the whole section depicting the hoisting of the boar upon a horse, a compact composition in which the postures of the participants are surprisingly well managed. The third dimension is not realized, possibly in part because the artist was clinging to the conventions of roof-painting and in part because he was trying to adapt himself to the temper of oriental art which prefers flatness to relief. It is only in the larger figures of the sultans that we begin to get some slight indication of shadow.

Although the style is unmistakably Franco-Gothic, the old hypothesis of a Moorish author has been dismissed by modern criticism in too summary a fashion. Unmodelled expanses of color are the rule in oriental illumination. Perhaps we are not merely beguiling ourselves into seeing what we wish, when we discern an occasional and comparative nicety of delineation, as in the heads of Christian and Moorish youths, in the turbans, and in the effigies of the ten sultans, and when we then think instinctively of the delicacy of Mohammedan manuscripts. The representation of scenes of *genre*, however, we can hardly trace to Persian miniatures, for such themes were just beginning to develop in this phase of Mohammedan illumination and could hardly yet have reached Spain. But they were no novelty in the decoration of Mohammedan palaces, as the discovery of the mural paintings of the seventh or eighth century in the Syrian castle of Amra has shown us or as we might have gleaned from the description of the dwellings in Islamic literature. The master may have been a Moor trained in a Christian school of art and remembering something of the types and draughtsmanship of Mohammedan illumination, or, if he was a Christian, he may have seen such manuscripts and have tried to suit his production to the style and atmosphere of the Alhambra. The elder

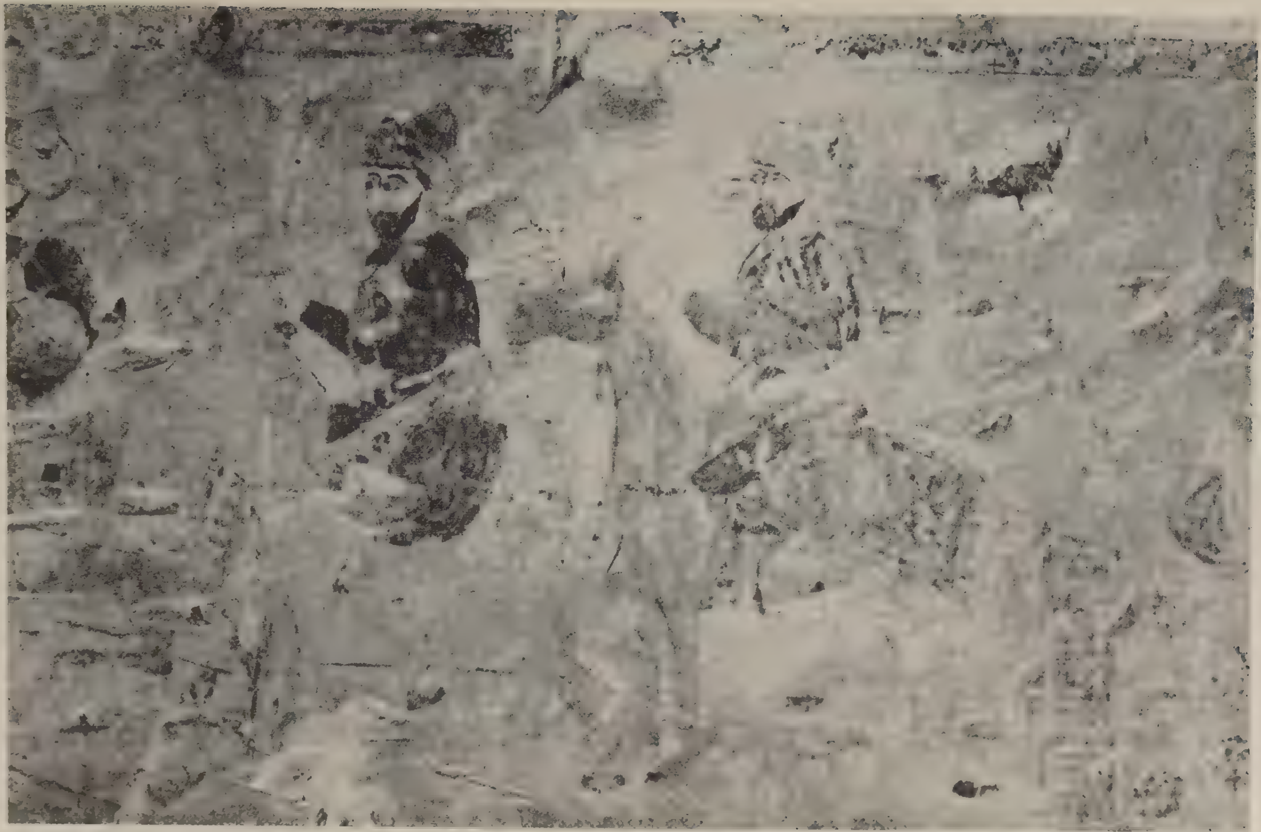

Fig. 138. DETAIL OF FRESCOES, TORRE DE LAS DAMAS, GRANADA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Gómez-Moreno rejects the theory of Moorish authorship on the ground of the painter's ignorance of Arabic script and of the exact details of Mohammedan costume.[1]

That the Moors did not eschew the use of themes from the life of the day for the pictorial embellishment of interiors, is further proved by the frescoes on plaster in a small structure attached at the west to the so-called Torre de las Damas just outside the Alhambra. The structure was probably built in the fourteenth century, and there is nothing in the style of the frescoes to contradict such a date for their execution. The paintings are in a deplorable state of dilapidation, but, as far as the representations may be deciphered, they are drawn wholly from Mohammedan experience, without the Christian intervention that marks the three ceilings of the Sala de la Justicia. They are divided into three zones of decoration, and each zone, with its individual theme, appears to have been originally continued around the different walls of the room; but at present it is only on the east and west walls that paintings are preserved. Within at least the broader central zone the figures are arranged also in several horizontal layers. Gómez-Moreno [2] discerns the following subjects in the shattered remains: in the topmost zone, hunting scenes; in the middle zone, the return of troops to an encampment (Fig. 138) and a digression of a fight with a tiger or lion; and, in the lowest zone, episodes of domestic relaxation and amusement. The purely Mohammedan themes, the presence of camels in the cavalcades, the lions and tigers that are the objects of the hunting, above all the numerous correct Arabic inscriptions on banners and trappings render plausible Gómez-Moreno's assignment of the frescoes to the credit of Moorish rather than Christian art; but their ruined condition precludes a categorical decision. The types are perhaps more clearly Moorish than the members of the same religion depicted on the ceilings, and yet even there, particularly in the ten sultans, the ethnic character of the invaders of Spain is cleverly simulated. In any case, one does not have to belong to a race in order to paint its personages effectively. The most difficult of the other Moorish characteristics to imitate would have been the Arabic inscriptions. If we take the style and technique rather than the subjects as a criterion, we are not justified in asserting with any conviction that the draughtsmanship in general has more of the nicety of Mohammedan illumination than the paintings of the Sala de los Reyes, although the horses do seem to be somewhat better drawn. As a matter of fact, we know Mohammedan painting at this epoch only through the miniatures, and very few miniatures are extant from a date prior to the fourteenth century. The most oriental factor is the stylization of the fighting tiger or lion. Nevertheless, not enough of the painting in these frescoes is visible to permit a definitive classification in the realm of Mohammedan art or absolutely to exclude the possibility that they were the work of Christian hands. The author does not appear to be the same as the master of the ceilings, but it is hazardous to claim that he could not at least have been conversant with the Franco-Gothic tradition and have learned something from it.

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[1] *Guía de Granada*, 73–74.

[2] *Pinturas de moros en la Alhambra*, Granada, 1916.

PART IV

THE ITALO-GOTHIC AND INTERNATIONAL STYLES

CHAPTER XIX

THE ITALO-GOTHIC AND INTERNATIONAL STYLES IN EUROPE

All the evidence at present at our disposal points to the fact that the fully developed style of Gothic painting in the middle and second half of the fourteenth century was throughout Europe very largely evolved upon Italian models and, of Italian models, especially upon those of Siena. The Franco-Gothic style now largely succumbed; and Spain united with Flanders, France, Germany, England, and Bohemia in importing from Italy the primal elements upon which they reared their later and greater Gothic schools of painting, profoundly modifying their borrowings, of course, by strongly imbuing them with national characteristics. In a considerable part of Italy itself, by the second half of the Trecento, Sienese types had won the victory over the forms of Giotto and Florence in the struggle for artistic supremacy. The reasons for the general European indebtedness to Italy are not far to seek. With that spiritual alertness and initiative which have ever distinguished the race, Italian painters, emancipating themselves from the bonds, however magnificent, of Romanesque and Byzantine stylization, had been the first, in the late thirteenth and in the fourteenth century, to achieve results that may truly be called great, in mural and panel painting, according to the new Gothic ideals of naturalism in form and drapery and of fresher and lighter color. The French may have forestalled the Italians in the realization of the Gothic ideal in glass and in miniatures, but the Italians first exhibited to Europe the high possibilities of the new style for monumental adornment of wall and altarpiece. The two centres for the movement were Florence under the leadership of Giotto and Siena under the guidance of Duccio and Simone Martini; but it was rather the pictorial models of the latter city that exerted a formative influence throughout Europe.

Several causes coöperated to ensure to Sienese art a greater popularity than to Florentine. The principal cause was perhaps that the Sienese style was more in harmony with the already established Gothic proclivities of the other European nations. The great days of the Sienese school had begun with Duccio's (*c.* 1255–1319) alleviation of the formalism of Byzantine prototypes by investing them with Gothic naturalism; under the next hierophant of the school, Simone Martini (*c.* 1283–1344), Gothicism definitely triumphed, and the art of the city became thoroughly impregnated with the qualities of the French Gothic manner. Through familiarity with French miniatures, ivories, and sculpture, if not also with largely non-extant frescoes, an unmistakable Gothic character was now impressed upon the existing tradition of Sienese painting, as in turn, in the second half of the century, Siena was to react by disseminating this fusion of Gallicism and Italianism in France and the rest of Europe. Florence was by no means closed to the importation of French Gothic, but it was because Siena was more open to it that her models acquired greater favor in the other countries, where similar aesthetic tendencies were already well rooted. It is only occasionally that the foreign artists reveal a dependence upon Giottesque rather than Sienese prototypes. The more essentially Gothic character of Italian sculpture of the fourteenth century in the hands of the Pisani and their followers, as compared with the Italian painting of the period, is doubtless due in part to the fact that the sculptured models of France were more numerous and more striking than the pictorial; but it is significant of the manner in which Siena was a radiating centre of French Gothicism in Italy that Niccolò Pisano took on further northern qualities as soon as he began to work in this city and that his son, Giovanni, through his youthful sojourn here, abandoned somewhat his father's antiquarianism and imparted to the whole future of the sculptural movement in the Trecento a more decidedly Gothic tone. Another abundant source of Sienese influence in Europe was the extensive activity of Simone Martini and other Sienese-trained painters at Avignon, the transferred seat of the papacy from 1309 to 1377 and of the French antipopes from 1378 to 1418. The presence of the papal court created a demand that elevated the city into the position of a metropolis of artistic production; and the constant ebb and flow of thronging visitors to this temporary capital of Christendom, themselves chiefly ecclesiastics, worked for the wide diffusion of the style of sacred painting that there enjoyed august patronage. The result was bound to be felt particularly in adjacent Catalonia. Simone himself labored at Avignon from at least as early as 1339 (if not from 1335) until his death; and although no absolutely undoubted relic of his brush is any longer to be seen in the city itself,[1] large cycles of frescoes by his followers, Matteo da Viterbo and Matteo's assistants, still decorate the Palace of the Popes, and several panels executed by Simone himself during his sojourn at Avignon are dispersed through the museums of Europe and America. At Avignon, however, the Italian masters and their French imitators were soon so affected by their environment that they superimposed upon the Italian foundation Gallic traits, such as sprightliness, gaiety, an additional elegance, and more luxuriant settings of landscape, and they thus prepared the way for the international style.

Direct artistic intercourse with Siena and other centres of Italian painting is proved also by documentary evidence of the names of numerous Italians who are recorded in many parts of Europe as having found employment for their craft. Because of the preëminence that France had already gained as the distributor of the earlier Gothic style in sculpture, glass, miniatures, and possibly, as we have observed in the case of the first Gothic style of Spain, even in more monumental painting, it is probable that the Italian models for painting in the large were occasionally disseminated into Flanders, Germany, and Spain by way of France and particularly Avignon[2] and that they thus sometimes assumed, in the process of transmission, an even more pronounced French cast than they had previously acquired at Siena. As the originator of Gothic, France bestowed a strong indigenous impress upon her own adaptations of the Italian models in the fourteenth century, or in some instances even the purely French style evolved in the thirteenth century may have lived on in that country beside the importations from Siena. The essential fact, nevertheless, remains, that the meagre fragments of French, Flemish, and German painting in the later fourteenth century demonstrate the fundamental inspiration to have been Italian and especially Sienese.

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[1] The ruined frescoes on the façade of Notre Dame des Doms at Avignon, however, are accepted by the majority of connoisseurs.

[2] See above, p. 107, in regard to the Italianate frescoes in the cloister of Pamplona.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century this broadly diffused Sienese manner began everywhere to assume, probably under an increased potency of the Flemish and French strains, that somewhat altered character which has usually been called, since the days of Courajod, the "international style" and which persisted as the prevalent fashion for European painting until it yielded in the second half of the fifteenth century to the popularity that the miraculous development of the new Flemish school won for its models. The more purely Sienese mode had been, indeed, international, but usage has restricted the term to the pictorial achievements of the end of the fourteenth century and of the first half of the fifteenth century. Many of the characteristics of the international style were a continuation of the Sienese inheritance — the predilection for slender figures and calligraphic line, especially in the long, undulating Gothic draperies, the cult of splendid costumes and settings, of gay color, and of other decorative qualities that would make the picture rather a pretty ornament than a serious study of form and space.[1] Yet there is much in the style, particularly a quaint naturalism, which is not Sienese and which is customarily ascribed to the presence of many Flemish artists at what were probably its original hearths, Paris and Burgundy, or to other contacts of Parisian and Burgundian art with Flemish fashions. The relationship of Burgundy to the Low Countries was the more closely cemented by the process of Burgundian annexation of the Flemish provinces which commenced in 1384. It is true that, when a new naturalistic feeling began to manifest itself in French painting at the end of the fourteenth century, the artists of Flanders were an important constituent of the ateliers at Paris and Dijon; but it yet remains to be proved that Flemish art had at this early moment manifested a peculiarly decided trend towards naturalism and that this feature of the international style was not rather a spontaneous evolution in France, in which the resident Flemings merely coöperated with the French, whose indigenous aesthetic tradition has always shown a naturalistic proclivity almost as intense as that of Belgium.[1] In any case, the fact of naturalism as an element in the international style remains. It is naturalism rather than realism, according to the meanings of these terms that have been assumed in the first chapter, for it consists not so much in the correct and powerful rendering of form in three dimensions as in the importation of elements from contemporary life that suggest reality charmingly instead of defining it convincingly. The emphasis is less upon orderly or monumental composition than upon a haphazard sprinkling of fastidiously (though often not accurately) executed details from every-day existence. The introduction of episodic and even humorous *genre* is likely to detract, however delightfully, from the principal theme. The story is told prettily, here perhaps partly again under the spell of Siena, rather than powerfully. Now and then the humor takes the form of, or coincides with, the not infrequent tendency of Gothic painting of the late fourteenth and the fifteenth century to caricature. Such caricature is only one phase of a common late Gothic proclivity for extravagance, another ramification of which is an excessive emaciation and gauntness that also accorded with the international attenuation of physique. Even so early a sculptor as Giovanni Pisano illustrates not only this latter aspect of the proclivity but also its emotional distortion of the features. Naturalism manifests itself also in a portraiture which aims at scrupulous reproduction of each single trait of a countenance but which does not achieve a fusion of these traits into a unified and vivid rendering of a personality. The pinched and petty portraiture of the international style we shall find particularly in the diminutive effigies of donors. One of the most constant elements of the international style, drawn from the life of the time, is the devotion to the French costumes which were the general European vogue and which may be regarded as evidence of the French origin of the movement. A certain blitheness of spirit, indeed, in much of this painting makes it hard not to believe that it emanated originally from France. Its brightness, delicacy, its fondness for garden settings and smiling landscapes, bear the unmistakable impress of the Gallic spirit. The new joy in nature at the beginning of the fifteenth century was not exclusively a discovery of the Italian Renaissance but was an international phenomenon.

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[1] For parts of this discussion of the international style, I am greatly indebted to the illuminating exposition of the subject by Arduino Colasanti in his monograph on *Gentile da Fabriano*, Bergamo, 1909, pp. 37–44. A longer and more recent treatment of the movement will be found in R. van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, VII, 1926, chapter I.

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[1] Van Marle, however (*op. cit.*), reverts to the old theory, assigning to the artists of the Low Countries a preponderant influence in the evolution of international naturalism.

The "international school," combining everywhere with local tendencies and thus assuming different aspects, counted its exponents in virtually every country in Europe. Its manifestations in Spain will be noted in the proper place. In France and Flanders, curiously enough, little has survived of the monuments of the style except the miniatures, as, for instance, the beautiful and brilliant examples in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*. In Germany, the early school of Cologne is fundamentally a part of the movement. Despite the intelligent emphasis laid upon the international style in the seventh volume of Van Marle's *Italian Schools of Painting*, it can still be said that its potency in Italy has not yet been sufficiently recognized. Certain of its characteristics have, in Italian painting, been falsely interpreted as expressions of the spirit of the early Renaissance, or it was often so blended with qualities which truly emanated from the Renaissance that the international contribution has been overlooked. The style conquered all northern Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century, Piedmont, Lombardy, the Veneto, and, in the Veneto, especially Verona, where it realized its highest aesthetic possibilities in the hands of Stefano da Zevio and Pisanello. At Florence, it gave tone to the production of men of such diverse temperaments as Masolino and Paolo Uccello, and its traces may be discerned even in the work of Fra Angelico. The Umbrian exponent of the international school was Gentile da Fabriano. He may have acquired the manner through his sojourn at Venice and in northern Italy, or, possessing it already, he may have helped to naturalize it in this section of Italy. His residence at Florence in the early twenties of the Quattrocento doubtless had something to do with stimulating or at least increasing an interest in the style in the case of Masolino and other masters of the city. The Umbrian, Florentine, and Venetian manifestations of the international movement are especially significant to our purpose, because it was out of them that there grew the art of Dello Delli of Florence, who brought the Italian phase of the style to Castile.

CHAPTER XX

THE SOURCES AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ITALO-GOTHIC AND INTERNATIONAL STYLES IN SPAIN, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CATALONIA

THE Italianization of Gothic painting of the fourteenth century was more pronounced in Spain than anywhere else in Europe. In general, the models were, as in other countries, Sienese; but in Castile the presence of Starnina seems to have been sufficient to turn the interest rather to Florence, and there are even elsewhere sporadic cases of imitation of Giottesque precedent. Familiarity with Italian models was acquired, first, through maritime and commercial communication with the adjacent peninsula, and, second, through contact with the transplanted centre of Sienese pictorial enterprise established by Simone Martini at near-lying Avignon. The importation of objects of art from Italy, indeed, had begun before the days of Simone's activity. Large numbers of the characteristic Italo-Byzantine Madonnas of the Dugento and early Trecento seem to have been purchased as cult-images. Almarche Vásquez has gathered together and published those of the province of Valencia. One of the best known of these images which is assigned by him to the group is the seated Virgen de la Armada, painted on leather, in the right transept of the Colegiata of Játiva. The picture looks like a retouched work of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, with draperies that may have been done over in the fifteenth century, and it is difficult, at least in its present condition, to point to any characteristics that would identify it as a production of the Italo-Byzantine rather than of the French or any other school. With more confidence one may use as an illustration of the imported Italo-Byzantine Madonnas the half-length Virgen del Pópulo combined with pieces of a retable of the fifteenth century in the same transept of the Colegiata at Játiva. The Virgin is somewhat more robust than in Duccio's renderings of the theme, and the aesthetic merit is by no means negligible. The date would appear to be the early fourteenth century, but it is just within the realm of possibility that it is a fifteenth century reproduction of the earlier type of solemnly religious Madonna and thus contemporary with the other sections of the altarpiece. The title would imply that the picture was suggested by the icon in S. Maria del Popolo at Rome. Among other examples of these Italian Madonnas, that in the church of S. Agustín at Valencia, evidently of the Dugento, is well reproduced on p. 787 of J. Martínez Aloy's volume on the *Provincia de Valencia* in the general work edited by F. Carreras y Candi, *Geografía general del reino de Valencia.* So far as style goes, the tradition is perhaps correct that carries the specimen in the sacristy of the cathedral of Valencia back to the time of the Reconquest.[1]

The Museo Arqueológico Diocesano, also called the Museo Luliano, at Palma on the island of Majorca contains two pictures incorporating a phase of the Italian style prior to the triumph of Simone Martini's forms. They were probably ordered in Italy or perhaps painted by Italians then resident in the Balearic capital. The date would seem to be the early years of the fourteenth century, but it is possible that they were executed by archaizing masters at a time when Simone's forms were already in vogue. One is a large altarpiece, which was originally in the convent of Sta. Clara (Fig. 139). It suggests the back of Duccio's great *pala* for the cathedral of Siena, since the space is chiefly taken up with eighteen scenes from the Passion, disposed in three rows. There is, however, still another sexpartite row at the bottom, containing a curious conglomeration of other sacred themes, some of which confirm the fact that the work was done for a Franciscan institution. These themes, reading from left to right, are: St. Francis between St. Peter and another, now obliterated saint; the nursing Madonna enthroned between St. Clara and some other canonized lady (demonstrating almost certainly that the retable was executed specifically for the convent of Sta. Clara at Palma, that it was not simply a work of art which the donor had picked up in Italy, and that, if ordered in Italy, it must have been ordered for this precise destination); St. Clara's reception of a garment from heaven just before her death (?)[1]; St. Elizabeth of Hungary lecturing her husband and his table-companions on unjustly obtained articles of food or changing water into wine for her husband(?); the stoning of St. Stephen; and the *Noli me tangere.* Almost everywhere the dependence upon Byzantine precedent is greater than in Duccio, and indeed the altarpiece affords no indubitable evidence of his influence. It may be the creation merely of an artist who, apart from Duccio, underwent an evolution parallel to that of the Sienese master, modernizing, like him, the Byzantine forms and compositions, and it was perhaps done by a painter from some other section of Tuscany or from some spot on the western Italian littoral. Wherever the work was executed, it is difficult to avoid the conviction that there is at least some slight influence of Siena, whether of Duccio himself or not. When the painter has no longer behind him the soundly established Byzantine tradition for the scenes of the

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[1] Although we shall find Italian influences at work in western Spain in the fourteenth century, we cannot take as proof of these influences or of an even earlier importation the existence of a copy of Bonaventura Berlinghieri's St. Francis in the parish church of Villacé just south of Leon, for the copy bears the signs of having been made at least as late as the sixteenth century. It is only the central effigy of Berlinghieri's altarpiece at Pescia that has been copied and not the lateral scenes or the two angels above. The somewhat different face, hood, and ornamentation of the book that the saint holds betray the copy as not very close, and the inscription at the bottom, which runs *Bonaventura Berlinghieri me pinxit de Lucca A. D. MCCXXXV*, does not reproduce exactly the legend on the Pescia picture, which, so far as it is preserved, reads *A. D. MCCXXXV Bonaventura Berlinghieri de Luc. . . .* Now it is significant that another copy of Berlinghieri's painting, executed in the seventeenth century and once owned by the Montecuculi family of Modena, bore a version of the inscription identical with that of Villacé, so that one wonders whether the Spanish example was not based upon the Modena specimen or *vice versa* or whether Berlinghieri's representation of the seraphic father became so popular as a cult-image in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that some shop or shops turned out copies in order to cater to the pious trade. A date after the fifteenth century is further proclaimed in the Villacé picture by the execution of the hands and feet and by the fact that the painting is upon canvas and not upon wood and that, like the Modena copy, the medium is probably oil. Although the figure shows respectable craftsmanship, the gold background is made of poor material, whether original or embodying a regilding. To find the picture in this remote little village is certainly a surprise; but the church was once an important ecclesiastical foundation, and some Italianate prelate or nobleman of the Renaissance may have brought it back with him from an *italienische Reise.*

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[1] But in the form of the legend that I know, it is Our Lady, accompanied by virgin saints, that bestows the garment, and not, as here, an angel. Is the scene rather an episode in the life of the feminine saint who is represented in the succeeding compartment, perhaps St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and who wears much the same costume? If it is a scene from the life of St. Clara, it is curious that she should not wear the Franciscan habit, which clothes her in the former compartment beside the Madonna.

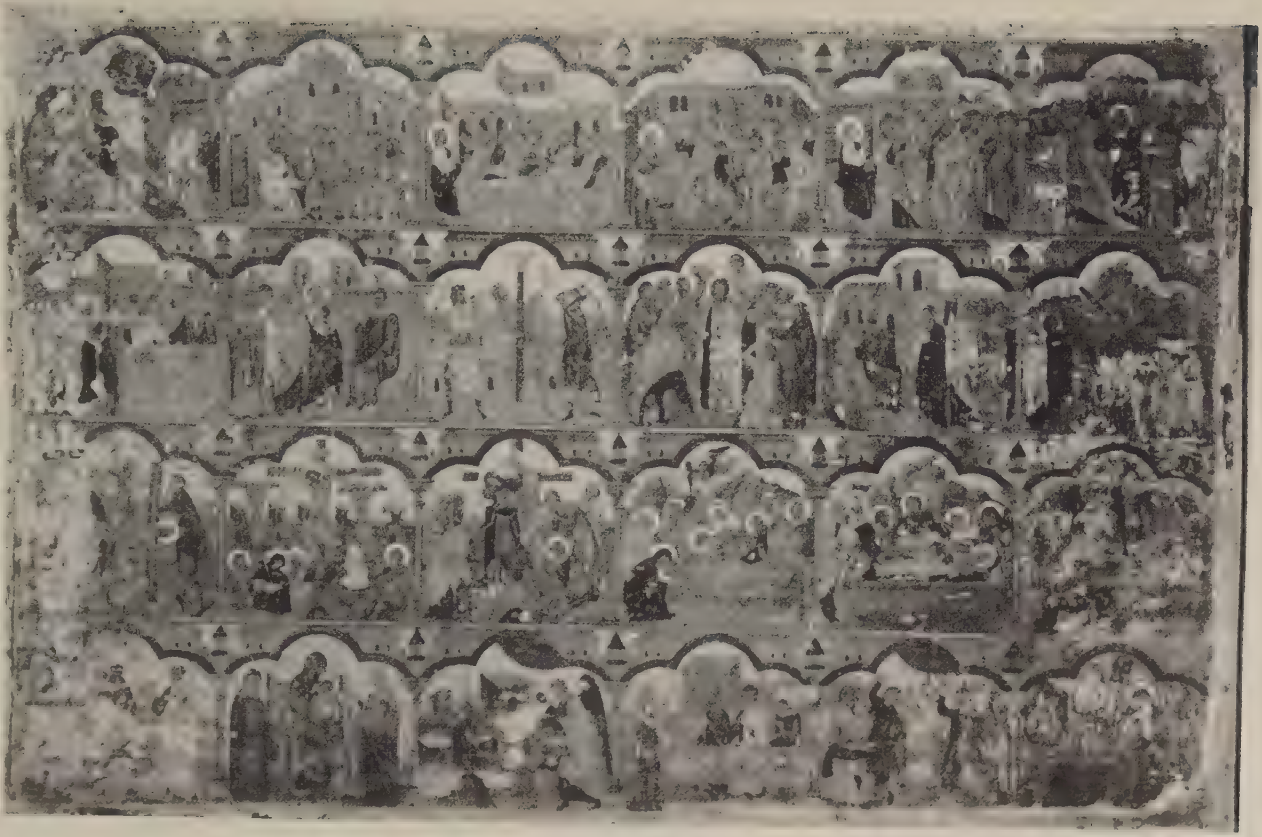

Fig. 139. RETABLE FROM CONVENT OF STA. CLARA, PALMA. MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO, PALMA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Passion and when, in the lowest tier, he comes to such episodes as St. Elizabeth before the king's table or the martyrdom of St. Stephen, he largely abandons his Byzantinism and employs Italian or actual Sienese adaptations of Gothic types, which forbid us to date the picture earlier than the fourteenth century. Soldiers in contemporary uniform appear even in the Betrayal and the Road to Calvary. The retable, indeed, bristles with problems, not the least of which are certain iconographical peculiarities, as, for instance, in the panel of the Mocking of Christ. In any case, the picture reveals no native Spanish traits, and is so impregnated with the feeling and contemporary aesthetic characteristics of Italy that it may be set down as a case of importation from that peninsula.

The other painting of similar significance in the same Museum is easier to place and constitutes clearer evidence of the Spanish acquisition of Italian works of art in a style antecedent to that of Simone Martini. A large representation of the seated Madonna and Child, with the vestiges of four feminine saints on the frame, it seems to have been once the centre of a retable, and looks like the production of some rather rigid follower of Duccio.

The probable imitation, in Aragon, of the style of the Roman school of the thirteenth century has been discussed above in connection with the frescoes at Sijena and an antependium of the Diocesan Museum at Lérida.

Pictures in the mature style of the Trecento continued to be imported from Pisa and Genoa, and one often feels vaguely in Catalan painting of the period the dependence upon the Pisan adaptation of the Sienese style rather than directly upon the Sienese hearth itself. A chapel of the ambulatory[1] of the cathedral of Murcia, for instance, contains an altarpiece signed by the Italian Barnaba da Modena, who perhaps learned the Sienese fashions in their Pisan interpretations[1] and was certainly active at the seaports of both Pisa and Genoa. Although the French tradition of illumination had become so firmly rooted in Spain in the thirteenth century that it is more tangible in Spanish miniatures even of the fourteenth century than the style of Italy and although many French miniaturists still continued to find employment in the Iberian peninsula, yet the purchase of Sienese manuscripts must have played its part in the dissemination of the Italian manner; and there was indeed a considerable amount of native Italianate illumination. Italian

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[1] Formerly in a chapel of the cloister, dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Gracia. Inasmuch as this work, of primary importance to students of Barnaba da Modena, is not generally known, I may be pardoned for describing it, although it was not created by a Spanish hand. It is a large Gothic *ancona*, consisting of two separate sections, an upper and a lower, executed with such exceptional delicacy and beauty that it may be counted among Barnaba's masterpieces, although the craftsmanship is now much obscured by the darkening of the centuries and by an overlay of dirt. Here, as so often, he decorates the garments opulently with the gold lines of Byzantine art to which Duccio so often resorted, and the influence of Sienese painting subsequent to Duccio is also strongly marked, although his forms, as usual, are somewhat solider than the Sienese canon. The backgrounds are of undiapered gold. The signature appears on the ledge between the upper and lower parts, *Barnabas de Mutina pinxit*, and the date is also there, but

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unfortunately so far erased that neither I nor any one else, as far as I know, has been able to decipher it (cf. A. Baquero Almansa, *Catálogo de los profesores de las bellas artes murcianos*, 30). The upper section is dedicated to St. Lucy, who is enthroned at the centre, clad in a light brocade, wearing a crown, carrying her attributes of the awl and a book, and looking like a figure by Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Round about her in eight smaller compartments arranged in two tiers are scenes from her life, beginning at the upper left: her vision of St. Agatha; her subsequent pious conversation with her mother, whom she had healed; her distribution of her goods to the poor; her trial before Paschasius; the futile attempt to drag her by oxen to a place of shame; the extinction of her eyes; her miraculous declaration of the removal of Diocletian from power and the death of Maximian (?); and her last Communion. The pinnacles at the top are filled with a Crucifixion flanked by busts of four saints. In the lower section of the retable, the central panel is occupied by one of Barnaba's characteristic, Byzantinized, half-length representations of the Virgin and Child, in this instance a Madonna of the Milk. Six of the surrounding eight smaller compartments contain busts of saints, but in the two panels framing the central Madonna in the upper tier are depicted scenes, at the left the Annunciation and at the right, under direct or indirect Byzantine influence, the Cross upheld by two angels and surmounted by Our Lord giving His blessing in the midst of a nimbus encompassed with cherubim. The latter scene appears to be an adaptation of that Byzantine mode of symbolizing the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross which has been discussed in volume I in connection with the Romanesque frescoes of Barbará. In the lower tier the two saints at either side of the Virgin are accompanied by miniature effigies of the donors of the altar, in all probability the royal man of letters and great warrior, so much of whose life was connected with Murcia, Don Juan Manuel, and his daughter, Doña Juana Manuel, the queen of Henry II of Castile, a lady whom we shall find represented also in the picture of the Virgin of Tobed, belonging to the atelier of the Serras. The chapel was begun under the patronage of Juan Manuel, and completed by his daughter. If such are indeed the personages, the picture must have been painted at the order of the august daughter after Juan Manuel's death, which occurred probably in 1347, for the first known date of Barnaba is 1364, and, even if we suppose that his artistic activity began twenty years before this, we should have to allow at least five or ten years to elapse after *c.* 1344 for him to have become sufficiently well-known to receive so distinguished a commission in a foreign country. Juana was married to Henry II in 1350 before his accession and after her father's death; she herself died in 1381.

[1] There is nothing to prove, however, that Barnaba was in Pisa as a youth, or that he went to the city before 1380, when he was fully matured; see C. Ricci, *Barnaba da Modena*, *Burlington Magazine*, XXIV (1913–1914), 65–69.

objects of the other minor arts also contributed to the diffusion of the foreign models. The church of Sta. María at Manresa possesses a magnificent embroidered antependium by a Florentine, Geri Lapi, executed about the middle of the Trecento in a Giottesque style already influenced by the fashions of Siena. The effect of the prototypes of Italy was particularly potent, as was to be expected, on the east coast, in Catalonia, at Valencia, and through artistic dependence upon Catalonia, in Aragon. The love of the Catalonians for the decorative, the pretty, and the mystic made the Sienese models very congenial to them, and Catalan painting might well have developed in the same way as it actually did, even if it had never come into contact with the art of the Tuscan city. The Italian influence maintained itself in Catalonia through the beginning of the fifteenth century, though with less vitality, giving way more and more to the French aspects of the international style. The king Martin the Humane, who had lived in Sicily for four years before his accession in 1395 and lingered there afterward for a year and a half more, probably brought with him to eastern Spain a taste for Italian art. Two letters of his to the Bishop of Lérida, dated 1406, have come to light, requesting the prelate to have small, miniature-like copies made on parchment of paintings of angels in the chapel of St. Michael in the palace at Avignon (probably the chapel under this invocation in the Tour de la Garderobe, where traces of painting by Matteo da Viterbo or his followers remain). The sovereign's purpose was that they might be used as models for decoration of a chapel of his own dedicated to the same captain of the heavenly host.

The Italian strain in painting was not paralleled in architecture and sculpture, except in Catalonia, and even there in no very decided degree. A few Italian elements may be discerned in the Catalan Gothic churches of the fourteenth century, which are fundamentally derived from the great aisleless Gothic churches of southern France; and this slight Italianism would merely continue the tendency that had manifested itself in the partial Lombard derivation of Catalan Romanesque architecture. For concrete examples of the rather transitory Italian strain in mediaeval Catalan sculpture, we may refer to the tomb of the Archbishop, John of Aragon (d. 1334), in the cathedral of Tarragona, and to the shrine of St. Eulalia in the crypt of the Barcelona cathedral, the latter carved shortly before 1327[1] by a Pisan master of the school of Giovanni Pisano in the manner of the reliquaries of St. Dominic at Bologna and of St. Peter Martyr at Milan. The dependence upon Italy was naturally more slavish in the painting of the island of Majorca, a vital part of the Catalan domain that lay between the two peninsulas. Here and to a lesser extent at Valencia it maintained itself in its more undiluted form later than elsewhere, and, indeed, except for a few provincial imitations of the styles of Barcelona and Valencia, the school of Majorca did not survive its dependence upon Siena and Pisa but died in the early Quattrocento. A diluting element on the mainland was a certain persistence of the earlier, Franco-Gothic manner, appearing here and there, as we have seen, as late as the end of the fourteenth century, in productions uncontaminated by Italianism, and in other places, in however slight proportion, blending with and modifying the models of Siena. The French strain increased in volume as the fourteenth century drew to a close and led directly into the "international style." At the end of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century there is even record of the employment of French painters and tapestry-workers in Spain and of the importation of their wares, especially in Navarre, always a channel of communication between the two countries. As early as this period the names of some Flemings occur in the documents, but they were doubtless members of the school of Paris or of the school of Dijon, in both of which places, at the turn of the century, French and Belgian tendencies were beginning to coalesce to form homogeneous Franco-Flemish styles, out of which grew "internationalism." To an importation from France or Flanders, rather than to native manufacture, should probably be ascribed the splendid embroidered frontal, representing Christ and the four Evangelists, from the Catalan abbey of S. Juan de las Abadesas and now in the Museum of Vich, an *objet d'art* that was executed soon after 1410 and must have exercised considerable influence.

The international movement assumed in Catalonia three forms. In the production of the Serra brothers, of their pupils, such as Borrassá and Cabrera, and in the large number of anonymous paintings dependent upon the models of the Serras, the Sienese style of the Trecento was still a significant ingredient, the indigenous spirit was also very pronounced, and, although the influence of internationalism as it was manifesting itself in France was indubitably present, yet it was a less determinative part of the *mélange*. Contemporary with the Serras, at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, Catalonia harbored another style, which, from the provenience of its principal example, may be called the "manner of Guimerá." In this "manner" the indebtedness to Siena recedes in favor of an admiration for French Gothic precedent of the late fourteenth century, just as it was passing into internationalism; and the preparation was thus made for the third and last form of internationalism in Catalonia, which may be described as the Franco-Flemish form, since it was derived from the fully developed Gallic international style in which the French strain was modified by what are usually believed to be Flemish elements, although it is possible, as we have seen, that these elements were evolved in France itself, perhaps through the presence of Flemish artists in Paris and Burgundy. The Franco-Flemish manner was completely evolved in Catalonia by about 1430. Its principal exponent was the Master of St. George. There are also in the first half of the fifteenth century a certain number of nondescript Catalan paintings that borrowed from one or all of these sources without being definitely attached to any of the groups.

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[1] Not, as has been often supposed, in 1339, the date of the transfer of the relics to the shrine: see J. Gudiol, *Els trescentistes*, 365.

The influence of contemporary German painting is an undoubted fact in the international production of Valencia, probably in the main through the admiration aroused by the works of a German master resident in the city, Andrés Marzal de Sas; but it was once the fashion to discern it even at this early moment also in Catalonia and the other Spanish schools, because of such analogies in composition as the accompaniment of the Virgin by musical angels. The relationship is not inherently impossible, in view of mediaeval travelling, which was more extensive than is usually believed, and in view, especially, of the pilgrimage routes. We shall come upon some rather striking parallelisms to German compositions in centres other than Valencia, and the ideas for these may now and then have drifted in from the north, looking forward to the Teutonic influence upon Spanish architecture and sculpture in the middle of the fifteenth century. But the similarities may also be explained on the basis of the international style and of the joint derivation of the primitive German and Spanish schools from Siena; and angels playing on musical instruments are not unknown in the Sienese Trecento, for instance in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's altarpiece at Massa Marittima.

Although Catalonia during this first Italianate period gave birth to no masters so great as Duccio, Simone, or the Lorenzetti or even as such secondary painters of the fifteenth century as Sano di Pietro and Sassetta, at least it showed itself more progressive than Siena and passed into the international style long before Siena in the fifteenth century adopted any of the phases of this new movement. One of the reasons, doubtless, for the greater openness of Catalonia to fresh ideas was the very fact that no one of her painters was so overpowering a personality that he would be likely, as at Siena, to dominate the field of art for a long time after his death.

With the collapse of the practice of frescoing churches, the human instinct that craves sacred imagery and narrative found its satisfaction in Spain rather in the retable over the altar, sculptured or painted or uniting both carved and painted sections. The Spanish Gothic painter enjoyed his chief opportunity in these structures, which during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries constantly increased in number of compartments and in size, eventually covering the whole end wall of the chancel or chapel. The figures now sometimes grew to the proportions of real life. The usual form for the painted, wooden retable was a large central panel, with a sacred scene or a colossal effigy or effigies of holy personages, surrounded by smaller compartments arranged in one or even two vertical members on each side and containing scenes of related narrative, the whole mounted upon a predella. A frequent theme for the central crowning piece, no matter what the general subject of the retable, was the Crucifixion; and between this and the principal panel another scene connected with the main subject was sometimes introduced. Even the frame and pinnacles were often embellished with small representations of saints; and the complete structure was customarily protected by dust-guards, *guardapolvos*, strips of wood enclosing the retable and slanting outward at the sides and upward at the top, themselves often adorned with figures.[1] The Gothic painter of panels took the place of the Romanesque decorator of walls; and yet there was one phase of Romanesque panel painting, the antependium, that was beginning to lose its vogue and no longer to offer to the painter a sphere of activity. Although we have already listed a number of painted antependia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and although there are isolated notices of such works even as late as the fifteenth century, with a few extant examples, yet in general, in the second half of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century, the lower part of the altar was preferably covered with an embroidery, tapestry, or piece of embossed leather.

One of the definitive characteristics of Spanish painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the predilection for gold backgrounds, which I have already traced to the Iberian passion for the sumptuous and many examples of which have been mentioned in the discussion of the Franco-Gothic school in the peninsula. Gold backgrounds frequently appear in Italian and other European painting of the period, but in Spain they predominate to such a degree as almost to exclude the landscapes that the Italian masters were prone to introduce. The gold was, furthermore, often diapered with a design of circles, trefoils, flowers, foliage, or the like, executed through stamping into the plane or through drawing on the plane with a pointed instrument; and haloes and the trimmings of garments were also embellished with gold thus ornamented. Other details of a panel, such as the figures in a brocade, were often accented in gold. Although gilded embossing was already common on the purely decorative sections of retables, it was employed but rarely in the actual paintings, as in the Franco-Gothic altar of Pero López de Ayala, for accentuation of such details as borders of costumes, until the second quarter and middle of the fifteenth century. The execution of the designs in the gold backgrounds in stucco relief is a practice that belongs rather to the second half of the fifteenth century. Impressiveness was sought in the panels of retables, as in the other countries of Europe, by the use of a dazzling blue; but Gudiol comments on the fact that, although the extant contracts call for the best ultramarine, the Spanish painters were seldom able to obtain it and usually had to resort to an inferior and less durable substitute which has not withstood the ravages of time but has deteriorated today into a sad state of darkened oxidation.

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[1] For the peculiarities of the Spanish retable, see J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, especially 306, 327 ff., and 435–436.

The centre of the Catalan school in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was Barcelona. As in Florence the painters were oddly enrolled in the guild of Apothecaries and Physicians, so by a similar curious Catalan arrangement of the Middle Ages, which may be paralleled in Paris, they found their place, at least as early as the thirteenth century, at Barcelona, Vich, and Perpignan, in the guild of Bridle-makers. A separate painters' guild does not surely appear in Barcelona until about 1450. At Valencia they were combined with the Armorers or the Joiners until 1484. At Seville there may have been a distinct guild for the painters as early as 1280, but many of them, for one reason or another, were instead distributed in various other guilds, particularly that of the Silversmiths.

CHAPTER XXI

FERRER BASSA AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

1. Ferrer Bassa and his School

Of the Catalan painters who reveal an acquaintance with the art of the Italian Trecento, the first whose name we know is Ferrer Bassa of Barcelona. The earliest *certain* notice of him dates from 1324,[1] when he was paid for the (non-extant) decoration of two chapels at Sitges, a town near the capital. He has sometimes been conceived as a kind of Spanish Fra Filippo Lippi, a loose-living artist without a moral sense, because he has been supposed to be identical with a Ferrer de Baço of the town of Tortosa, who in a document of 1315 is pardoned by James II of Aragon, at the solicitation of the queen (!), for no less than three criminal assaults on maidens, and with a Ferrer Bassa of San Martín Sasgayolas (near Barcelona), who in a document of 1320 receives absolution from the same sovereign for an unnamed offence which had resulted in his temporary exile and in the confiscation of his goods. But in neither document is the culprit called a painter, and in the first instance the name is too different to be merely the consequence of a scribal error. Identity is more possible in the second instance, for, since the artist Ferrer Bassa might have varied his place of residence, the discrepancy in the statement of provenience constitutes no real difficulty. The next sure documentary mention of the painter after 1324 is found in references of 1333 and 1334, showing that he was then engaged in the illumination, for Alfonso IV, of a (non-extant) manuscript of the *Usatges de Barcelona i Costums de Catalunya* (*Usages of Barcelona and Customs of Catalonia*) by Ramón Vinader. Further evidence of his activity as a miniaturist has recently come to light in a letter of Peter IV at Barcelona to his wife at Valencia, dated April 26, 1342, and requesting a book of hours illumined by Ferrer Bassa.[1] For Peter IV, who began to reign in 1336, there is record of a whole series of commissions,[2] including such interesting orders as two retables for the chapel of the Moorish palace at Saragossa, the Aljafería, which had been appropriated by the Christian sovereigns, and a retable for the chapel of the castle at Perpignan. The altarpiece of the chapel of the royal palace at Barcelona, for the payment on which we have his receipt of the year 1344, was perhaps preserved until 1464 when it had to give way to a new and extant retable by Huguet, in much the same way as Orcagna's frescoes in the apse of S. Maria Novella at Florence were sacrificed in order that Ghirlandaio might execute his cycle. At the command of the Moncada family he was working in 1341 on three retables for the cathedral of Lérida. He died at the end of the year 1348, while he was engaged in executing a retable for the Franciscan monastery at Valencia. Evidently he lived in and helped to create an artistic *milieu*, for his son Arnaldo followed the paternal profession and his daughter was married to the well-known sculptor, Jaime Castayls. The employment of Ferrer Bassa in Aragon and Valencia as well as in widely separated parts of Catalonia proper would indicate that Barcelona was the disseminating centre of the new Italian style. Although Valencia had direct intercourse with Italy and soon developed an Italianizing school of her own, it is possible that even in the case of this city the starting-point for the fertilization was Barcelona.

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[1] Miss Richert (37) has him painting as early as 1316 for the chapel of the castle at Lérida, repeating a misprint in Mayer's *Geschichte*, 27, where the reading should be 1346. The proper date for this work, 1346, is given in the document quoted by Sanpere y Miquel, *Els trescentistes*, 232, and is rightly stated by Mayer in his article on Ferrer Bassa in the Thieme-Becker *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler.*

None of the works of Ferrer Bassa catalogued above have been preserved. A fortunate chance, however, has saved the documents that enable us to assign to his brush an existing cycle of mural paintings in the chapel of St. Michael opening on the cloister of the Franciscan convent of Pedralbes in the suburbs of Barcelona. The first negotiations with the Abbess are of the year 1343, but the actual execution, with a slight variation from the original iconographic program, was not begun until after Easter in 1345, and was finished by November 23 of 1346. The scheme includes: an upper zone of seven scenes from the Passion; a lower zone of eight episodes from the life of the Virgin; twelve effigies of saints on the walls at both sides of the entrance (three of them cut in half by the subsequent introduction of a door); on the soffit of the entrance arch, amidst such decorative *motifs* of the Tuscan Trecento as a painted border imitating mosaic, the further common Tuscan ornamental detail of medallions, in this instance containing representations of the Lamb of God and half-lengths of the two monastic Virtues, Chastity and Obedience; and, in the tympanum under the arch, three additional medallions of a small Pantocrator flanked by two angels. The pictorial counterfeiting of mosaic appears also as a frame for the large frescoes. The medium is probably a kind of *fresco a secco*, since, at least here and there, oil seems to have been employed.[1] There are some signs of later repainting, especially on the arch.

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[1] J. Rius in *Estudis universitaris catalans*, XIII (1928), 164.

[2] For detailed accounts of these commissions and the documents, see Sanpere y Miquel, *Els trescentistes*, 179 ff. and 231–232, and A. L. Mayer's article on Ferrer Bassa in the Thieme-Becker *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*.

The style of the frescoes is so close to that of Tuscany that one would at first seem forced into the assumption that Ferrer Bassa had studied in Italy. Indeed, in no other country at least of western Europe is there a master who has reproduced so exactly the manner of the great Italian frescoists of the Trecento. If he began to paint in this style as early as the first notice of his activity in 1324, the date is prior to Simone Martini's employment at Avignon (in 1339 or 1335). Even if we suppose that he changed from a hypothetical French manner of his youth and adopted the Italian style at a date subsequent to Simone's appearance at the papal court, the work at Pedralbes is perhaps too thoroughly Italianized to be explained only by a sojourn at Avignon. It is hard to believe that Ferrer Bassa could have seen at Avignon such exact parallels to Duccio's and Simone's celebrated pictures of the *Majestas* at Siena as his own Coronation of Our Lady and representation of the enthroned Virgin (Fig. 140). Although he could have learned more from books of Sienese miniatures than one without investigation would suspect, his frequent monumentality of composition and even of style gives the impression of a derivation

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[1] See vol. I, p. 76, n. 1. Because of the cloistering of the nuns, the chapel has been seen by very few outsiders, and then only with the greatest difficulty.

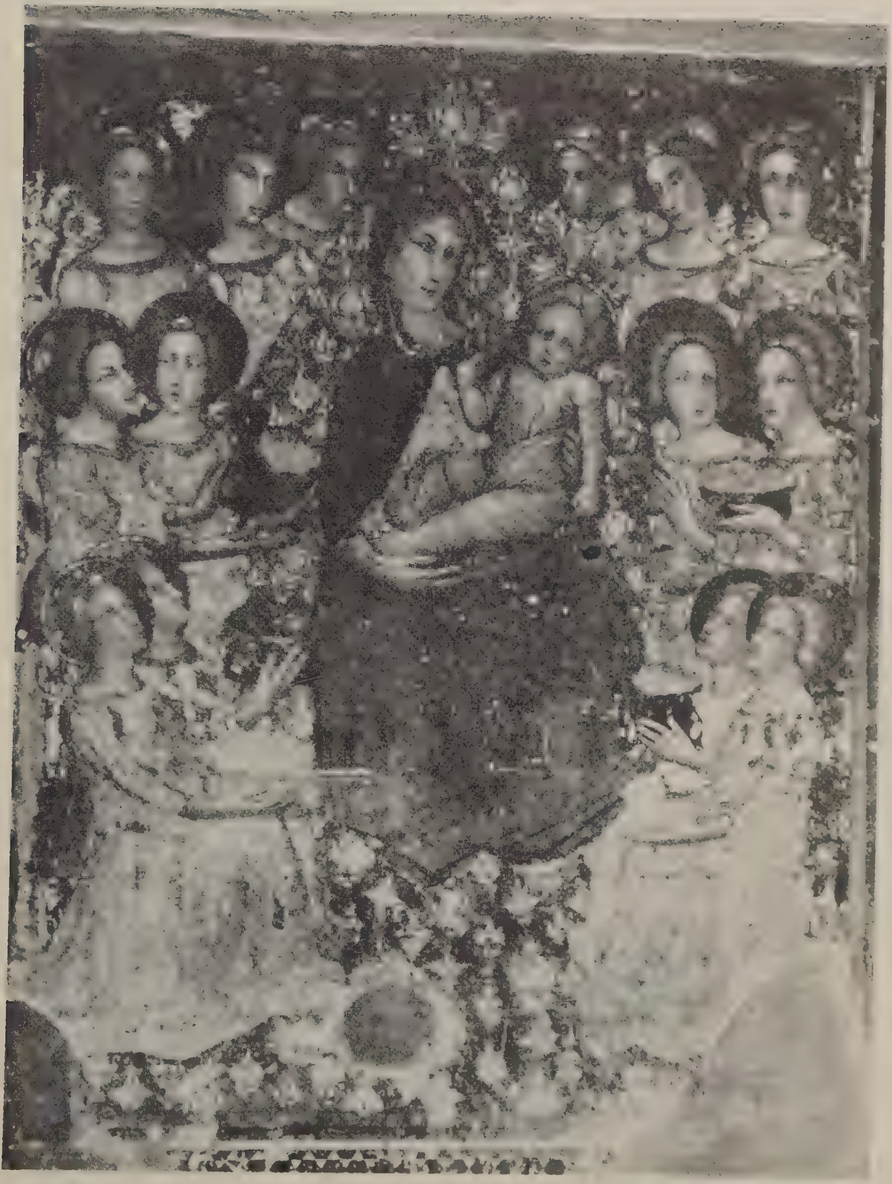

Fig. 140. FERRER BASSA. MADONNA AND ANGELS. CONVENT OF PEDRALBES, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

from actual Italian frescoes. It is not inconceivable, nevertheless, that through his own sense of aesthetic fitness he amplified into monumentality a more meticulous style acquired from the models of illumination. On the whole, the question whether he acquired his training in Italy, at Avignon, or from miniatures must be left as yet undecided, with the balance in favor of the first possibility; perhaps all three sources contributed their quotas.

The inspiration of his art, especially in the personal types, is fundamentally Sienese. I confess my inability to follow those critics who have discerned in him a significant influence of Giotto or the Giotteschi. The composition for the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 141) is not similar enough to Giotto's in the Arena Chapel to betoken an interrelation. The sleeping St. Joseph in the Nativity does recall rather convincingly the corresponding figure at Padua; but the rest of the composition is different, and almost identical Josephs are very common occurrences in the iconography of this theme, for instance on a page of a Sienese choir-book reproduced by Venturi as Fig. 797 in the fifth volume of his *Storia dell' arte italiana*. The other compositions at Pedralbes, moreover, depart widely from the Paduan precedent, although Ferrer Bassa's tendency to employ a few large actors in a scene may be Florentine, in contrast to the Sienese proclivity for spaces more crowded with smaller figures. Perhaps Sanpere is right in discerning a Florentine feeling in the personification of Obedience in one of the medallions, in contrast to the more obviously Sienese Chastity; but so slight a bit of decoration can have little probative force. Possibly Ferrer Bassa may have seen, in passing, the Arena Chapel, and have remembered here and there a detail, but Giotto had no essential effect upon his art beyond a possible stimulation to simplicity of composition. If there are any other Florentine elements in his work, such as an occasional sense of solidity of form attained largely through broad and simple expanses of drapery, they may be explained by contact with such partially Florentinized Sienese as the two Lorenzetti brothers. The Deposition and Entombment, indeed, in the series of frescoes on the Passion ascribed to Pietro Lorenzetti in the lower church at Assisi provide as close an approximation as we shall be likely to find

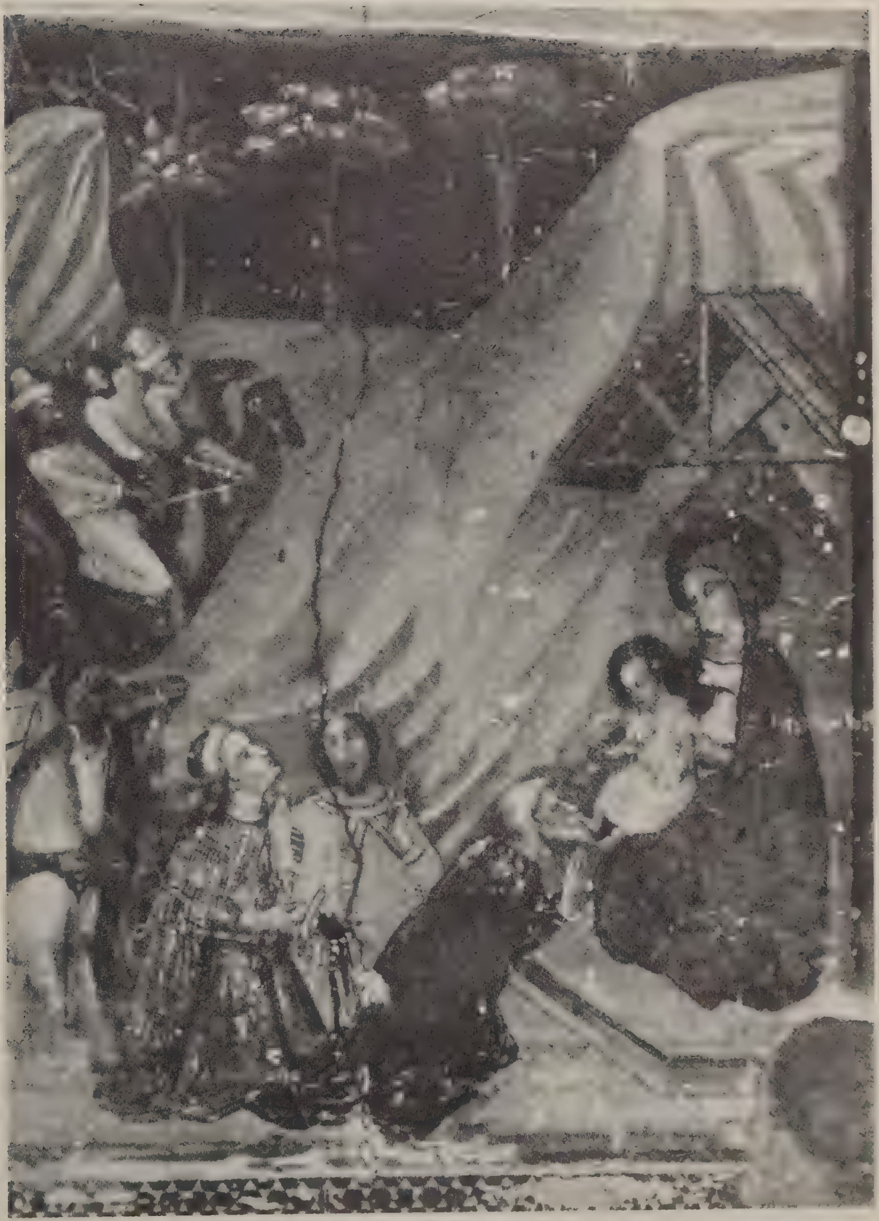

Fig. 141. FERRER BASSA. ADORATION OF MAGI. CONVENT OF PEDRALBES, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

to Ferrer Bassa's compositions for the subjects.[1] It is not out of the question that he knew the Sienese models largely through their adaptations at Pisa and other cities on the east coast of Italy. His types, especially the angels, are significantly similar to those that Barnaba da Modena, who labored in that region, was later to employ, and some aspects of his composition for the Ascension look forward to the Italian's rendering of the theme in the Sterbini Collection at Rome. Although Barnaba may have been already painting while Ferrer Bassa was still alive, no works of his can be dated before the second half of the century; but both artists may derive partially from masters of the littoral who, in the first half of the century, were already conversant with the achievements of Siena.

The Sienese qualities, however directly or indirectly inherited, stare one in the face at every point on the walls of the chapel of Pedralbes. The types are those of Siena in the Trecento — the oval countenances, the oblique, slit-like, mystically half-closed eyes, the hair, particularly in the case of angels, arranged in a formal roll of curls about the face, the long, thin hands with tapering fingers. Sanpere has commented on the analogy of the Sts. Catherine and Barbara to Simone Martini's effigy of the former saint in the chapel of St. Martin in the lower church at Assisi, and all Ferrer Bassa's feminine saints are cast in the same mold. His draperies, however, lack the winsome Gothic grace of those of Siena, and this is one of the few respects that hint at a superficial acquaintance with the art of Florence. Like his Sienese teachers, he aims at infusing his figures with mystic expressiveness, passing in such a work as the Deposition into an almost Umbrian (or shall we say, Spanish?) emotionalism that again suggests the frescoes from the Passion in the lower church at Assisi attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti. One of the ways in which he seeks expressiveness is in a curious mannerism of raising the arm and bending it across the chest, as in the centurion and the soldier with the spear in the Crucifixion, in the St. Agnes, and in the St. Michael. At times, as in the Agony in the Garden at the back of the Betrayal, the expressiveness surpasses that of the Sienese models and reaches a fervor that we certainly shall not go wrong in calling Spanish. For the compositions he has drawn largely upon the Sienese store. The outstanding example is the subject of the enthroned Virgin and Child, surrounded by standing and kneeling angels presenting bowls of flowers (and fruit?) and vases, an arrangement based upon the precedents of the *Majestas* of Duccio's altarpiece now in the Museo dell' Opera at Siena and the frescoed *Majestas* of Simone in the Palazzo Pubblico. The composition for the Coronation, with the charmingly expressive and active music-making angels, seems to have had the same origin. Prototypes for bits of the other subjects may easily be found in Sienese painting. So in the Crucifixion, the centurion has a prominence and a gorgeousness of armor which already appear in Simone's treatment of the theme in the Museum at Antwerp, a section of an altarpiece that he painted shortly prior to his death at Avignon in 1344 and thus perhaps already known to the Spanish master before he began to work at Pedralbes. It is legitimate to wonder how far Ferrer Bassa was influential in establishing this conception of the centurion, which is rather frequently encountered during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in the art of eastern Spain. Even the setting sometimes has a Sienese touch. The Gothic architecture of Catalonia is not used for backgrounds. The palace in the scene of Christ before Pilate has a Sienese look, as of some such building as the Palazzo Grottanelli, and the loggia in which occurs the Annunciation is, if not Sienese, at least Italian. The rocks of Ferrer Bassa's backgrounds are the conventionalized specimens that we see everywhere in Italian painting of the Trecento, perhaps more similar to those of the Arena Chapel than to the imaginative and scallop-edged cliffs of Duccio; but the delight in trees, evidenced by their frequent introduction and by the manner of accenting parts of them with sharp high-lights, again irresistibly recalls the Sienese master. Ferrer Bassa has a pleasant way of allowing the trees to be seen at the back of a fresco through a cleft in the rocks. In order to fill the large space allotted to the St. Michael and the St. John Baptist, he has taken pleasure in setting the Precursor between one of his loveliest trees and a crag; the space around the St. Michael is filled by the magnificent expanse of wings that the Spaniards from the first liked to paint in the figure of the archangel.

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[1] I cannot concur with Sanpere and with Gudiol in discerning in Ferrer Bassa's head of Christ in the Betrayal any further reflection of Cavallini's Saviour than might have vaguely drifted into the Sienese school.

Yet Ferrer Bassa is no mere plagiarist. However deficient, as we shall see, in many essentially aesthetic qualities, he has at least much originality and is indeed less of a copyist than the secondary Italian followers of Giotto, Duccio, and Simone. His types, though derivative, are yet strongly infused with his own conceptions of what a body and head should be. Mayer, for instance, mentions such peculiarities of the countenance as the squinting eyes (an accentuation of the Sienese narrow obliquity) and the very slight projection of the nose. The compositions apparently have much in them that is new and personal. The Annunciation, with the very humanly conceived, sprightly, and intense Gabriel and with the setting of an intimate corner of a noble Italian palace, possesses a note of *genre* that is prophetic of the international style. In the Epiphany, in the usual opening of the rocks leading to the trees, one of the servants of the Magi reins up his camel and the other two lean over to peer like eavesdroppers in a way that may perhaps be interpreted as a sign of Spanish naturalism. The three holy women at the tomb are likewise naturalistically differentiated: one gazes forward in rapt curiosity, another raises significantly the edge of the abandoned shroud, and the third engages the angel in an animated discussion of the miracle of the Resurrection. The Betrayal and the Christ before Pilate also exhibit the greater liveliness of action that distinguishes the series from the Italian prototypes. At the left of the latter composition a naturalistic episode is introduced which seems to depict a brutally characterized bravo of the Roman governor as closing the door of the torture-chamber to one of the holy women (the Blessed Virgin?). The same force and brutality mark the executioner who drags Our Lord onward in the march to Golgotha by a rope around His neck. In the Deposition the extraction of the nail from the feet is made, with Ferrer Bassa's love of *genre*, into a principal episode important enough to balance the whole group on the other side; and the painter has had the temerity to attempt, with some success, a most naturalistic contortion of the body of St. Joseph of Arimathaea as he twists his instrument in the process of forcing out the nail and as his face contracts into an expression of pained repulsion at the gruesomeness of his task.

One could not quarrel with those who wish to trace some of Ferrer Bassa's individual traits to racial rather than personal endowment. I have already alluded to certain Spanish qualities, such as naturalism and religious ardor. The bearded hermit St. Alexis [1] (Fig. 142) in the series of effigies of saints not only is distinctly an Iberian ethnic type, but he has a dour, inquisitorial aspect that forebodes such a figure of a century and a half later as Bermejo's portrait of the archdeacon Desplá in the Pietà of the cathedral at Barcelona. The fabric thrown over the Virgin's throne already gives expression to the indigenous taste for the sumptuous in one of those ostentatious brocades

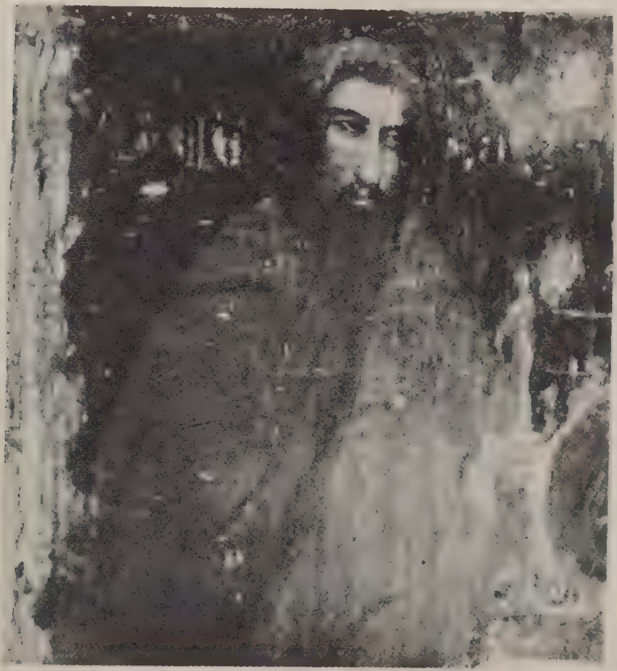

Fig. 142. FERRER BASSA. ST. ALEXIS.
CONVENT OF PEDRALBES, BARCELONA
(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

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[1] In his book, *Els trescentistes*, Sanpere identifies this figure as St. Francis; but St. Francis is represented in another place, and Sanpere in his article in the *Museum* (II, 1912, p. 391) gives the name of St. Alexis to the hermit.

which henceforth are to be so conspicuous a peculiarity in the mediaeval painting of the peninsula.

Yet all is not gold that glitters; and despite the importance of Ferrer Bassa as the first identified exponent of the Italian influence and despite his alertness of mind and pleasant temperament, we must end our discussion of him, as does Mayer, with an anticlimax — with the acknowledgment that, in the abstract aesthetic qualities, he is scarcely to be placed on a level with the secondary Giotteschi or Sienese and that he remained an utter provincial. In figure-drawing he is clumsy and deficient, as even in so agreeable a composition as his Epiphany; and like so many provincial artists he only chances now and then, as in the violin-playing angel of the Coronation, upon correct or significant delineation. The proportions of the body tend to be stubby, and the form is not well articulated beneath the spreading draperies. In the Entombment, he strains his talent beyond its capacity in the contortions and grimaces that have resulted from his effort to express agonized grief. Of linear perspective, however, for his backgrounds of architecture or landscape, he knows as much as or more than the average Italian painter of the Trecento.

Two other small works are attributed by Gudiol conjecturally to Ferrer Bassa. One of them, a panel in two compartments in the Museum at Vich, depicts two scenes from the life of (?) St. Bernard of Clairvaux. For the episode of the saint saving a ship from the storm, the painter may have had dimly in mind Giotto's mosaic of the Navicella. A personified tempest in the form of a dishevelled man or woman takes the place of the Italian's blowing Wind (or Winds?). The color is also decidedly Giottesque. The figures of the stricken mariners seem too advanced in style for Ferrer Bassa; and yet the other episode, the exorcism of a woman possessed, is rather strikingly close, in the forms and in the setting of a Tuscan room, to the achievement embodied in the frescoes at Pedralbes. The other picture, a Coronation accompanied by the saintly hosts of heaven, in the raised choir at the entrance to the parochial church of Bellpuig, though it is profoundly Italianized and though it issued from the artistic *milieu* in which Ferrer Bassa lived, can scarcely, with its more *svelte* and elongated forms, be a production of the master's own hand. The

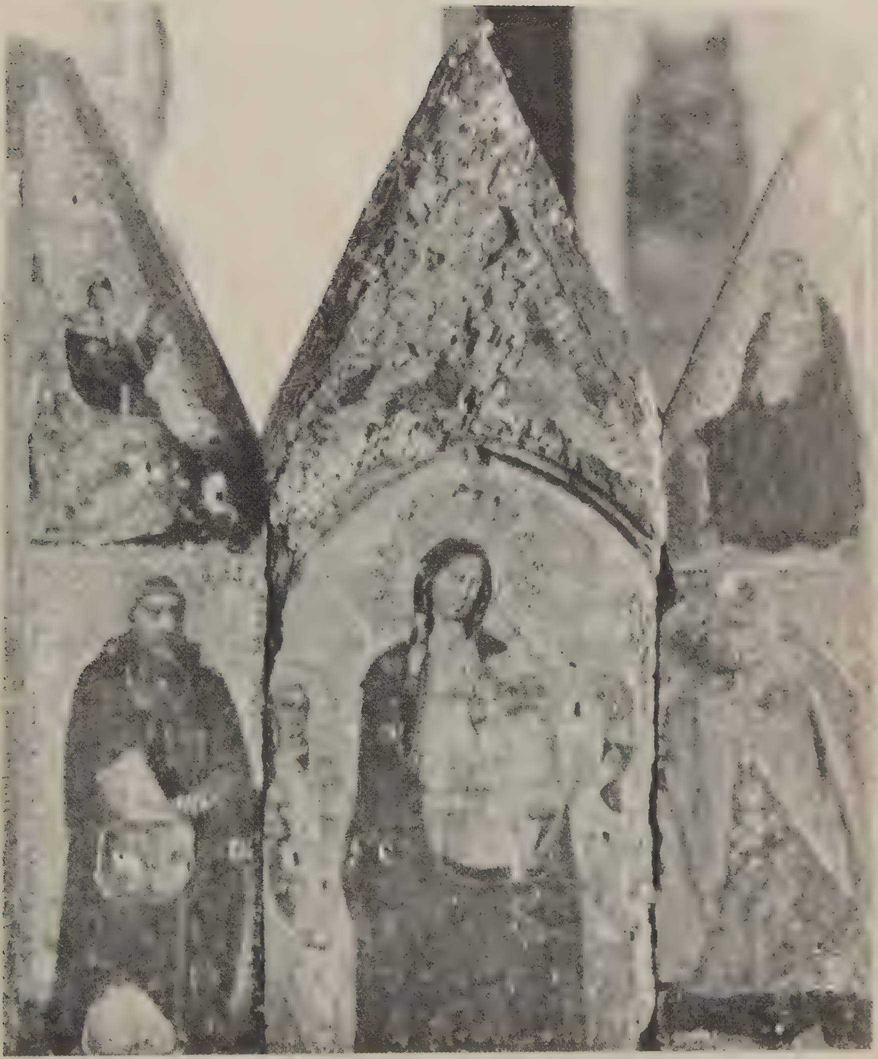

Fig. 143. FERRER BASSA (?). TRIPTYCH. COLLECTION OF DUCHESS OF PARCENT, RONDA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

central Christ and the Virgin are particularly characteristic instances of a more attenuated canon for the human figure. The types are not at all the weird-eyed personages of Ferrer Bassa. The only real analogy to his composition for the theme is the gesture of the Saviour, which, however, is a commonplace in the iconography of the Coronation. The principal reason for assigning the work to his circle is that upon the Sienese foundation there is perhaps superimposed some slight admiration for the achievements of Florence. The draperies, especially, like those of Ferrer Bassa, do not fall in Sienese undulations but have a Giottesque simplicity, for instance those of St. Paul at the right of the throne. Despite the staring bright red of the throne, the general tonality is likewise Giottesque. Among many other things, a certain primitive rigidity and immaturity, which persist also in Ferrer Bassa, prevent an ascription of the panel to the *entourage* of the Serra brothers. The background is gold, incised with a pattern only at the edges. An iconographic peculiarity is the representation of St. Christopher among the masculine assemblage at the right, for he is more commonly encountered as a single figure than in such groups of the blessed. He puts in his appearance, however, at the head of the band of hallowed pilgrims on the altarpiece by the Van Eyck brothers at Ghent.

If I could be absolutely certain of my opinion that the picture is an authentic ancient work, I should be more disposed than in the case of Gudiol's two proposals to ascribe to Ferrer Bassa a triptych in the Collection of the Duchess of Parcent at Ronda (not the Parcent Collection at Madrid) which I know only in Mas's photographs (Fig. 143). The central panel is occupied by the nursing Madonna accompanied by two standing feminine saints and a kneeling masculine saint; the lower parts of the wings by St. Anthony Abbot and again, curiously enough, St. Christopher; and their upper pinnacles by St. Gabriel and the Virgin of the Annunciation. The most convincing analogy is between the St. Anthony and the St. Alexis of Pedralbes, but the drawing of the hands is also everywhere like that of Ferrer Bassa. The triptych is more baldly Italianate than the frescoes, and I merely throw out the attribution as a suggestion.[1]

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[1] Mrs. Delphine Fitz Darby, who subsequently has examined the problem at my request, has arrived independently at an attribution to Ferrer Bassa.

2. The Contemporaries of Ferrer Bassa

In the brief visit that I was allowed to make to the collection of Don Matías Muntadas at Barcelona, I saw another Coronation of the Virgin, which bears a most palpable Sienese impress and which seemed to me, in a necessarily hasty examination, to lie half-way between the styles of Ferrer Bassa and the Serra atelier. Much the same stage in the evolution of Catalan painting is represented by a panel in the Salas Capitulares of the cathedral of Barcelona, depicting a crowned feminine saint and a canonized nun, with four small effigies of other feminine saints on the frame. The approximation to Jaime Serra is perhaps somewhat closer than in the case of the Muntadas picture.

Whether or not any significant indebtedness of Ferrer Bassa to Giotto and the Florentines be admitted, it is obvious that the anonymous author of the captivating retable of St. Vincent from Estopiñán (between Balaguer and Benabarre), now in the Plandiura Collection (Fig. 144), owed more to Florence of the Trecento than to Siena. It has been suggested that the master may have been Ferrer Bassa's (perhaps older) contemporary, Bernardo de Pou of Barcelona, of whom no certain works are preserved but to whom Sanpere ascribes, on the most dubious grounds,[1] the antependium of Sts. Philip and James Minor, now also in the Plandiura Collection. The only tangible excuses for the attribution of the retable of St. Vincent to Bernardo de Pou are the proximity of Estopiñán to Balaguer, whither it is known by a document [2] that he was changing his residence in 1314, and the possibility that, living when he did, he might have painted in this manner. But, chronologically speaking, he might just as well, or indeed with greater verisimilitude, have been an exponent of the Franco-Gothic manner; and the geographical propinquity has no real probative force. The retable consists of three pointed panels. The central piece is occupied by a large, monumental, strictly frontal cult-image of St. Vincent, dressed in a blue dalmatic embellished with a gold pattern, and adored by two very diminutive kneeling donors, one in armor and the other in the habit of a Dominican friar. In the pinnacle is a small Crucifixion. The two lateral panels are divided into a series of compartments in which the lives of the holy deacon and his bishop, St. Valerius, are related with delightful clarity and with a high degree of that gentle charm which is characteristic of the painted and sculptured narrative of the Italian Trecento. The scenes from the lives of Sts. Vincent and Valerius are almost a running commentary upon the text of the *Golden Legend*. Only into the first compartment are two episodes compressed, the young Vincent as a student and his parents consigning him to St. Valerius. The representation of the former scene would be worthy to serve as an illustration to the pleasant sentence of the *Golden Legend* as it appears in Caxton's translation: "He was in his childhood set to study, where by divine providence he flowered in double science most profoundly, that is to say in divinity and humanity." In several instances the locality is indicated by an inscription, and here the edifice in the background bears the name of St. Vincent's birthplace, *Osca* (Catalan or Latin for Huesca). Then follow the scenes of his ordination, of his arrest together with St. Valerius, of the beginning of their enforced journey to Valencia, of their imprisonment in that city and of St. Vincent's oration before the judge (the word *Valencia* being divided over the backgrounds of these two last compartments), of the expulsion of St. Valerius and of his arrival at his place of exile, Enate, just northeast of Barbastro on the river Cinca (both the town and the stream being labelled), of the torture of St. Vincent on the cruciform rack and on the gridiron, of the transportation of the bed of potsherds into the prison, and of the jailors' sight of the saint unscathed and refulgent after lying thereon. The pinnacles of the lateral panels frame the *Noli me tangere* and the visit of the holy women to Our Lord's sepulchre after the Resurrection. Throughout the lateral compartments, in distinction from the central section, St. Vincent wears a brilliant red, which is much used also in other parts of the picture. The backgrounds are of gold patterned only at the borders.

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[1] See below, vol. III, p. 170.

[2] The document reads 1313, and is a request of the Infante Alfonso, in whose employ Bernardo apparently then was, to his father, James II, that the painter be allowed to postpone the payment of a debt in order that he may leave Barcelona for Balaguer; but since the Infante styles himself in the document Count of Urgel and he did not attain this dignity until 1314, the MCCCXIII must be corrected, and the easiest correction is simply to add another I. See Sanpere, *Els trescentistes*, 123 ff.

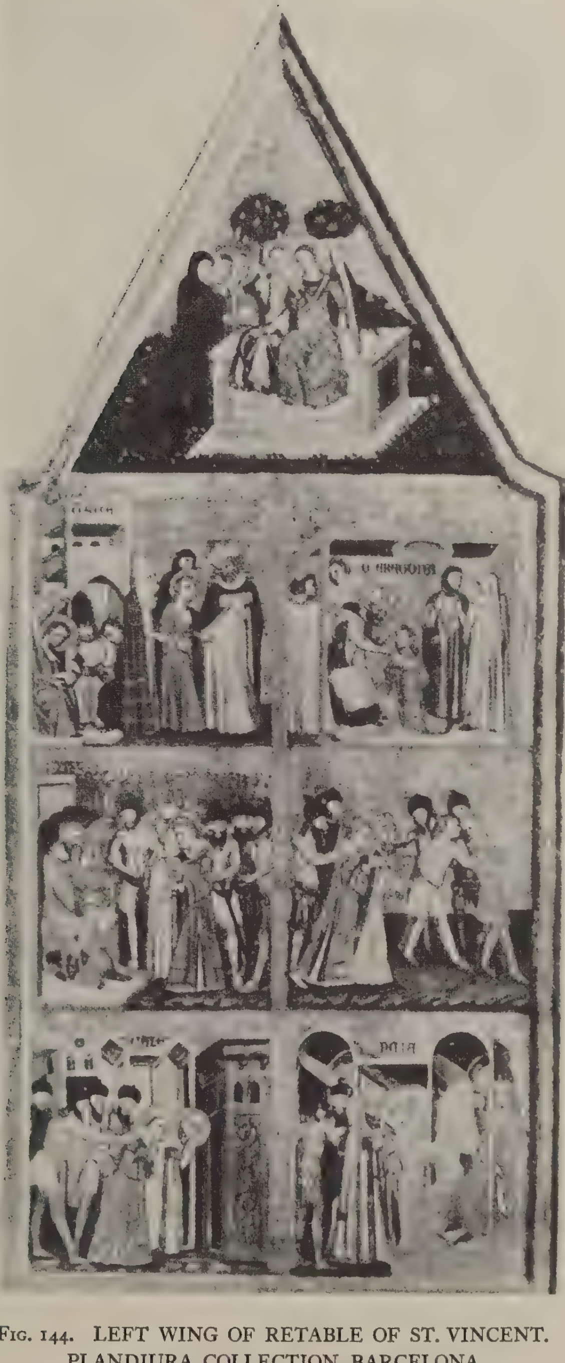

Fig. 144. LEFT WING OF RETABLE OF ST. VINCENT. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

Although the types are unmistakably Iberian and the artist unquestionably a Spaniard, he was more thoroughly saturated in Italianism than any known Catalan compatriot of his, except perhaps Pedro Serra in certain phases of his youth and old age. It looks as if he had learned his art at Florence from Giotto or from one of Giotto's Florentine followers. Although somewhat less robust, the physiques are those of Giotto; the garments are the simpler, broad draperies of Giotto, in contrast to the narrower and more numerous folds and Gothic undulations of Siena; and the setting conforms to Giotto's mere symbolization of architecture by bits of buildings in smaller scale than the figures. The closeness to Giotto cannot elude even the most casual student in such forms and draperies as those of the onlookers in the ordination of St. Vincent. In general type of countenance and in a shadow of a scowl, St. Valerius, in the two compartments of the exile, arouses memories of Giotto's St. Joachim at Padua. The actual craft suggests that of Giotto's immediate followers at Florence, particularly the output of the Di Cione workshop or rather of Jacopo and Nardo di Cione apart from Orcagna. When the themes provide an opportunity for comparison with the Giotteschi, as in the Crucifixion and the two episodes of the Resurrection in the pinnacles, the compositions reproduce more nearly those of Florence than those of Siena. The scenes of the women at the Tomb and of the *Noli me tangere* recall especially the renderings of these subjects in the vaulting of the Spanish Chapel of S. Maria Novella at Florence, which were painted shortly after 1350, in all probability by Andrea Bonaiuti da Firenze. The parallelism extends even to the rich foliate and floral backgrounds. Slight variations on these compositions were the stock-in-trade of all the Giotteschi, but it is not impossible that the Catalan master had seen the frescoes of Andrea da Firenze. If the style of the St. Vincent retable were encountered in Florence, it would naturally be placed in the first half of the Trecento; but in Spain, as very remote from the centre of these artistic fashions, it might easily constitute a belated survival in the second half of the century. If the picture was executed after 1350,[1] it could scarcely have been the creation of Bernardo de Pou, who was

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[1] Mayer (*Cicerone*, XV, 1923, p. 173) dates it 1340–1350.

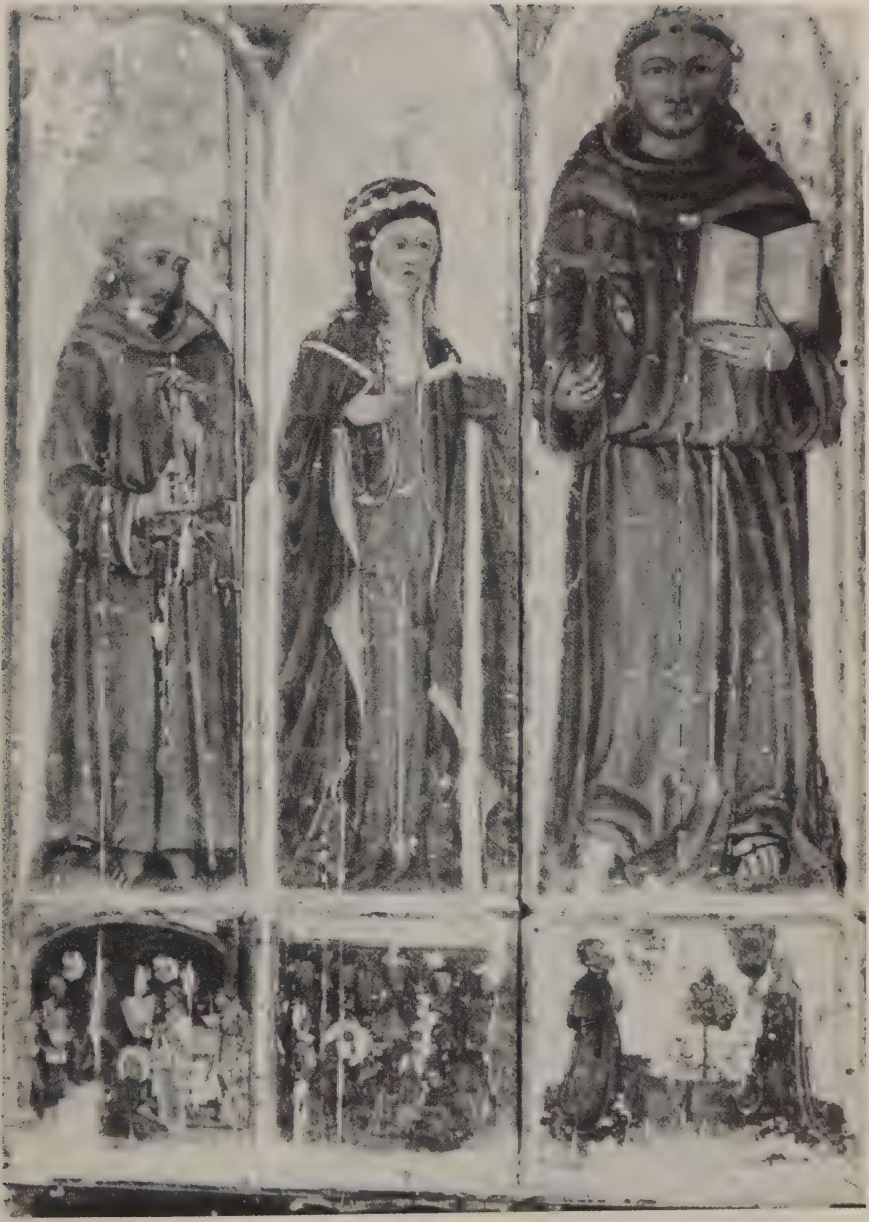

Fig. 145. LEFT SECTION OF FRANCISCAN RETABLE.
STA. MARÍA, CASTELLÓ DE FARFAÑA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

already an established artist in 1314. It is not entirely free from touches of provincialism, such as so unsuccessful a delineation of Christ's posture in the *Noli me tangere* that He almost appears to be sitting rather than standing. The chance is not absolutely to be excluded that the painter knew Italian art through examples from Siena or the coast; but, if so, they must have been the work of someone who was as completely Florentinized as Ambrogio Lorenzetti.

A more decided bias for Florence than for Siena is likewise tangible in a much ruder but thoroughly Italianate retable in a chapel on the south side of the nave in the church of Sta. María at Castelló de Farfaña, just west of Balaguer. As in the case of the Majorcan altarpiece of Montesión, even the form of the retable is Italian rather than Spanish, its body, like that of an Italian *ancona*, consisting of a series of standing saints in vertical compartments and the narrative scenes being confined to the predella. The content of the altar is Franciscan. St. Francis himself is exalted at the centre (Fig. 145), and he is flanked on either side by two other saints of the Order depicted in somewhat less heroic proportions. Only one of them is unmistakably recognizable, St. Louis of Toulouse, the first at the right. The first figure at the left is probably St. Clara, carrying her emblem of the Palm Sunday branch.[1] The attribute held, in addition to the book, by the second Franciscan at the right, I cannot make out; the book is a regular emblem of St. Anthony of Padua. Nor do I know of any seraphic saint who, like the second friar at the left, is represented as holding a rosary and leaning upon a crutch. The centre of the predella is occupied by a masculine and a feminine donor kneeling on either side of a diminutive tree. Its other four compartments unfold events of St. Francis's life, three of which are perfectly plain, the confirmation of the Order, the sermon to the birds, and the demise. The fourth and earliest scene appears to depict his reception, in San Damiano, of the command to repair the church, pronounced not by the Crucifix, according to the usual version, but by a child-angel.

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[1] The crown that she wears might suggest St. Elizabeth of Hungary, but St. Elizabeth's attribute is not a branch but a lapful of roses. The crown may be merely a fillet, a reminiscence of St. Clara's past connection with the world and of her aristocratic birth; or it may be one of the insignia of an abbess. She is regularly depicted as crowned in the iconography of Spanish painting.

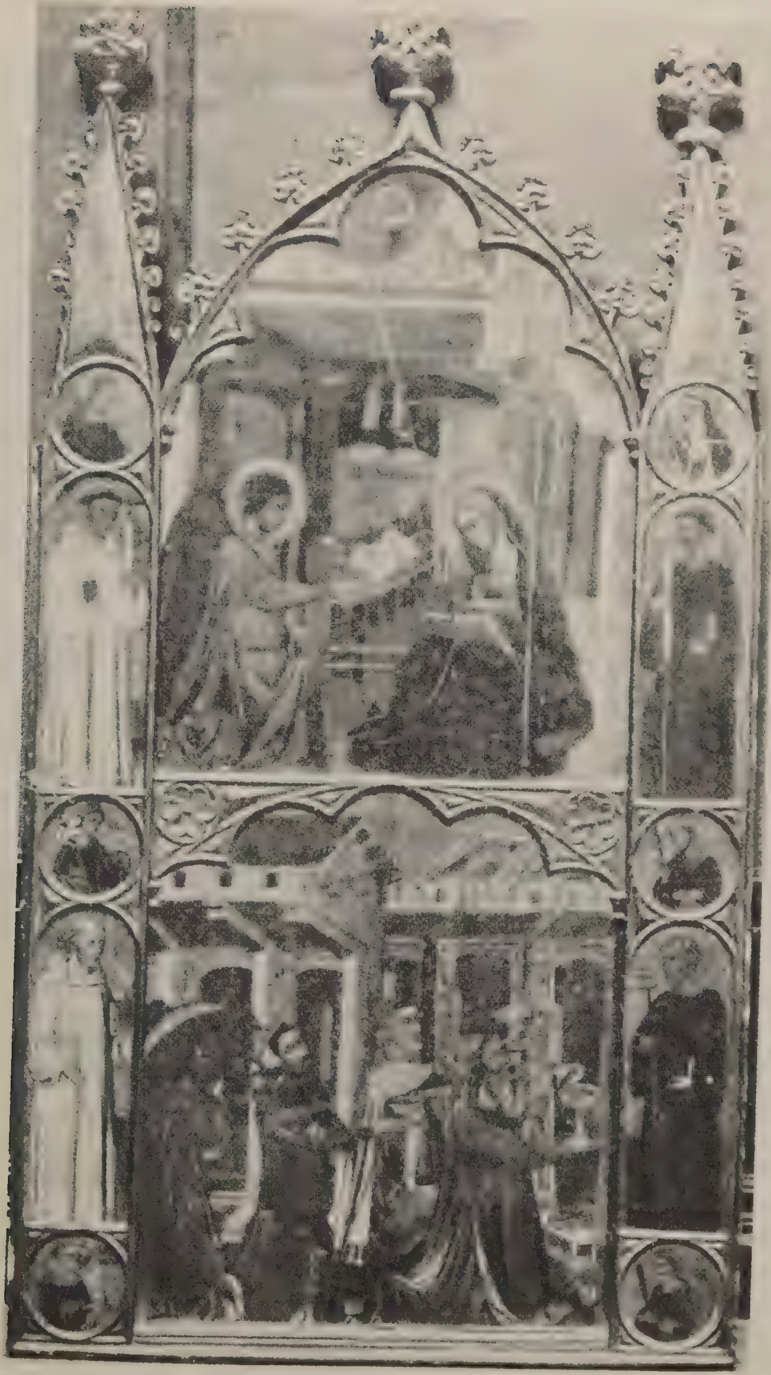

Fig. 146. FRAGMENT OF RETABLE FROM CARDONA. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

The episode of the stigmata is used to fill the pinnacle above the central St. Francis. The gold of the backgrounds is diapered only at the edges and even so with merely the slightest of patterns. It is chiefly the bulkiness of the forms that transmits the Florentine effect, and yet, not only in the structure of the retable but also in general style, the picture irresistibly recalls the school of Majorca, where, however, Sienese influences were dominant. Is it that the physical types are Majorcan? Or is it nothing more than the provincial character of the workmanship? Could it possibly be the production of an islander who had strayed to the mainland? The date would probably lie somewhere in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. As the retable now stands in the chapel, it is raised upon an additional predella, a negligible botch of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

Between the discussion of Ferrer Bassa and of the style diffused in Catalonia by the Serra brothers may be placed also a fragment of a retable (Fig. 146) said to have come from Cardona and now in the Barcelona Museum, because it also seems to exhibit some dependence upon Florentine painting of the Trecento. It consists of two compartments in which are the Annunciation and the three Magi presenting their gifts. Inasmuch as the Madonna and Child do not appear with the Magi, they must have occupied, as larger figures, according to the frequent mediaeval Spanish practice, the middle of the altarpiece to the right of the extant panel, the direction toward which the Wise Men turn. The remains of the frame on either side display two standing monastic saints and three medallions of busts of feminine saints. The backgrounds are of diapered gold. Like the St. Vincent retable, this fragment is more thoroughly Italianate than the intensely national Spanish artists ordinarily permitted their works to be; and yet the last Wise Man and the esquire who holds the horses could belong to no other race than the Iberian. The date is certainly the second half of the fourteenth century. The suspicion of some degree of Sienese influence is aroused by such elements as the Gothic undulations of the draperies and the delightful delicacy with which the feminine saints are delineated. That the master, however, was fundamentally inspired by Florence or by an Italian who himself was partially Florentinized, is proved by the general solidity and sobriety of the forms, by the countenances, and by the broad and firm draperies of the monastic saints on the frame.

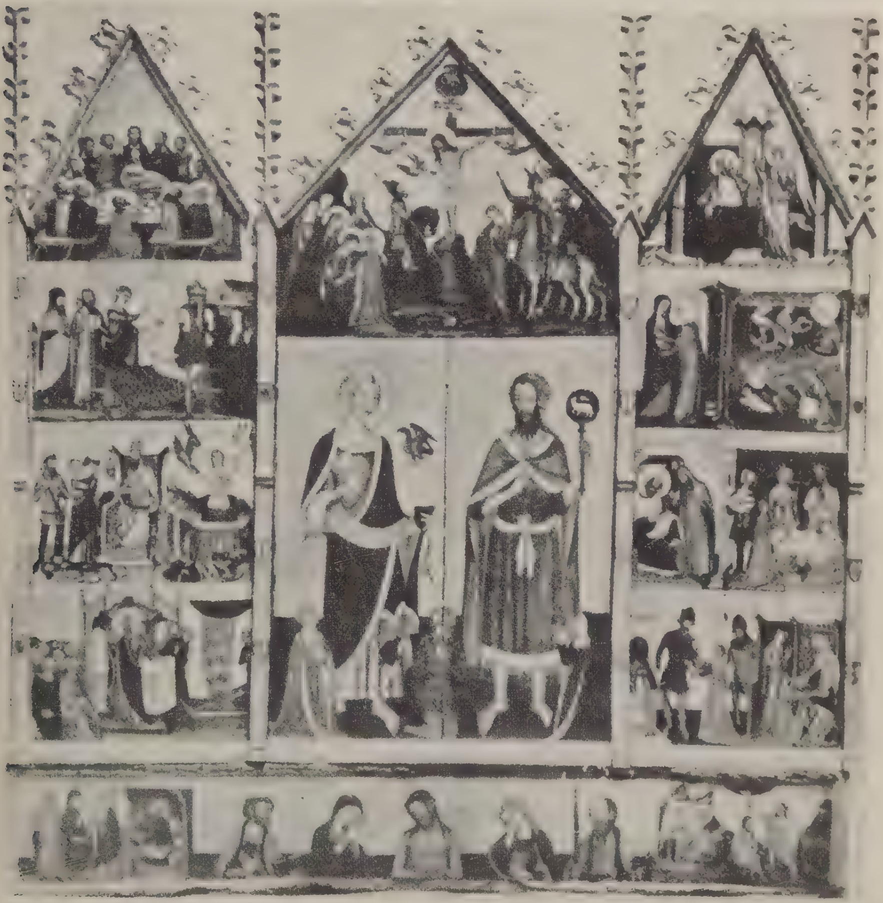

Fig. 147. RETABLE OF STA. COLOMA DE QUERALT. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

The style, which reveals an artist of no mean ability, is not so close to Giotto himself as in the St. Vincent retable, but resembles decidedly that of some Giottesco of the later Trecento.

The retable from the castle of Sta. Coloma de Queralt (south of Cervera), in the Plandiura Collection, is an imitation, by a not very skilled or powerful hand, of Italian and especially Sienese paintings of the Trecento (Fig. 147). It is contemporary with the earliest achievements of Jaime Serra and yet quite apart from the manner of the Serra atelier. The central panel displays the two St. Johns, with three diminutive kneeling donors, a gentleman between the sacred effigies and a lady at either side; at the right are scenes from the life of the Baptist, at the left from the life of the Evangelist; the Crucifixion takes its usual place in the central pinnacle; and the predella includes busts of the dead Christ, the Virgin, Sts. John, Peter, and Paul and two further narrative scenes. Gold backgrounds, diapered only at the borders, are omnipresent, and gold is much employed even in the brocades of the costumes to illumine still further the decorative Sienese brightness of the color. Only the scenes from the life of the Evangelist need elucidation. In the pinnacle is the Last Supper because of the important rôle that he played in it. Beneath follow: the raising of Drusiana; in the next compartment two episodes together (as generally also in the life of the Baptist), the boiling in oil and the drinking of the poisoned cup in the presence of the two corpses upon whom the venom had been tested; St. John preaching to his flock before his death and the rain of manna into his tomb; and in the predella an *aurifex* proving the rods turned into gold by the Apostle, who is here, as also in the raising of Drusiana, still represented as a youth. Sanpere once guessed wildly that it was an early work of Borrassá. He set it in the last decade of the century, and named as the donors the rulers of the house of Queralt at that period. The primitive rigidity of manner precludes so late a date. Gudiol[1] is not far wrong in choosing the sixth decade of the century; he identifies the donors with Dalmacio de Queralt, his wife, and his mother. The style is fundamentally Sienese, but with those Gallic embellishments, such as the contemporary costumes, which occur in the Serra productions and were a natural consequence of the contact with the Franco-Gothic manner of Catalonia. Of the general Sienese indebtedness throughout the retable, the angels of the Baptism and the St. John of the Crucifixion may be taken as the clinching proof. The composition for the raising of Drusiana is like a contraction of Giotto's fresco of the theme in the Peruzzi Chapel of S. Croce, Florence. The combination of Italian forms, here and there a French costume, and a certain stiffness of posture creates a resemblance to some of the frescoes in the Rinuccini Chapel of S. Croce, executed in 1365 (probably in conjunction with a pupil) by that Lombard follower of Giotto, Giovanni da Milano, who himself had learned something of Gallic art in northern Italy and was also affected by the achievements of Siena. The analogy, probably fortuitous, is particularly striking between the birth of the Baptist in the Queralt retable and the birth of the Virgin in the Rinuccini Chapel. The Italian suggestions have passed through a mind quite different from that of any member of the Serra atelier, a mind that is severer, fond of simpler compositions, less concerned with grace, and less intent upon insinuating charm. Although the blue crescents employed by the Serras and others in the midst of the gold to symbolize the heavens are twice introduced into the Queralt altarpiece (in the rain of manna and the Baptism), the only real approximation to the style of the Serras is the resemblance of the donors to those of the Trastamara Madonna; but this carries with it no implications, for all portraits at this period look very much alike. The Baptism, in the predella, contains a curious bit of iconography, the representation of Christ as *seated* in the Jordan.

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[1] *Els trescentistes*, 16 and 367, n. 1.

Perhaps by the same hand is a retable of St. Bartholomew once in the chapel of Sta. Filómena in the cathedral of Tarragona but now in the Sala Capitular. Of the three principal sections into which, like the altarpiece of Sta. Coloma de Queralt, it is divided, the central (Fig. 148) is occupied by the large standing effigy of the saint, trampling upon the fettered devil and adored by a kneeling masculine and a feminine donor, whose striking stylistic similarity to the two donors at the left in the Queralt picture, in view of the general analogy of all such portraits at this moment in the history of Catalan art, should perhaps not be too much stressed. The pointed pinnacle of the left lateral section contains the Annunciation, and the right pinnacle the standing forms of the patrons of the cathedral, Sts. Paul and Thecla, the former wearing a mantle of which one end blows forth in a Gothic swirl very like the old Romanesque fly-

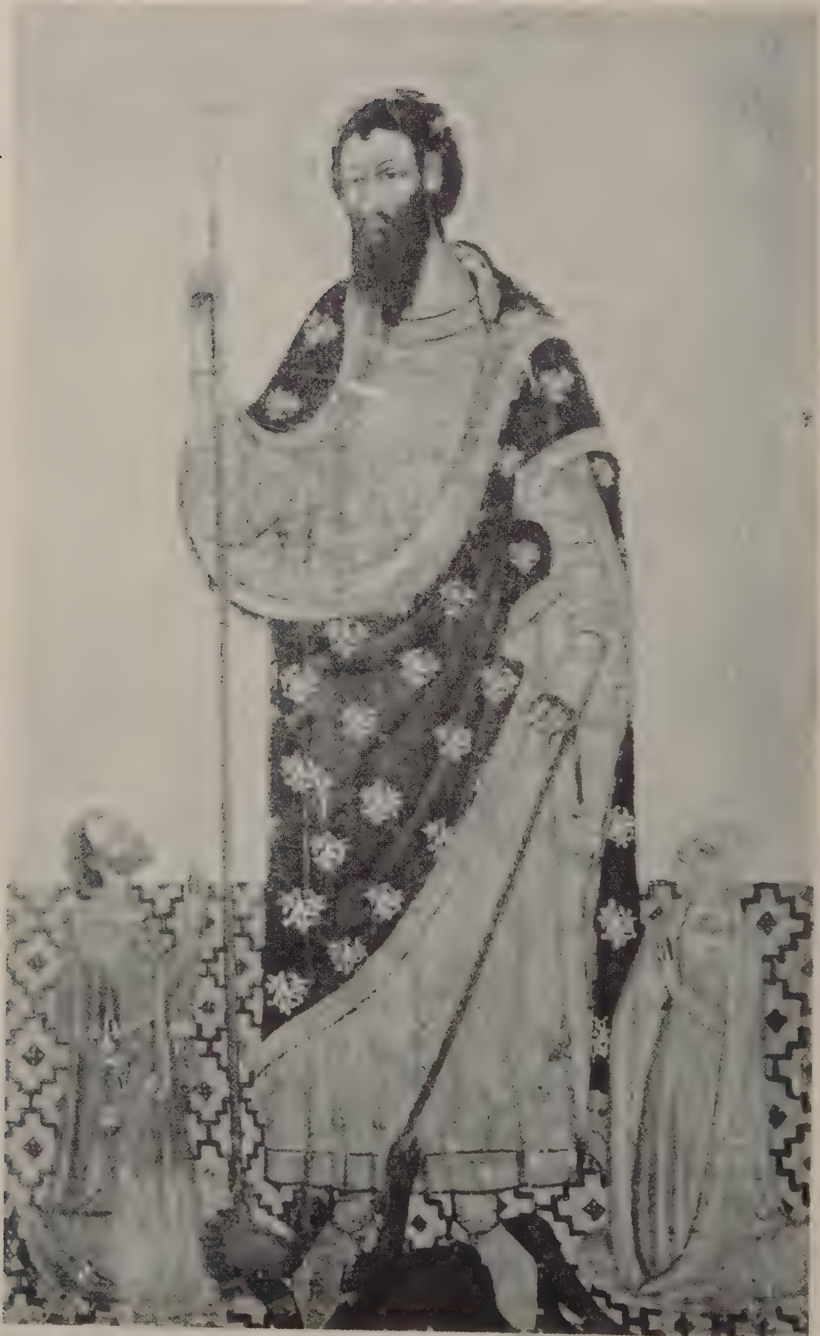

Fig. 148. CENTRAL PANEL OF RETABLE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW. CATHEDRAL, TARRAGONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

ing fold of Languedoc and the latter holding a book upon which is inscribed a prayer for her intercession; but the two lower compartments on each side are devoted to the story of St. Bartholomew. The two compartments immediately beneath the Annunciation and the figures of Sts. Paul and Thecla embody some legend of St. Bartholomew which I have not been able to find in either the Bollandists or the *Golden Legend.* In the left panel a hunting lord and his retainers discover on a rock a baby from whom a demon flees. In the panel at the right St. Bartholomew or the devil disguised as this Apostle, clad in the garb of a pilgrim and accompanied by a fellow wayfarer, enters a room in which are enthroned a king and a queen and stretches forth a blessing hand towards an infant in a cradle under which four women, with bared breasts, are stricken to the ground and beside which kneels another woman, similarly *décolletée.* On the cradle is written the enigmatical inscription in Catalan: "This devil in the form of an infant lies in the cradle xxiv years; in the form of St. Bartholomew he(?) killed four wet nurses." The lowest compartment at the left comprises two episodes: St. Bartholomew driving the demon from the statue of the goddess Ashtoreth while the fragments of the image of the companion deity Berith lie upon the pavement; and the saint's torture by cudgelling. Into the lowest compartment at the right are compressed his flaying and decapitation, in the latter of which episodes the artist naïvely depicts him as carrying his skin in order, as in the Franco-Gothic frontal of Liria, to make it plain that he is harmonizing the two conflicting versions of the saint's death by flaying and beheading through considering the former as a preliminary. The predella has been lost. The *motif* of foliate scrolls incised at the edges of the gold backgrounds is identical with that of the retable of Sta. Coloma de Queralt and is likewise employed on the sides and summit of the central section and only on the upper borders of the subordinate compartments. Frequent resort to gold, as in the Queralt picture, is made in the brocades, the delicate designs of which resemble somewhat the ivy figures of Jaime Serra. Identity of authorship with the altarpiece of Queralt is strongly suggested also by the flimsy unsubstantiality of the forms, with less concern for tactile values even than the art of Siena, by the inability to make them stand solidly on their feet, and by such detailed parallelisms as those existing between the central Baptist of Queralt and the central St. Bartholomew of Tarragona, between the mounted soldier at the left in the Crucifixion and the cavalier who finds the baby, or between the Herod and Herodias and the enthroned couple in the scene of the discomfiture of the wet nurses. The analogies to the productions of Giovanni da Milano are less evident, but the group of falconers who pick up the diabolic baby are conceived and executed in much the same spirit as the cavalcade of hunters in the fresco of the Triumph of Death at Pisa.

For want of a better place, there may be catalogued here the sepulchral effigy of the Catalan saint, María de Cervellón, known locally as María del Socós (of succor), accompanied by a miniature donor or worshipper, painted in 1380 on the side of her wooden coffin and now in a chapel on the north side of the church of La Merced at Barcelona. The principal figure is purposely so stiffened into a cult-image and so hidden in drapery that it provides little or no evidence in regard to style; but classification, in any case, with the Italianate rather than the Franco-Gothic school seems to be demanded by the small, adoring personage, who recalls the manner of the dwarfed portraits executed by the Serra brothers and who, if a definite donor, would probably be Peter IV of Aragon, the sovereign known to have paid for the picture. The later sarcophagus in which the original coffin has been placed prevents the painting, which is on the front of the casket, from any longer being seen; and even the inner wooden coffin seems to be only in part original, for Mas's photograph shows at the head and feet of the effigy truncated panels which are painted with the lower parts of groups of figures and which look as if they had once been the ends of the shorter, primitive sepulchral receptacle of 1380.

CHAPTER XXII

JAIME SERRA AND HIS SCHOOL

After Ferrer Bassa, the Sienese influence in Catalonia of the fourteenth century, though still potent, became less unalloyed, and was commingled more largely with other constituents, partly emanating from the painters' own individualities and from their Spanish nationality, partly derived from the persistent interest in French pictorial achievement. The iconography, when, as often, it is not based upon any exact Italian precedent, may be Gallic. We have come, in other words, to the dawn of the international style, to the beginning of the first of the phases that it assumed in Catalonia. This stage in Catalan development, in the second half of the century, is represented primarily by one of those families of artists so often encountered in the Middle Ages, the Serras of Barcelona. Of the three brothers, Jaime, Pedro, and Juan, mentioned in order of seniority, the two former can be definitely connected by documents with extant works. To the account of the eldest, Jaime, we can now, on this certain evidence, place one retable; and on stylistic grounds we can assign to him, with conviction, two or three other productions. He first appears in history in January, 1361, when he receives remuneration for painting that he had done for the queen of Peter IV. In June of the same year,[1] the will of the treasurer of the archbishopric of Saragossa, the canon Fray Martín de Alpartil (who died the next year, 1362),[2] provides that his executors shall pay Jaime Serra for a retable that the master is to paint for the front of his tomb in the church, at Saragossa, of the convent of Santo Sepulcro. From this date on, he is mentioned at intervals in documents until 1376, when his brother Juan is spoken of as his *procurador*, a word that does not necessarily imply that Jaime Serra was still alive. We know, however, that he was not dead in 1375,[1] for he then acknowledges having been paid for a retable in the church of Sta. María at Cardona. In 1395–1396, he is recorded as already deceased, either recently or long since.

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[1] The date is misprinted by Gudiol (*Els trescentistes*, 202) as 1367, and this error is copied by Miss Richert (40). The right date and the document will be found in Sanpere (*Els trescentistes*, 271) and in H. Gimeno, *Boletín del Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Zaragoza*, V (1921), 1. Mayer, in his *Geschichte* (31), also gives 1361.

[2] Not the nephew of the same name, the partisan of the antipope, Benedict XIII, and the historian of the schism. The Fray Martín de Alpartil who patronized Jaime Serra was the treasurer of the archbishop, the great Maecenas of the arts, Lope Fernández de Luna, who ruled the see from 1351 to 1382 and was succeeded by García Fernández de Heredia (see C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I, 158). The Fray Martín to whose activities in 1379 Manuel Serrano refers (*Revista de archivos*, XXXV, 1916, pp. 410 ff.) must be the nephew.

The eight dissociated panels of the retable of 1361 for Fray Martín de Alpartil are now in the Museum of Saragossa. The subjects are from the lives of Christ and Mary. The style remains of Sienese derivation, but the indebtedness is freer and much less direct than with Ferrer Bassa. The types, particularly the feminine ones and the angels, reveal their Italian lineage. The short-bearded St. Peter at the head of the bier in the Death of the Virgin may be descended from Duccio, and embodies a cast of head for an old man that is of frequent occurrence in Catalan painting of the Trecento and even Quattrocento. The masculine heads, indeed, in this panel are all very similar to those of Pedro Serra's Pentecost at Manresa, and prove the close relation between the productions of the two brothers. Jaime Serra draws better than Ferrer Bassa: for a concrete instance, one may refer to the hands, particularly the delicate and expressive examples in the Annunciation. But the forms are less well realized in three dimensions, or, to put it another way, they have more of the ethereal unsubstantiality of Siena. However Italian in derivation, the types are very much modified and accommodated to the artist's own conceptions. The Sienese oval for the countenance is sometimes preserved, but it tends to give way, as in the angels of the Resurrection and in the group of the blessed in the Last Judgment, to a delightfully pert roundness like that of Sano di Pietro. There is, indeed, much in the art of Jaime and Pedro Serra and of their successor, Luis Borrassá, that looks forward curiously to the production of Sano and illustrates again the fact that, although the Catalan masters were less great intrinsically, or perhaps by very reason of this phenomenon, they adopted new styles more readily than the conservative Sienese. Sano's love, for instance, of groups of piquant, flying angels is foreshadowed by Jaime Serra. Now and then it is possible to find a Sienese parallel for his figures, as in the Gabriel of the Annunciation, which is similar in conception and posture to the angel in the Annunciation by Andrea Vanni in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge; but the relationship to Siena was not, in general, a material one. It was rather the spirit of Sienese art, the propensity towards the pretty, the decorative, and the mystic that the Serra brothers and other Catalonians imitated because they found this spirit analogous to their own aesthetic trend, and it was owing to the spiritual analogy that they were led at times to take concrete suggestions from the superior achievements of their like-minded Italian rivals. The reiteration of the pretty way that the Sienese have of telling the sacred stories may be exemplified, as in the case of Ferrer Bassa, by Jaime's appealing treatment of the Annunciation.

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[1] Gudiol (*op. cit.*, 201) mentions a receipt given by Jaime Serra in 1379; but since just below he states that 1375 is the last date on which Jaime Serra is recorded as alive, 1379 is evidently a misprint. Gudiol's book is not impeccable in the proof-reading of dates. 1379 should probably read 1375, for the document refers to painting for the town of Selva del Campo, to which there are other references of the years 1374 and 1375. If the date of the receipt that Gudiol gives as April 1, 1379, should, then, read April 1, 1375, it would be a few days later than the Cardona document, which is inscribed March 21, 1375, and it would be this receipt, therefore, that would constitute the last reference to the master as alive.

Upon the Sienese qualities other characteristics are beginning to be superimposed in transition to the international style. The wings of the angels are brightening into resplendent plumage. The garments, often of a whitish or creamy tone that is characteristic of Jaime, are frequently enriched with a charmingly delicate pattern of a gold brocade that is likewise a trade-mark of the master, consisting of vine in the foliage of which may be seen the forms of birds; but it is rather strange that his design is not so ostentatiously magnificent as on the earlier painted tapestry behind Ferrer Bassa's enthroned Madonna. For examples of well or fairly well preserved brocades, the student may examine the robes of Gabriel in the Annunciation, Christ in the Resurrection (Fig. 149), and several of the figures in the Death of the Virgin. On the blue mantle of Our Lady in the Nativity, there is substituted a bolder pattern of eagles which occurs in several other productions of the workshop of the Serra brothers. The faded condition of the panels makes it hard to determine whether the color was already beginning to be raised from the Italian standard of the fourteenth century to the gayer international pitch. The roof of the stable in the Nativity, in any case, still retains a vivid red. For feminine hair Jaime Serra uniformly employs a light red. The color perhaps remains in best condition in the Crucifixion. The temper of *genre* and the love of the grotesque are emerging, most conspicuously in the Descent into Hell, the picturesque liveliness of which it would be hard to parallel even in the first half of the fifteenth century (Fig.150). The usual yawning monster's mouth that represents the entrance to the infernal regions is here painted with extraordinary gusto and sportive savagery. The teeth and fierce eyes have given the artist an opportunity to display his taste for the eery. With elfish and original imagination he has encamped the demons on the upper jaw manipulating very evident chains in order to accomplish that closing of the gate of hell which is mentioned in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* [1] and (quoting from this *Gospel*) in the chapter on the Resurrection in the *Golden Legend*. Two portraits of the donor, Fray Martín de Alpartil, are inserted, one among the blessed in the Last Judgment, and a second, of somewhat more incisive characterization, in the Resurrection. Both are executed with the incipient and charmingly naïve naturalism that the international style applies to the small figures of contemporaries which it has a tendency to introduce.

The panels of Jaime Serra's retable contain in embryo much that we shall find in later mediaeval Catalan painting. The backgrounds are uniformly of (as yet undiapered) gold with a minimum of architecture or setting. Gold is also employed already rather extensively for accenting the paintings themselves, as on the brocades, on the armor of the soldiers in the Resurrection, and (though here badly injured) on the throne of the Coronation. The decorative attitude towards art causes the Catalan masters, even more than the Sienese, to throw their compositions into formal designs. The studied symmetry of the arrangements in the Resurrection, Coronation, and, above all, the Last Judgment is typical. Even the clouds in the first

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[1] M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 132 ff.

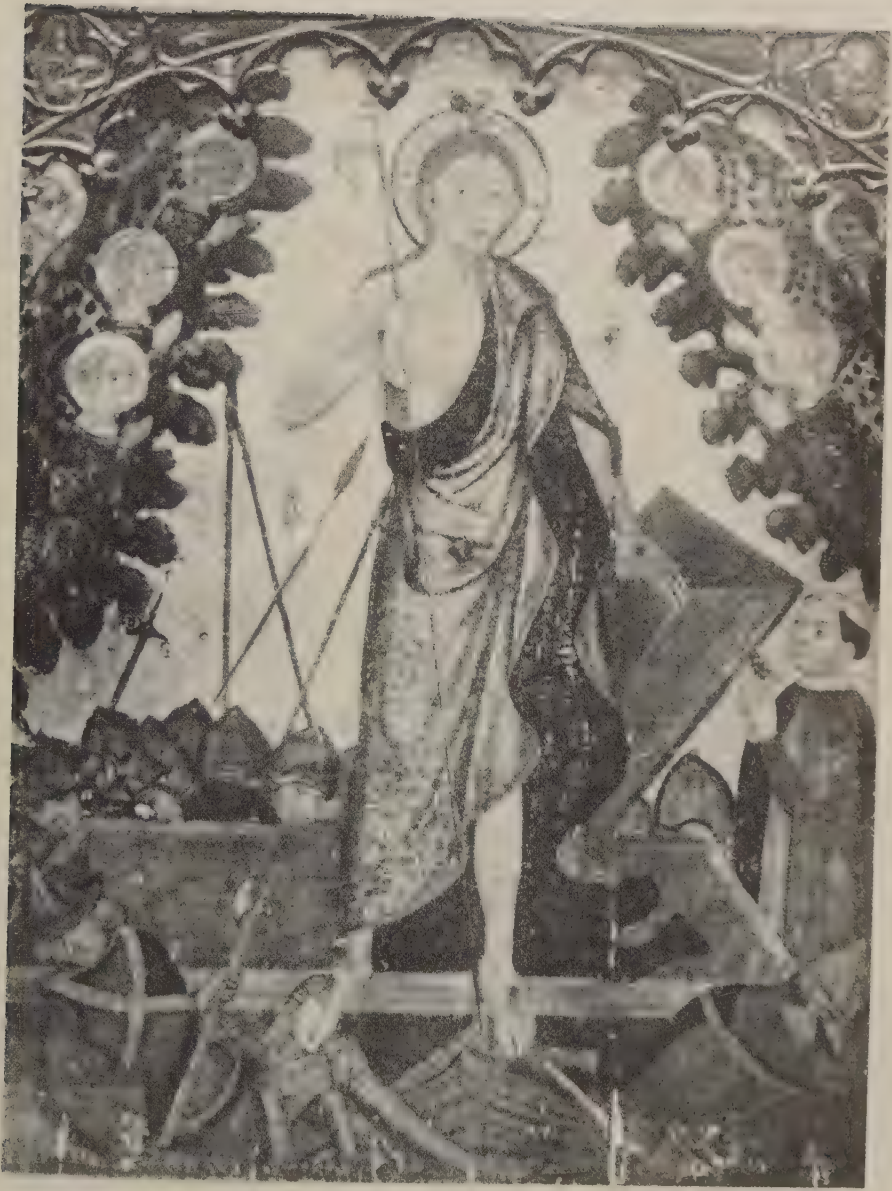

FIG. 149. JAIME SERRA. RESURRECTION. MUSEUM, SARAGOSSA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

of these compositions make a highly conventionalized, scalloped pattern upon the gold. The composition for the Crucifixion, with the symmetrically placed horses at either side of the cross of Christ, is repeated in Borrassá's altarpiece of 1415, and becomes frequent, indeed, in Catalan painting of the period. On the frame of the retable, flanking the Coronation in the spandrel at the upper left, is painted a large head of Christ, originally balanced, above the panel of the Annunciation, by a similar head of the Virgin, which has disappeared except for the halo. In its formality, embodied in complete frontality, in its majesty, in its intense mysticism, in its idol-like character, it is prophetic of Bermejo's veronica in the Museum of Vich. As in the case of Ferrer Bassa, I fail to discern any relation to Cavallini's Pantocrator; Jaime Serra has simply magnified and ennobled the type that he uses for Our Lord in the narrative panels. We shall find, as we proceed, that the Serra workshop indulged in certain iconographic peculiarities. One of them manifests itself here, in the Nativity of Christ, for behind the Virgin there appears a haloed feminine figure, who, if she be not a gratuitously introduced saint of later times, perhaps represents one of the midwives, Zebel or Salome.

Stylistic divergences preclude, in my opinion, Gudiol's identification of the Pentecost at Cardona and the panels of its predella at Solsona with the retable at Cardona for which in 1375 Jaime Serra admits payment and which must therefore be regarded as lost. These paintings will be considered later among the school-pieces of the Serra atelier.

Stylistic similarities, on the other hand, almost impose the attribution to Jaime of the relics of a retable, four panels of the Passion, set into a later altarpiece in the Capilla del Rosario in S. Nicolás at Saragossa, which now serves as the church of the very convent of Santo Sepulcro for which he executed his documented works in the Museum. These important paintings, which I have little or no doubt came from the master's own hand, have hitherto attracted slight attention, scarcely more than a passing mention. Miss Richert omits them altogether; Bertaux guesses at Lorenzo Zaragoza as their author; Mayer gives them to an early moment in the career of Pedro Serra. Sanpere treats them at the greater length that they deserve and connects them with Jaime, but, chiefly because of their increased emotionalism, he assigns them to the decadence of his old age or to a pupil. Two episodes are compressed into each panel, but in each case more space and importance are given to one of the episodes. The lower right panel contains the Agony in the Garden and Judas bargaining with the Jewish priests. In the upper right panel, the Betrayal, which Jaime has per-

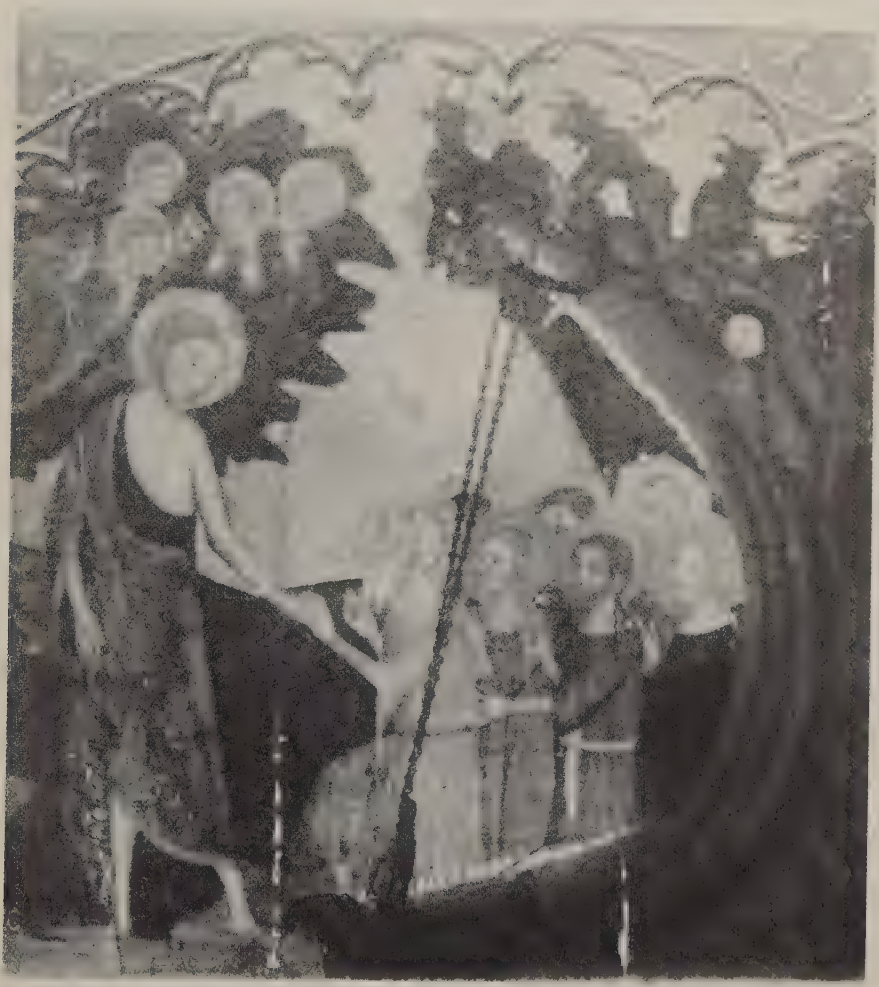

FIG. 150. JAIME SERRA. DESCENT INTO HELL. MUSEUM, SARAGOSSA
(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

haps attempted to depict as a nocturnal event, is expanded into a large composition with two scenes, at the left the kiss of Judas and at the right the flight of the Apostles. The lower left compartment displays the Descent into Hell and the three women at the sepulchre; the upper left compartment, the Entombment and the Resurrection. As the compositions and forms in these panels gradually emerge from the darkness of the chapel to the straining eyes of the visitor by aid of fleeting sunlight or flickering candle, it is hard to elude the conviction that the master is indeed Jaime Serra. The parallelism to the works in the Museum is embodied not only in such general elements as the types but in specific details. The Descent into Hell is depicted in much the same way, except that now only one demon surmounts the head of the infernal monster. The garments are often ornamented with Jaime's delicate pattern of ivy. The gold background is preserved only in the panel of the Agony in the Garden, but the gold accents on the draperies and on other parts of costumes may still be seen here and there, for instance on the soldiers' armor in the Betrayal and, as in the piece in the Museum, in the Resurrection. In distinction, however, from the rendering of this theme in the Museum, the composition includes the cypress trees that become a regular constituent of the setting to the scene in the products of the Serra workshop, as in the Sijena retable in the Barcelona Museum, which is attributed to Jaime himself. The outstanding difference of the panels from those in the Museum at Saragossa is the greater nervous excitement, which had appeared first in the Sienese school with Pietro Lorenzetti and which expresses itself with Jaime, as with the Sienese master, even in a distortion of the countenances by grief, already foreshadowed on the visages of the damned in the Last Judgment of the Museum. In the women of the Entombment in S. Nicolás, the result has been only grimaces, but in the Christ of the Betrayal Jaime has succeeded in so delineating the face as to impart a very real effect of sorrow. Because of the same emotional proclivity, he indulges in a variation upon the theme of St. Peter and the high priest's servant, depicting the Apostle as raising his sword while the fallen victim sues for mercy. It is to be observed, also, that Judas, in his interview with the chief priests, is characterized

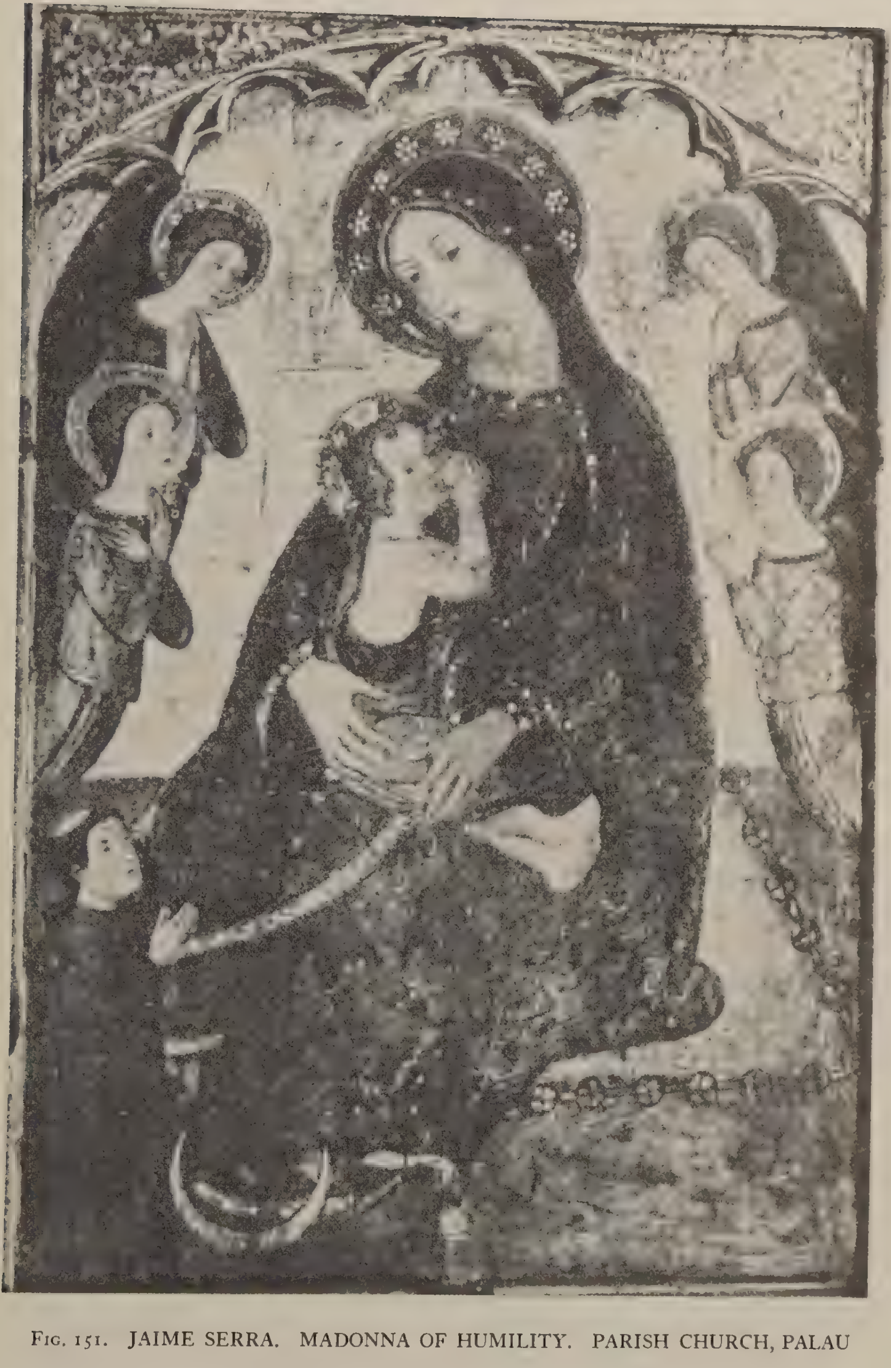

Fig. 151. JAIME SERRA. MADONNA OF HUMILITY. PARISH CHURCH, PALAU

(From "Un retaule inèdit d'en Jaume Serra" by J. Folch)

by a distinctly ugly physiognomy, as in Giotto's treatment of the scene at Padua, and that in the Betrayal he appears in the same guise. Although the present condition of the panels leaves much to be desired, the preservation is very good in the blues, which are perhaps darkened somewhat by age, and in the reds, which are identical with those of the Italian Trecento. Although Sanpere attributes the pictures to Jaime's last days, a certain rigidity in the rendering of movement may mean rather that they were executed before the retable of the Museum.

Internal evidence seems to demand also the attribution to Jaime Serra of the fragments of a retable in the parish church of Palau, a few kilometres east of Bourg Madame in the part of Catalonia that now belongs to France. The whole middle portion, consisting of several parts, hangs on the right side of the choir. The central panel (Fig. 151) displays a nursing Madonna flanked by four fluttering and adoring angels; and a clerical donor, of the customary dwarfed proportions, kneels at her feet. The other bits preserved in this middle portion are smaller compartments of the Crucifixion and of the Death of the Virgin and diminutive effigies of Sts. Martin, Nicholas, Lawrence, and (?) Stephen on the frame. Furthermore, two fragments, small panels depicting the Ascension and Pentecost, are built into the lower part of the new high altar. The types are unmistakably those of the eldest Serra brother: to realize this fact, it is necessary only to contrast the figures of the central panel with the fuller and stronger forms in the almost identical composition ordered by Henry of Trastamara and generally ascribed to Pedro Serra. The compositions for the smaller panels often tally with other certain or conjectured works of Jaime. The Death of the Virgin, for instance, is paralleled by the treatment of the theme in the Museum at Saragossa, and the Ascension finds its analogue in the retable from Sijena, which will be discussed forthwith. The composition for the Pentecost, which is like the one in the Sijena altar, illustrates a peculiar iconographical treatment of the subject that was the norm for the workshop of the Serra brothers and continued as a Catalan tradition among their followers: in a strictly symmetrical arrangement, the Virgin is exalted at the centre to colossal proportions (according to a common mediaeval mode of symbolizing greater importance), enthroned in the midst of the Apostles. Even the types and postures of the Apostles are repeated again and again by Jaime and Pedro Serra and their successors, now with one slight variation, now with another. The exact balance on a central axis extends to the division of the Virgin's body into two symmetrical halves; but within this schematizing of the composition there begins to be some realism in detail, resulting in the combination that is so definitive a trait of Spanish painting of the fifteenth century. The most obvious examples are the lifelike gesticulation of wonderment in the St. Peter and the dreamy doubt expressed in the head of the Apostle at the lower left (St. Thomas?). The analogies to Jaime's other works include also undiapered gold backgrounds, patterns in the haloes corresponding to those of Saragossa and Sijena, peacocks' wings for the adoring angels, a griffin-figured brocade in the Virgin's mantle and a geometric patterning of the solid gold of her tunic likewise similar to the examples in the Sijena picture, the *motif* of a conventionalized eagle on the brocade of the cushion as on the Virgin's mantle in the Nativity at Saragossa, and a pattern of vine, apparently, however, without birds, on the tunics of the angels, on the outer garment of the Christ Child, and on the costume of the Virgin at her death. The proneness of the mediaeval Spanish artist to cast a painting into a set design even in the disposition of the masses of color is illustrated in the cross-balancing of the white robes of the upper angel at the right by the same color in those of the lower angel at the left and the orange robes of the upper angel at the left by the identical hue in those of the angel at the lower right. Some aspects of the craftsmanship are too undeveloped to permit a date long, if at all, subsequent to the panels of the Saragossa Museum. The Child, for instance, is so badly drawn that, were it not for the position of the arm, one could not tell whether He was presented in front or back view, and the Virgin has only a single breast planted in the middle of her bosom.

The central panel is one of a number of Catalan representations of the nursing Madonna or "Madonna of the Milk," a theme especially popular in the Serra workshop; and a question at once arises as to the source from which the Catalonians obtained this iconographical phase of the Virgin. There existed something of a previous tradition in Pre-Gothic art for the conception of the Virgin as nursing the Child, and we have found her so depicted on a late Romanesque antependium of the Bosch Collection at Barcelona. She thus appears in French miniatures of the fourteenth century, and an outstanding example in Sienese painting is the charming half-length by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in S. Francesco, Siena. In the Ronda triptych, perhaps by Ferrer Bassa, the nursing Madonna sits facing the spectator; but the theme generally assumed in Catalonia of the fourteenth century, as in the panel of Palau, a different and curious composition which was not popular in France or at Siena but was apparently derived by the Spaniards from other Italian sources. The Virgin, bending over the suckling Child, is seated on a cushion on the ground or floor, and her legs are extended towards one side of the picture and heavily enveloped in an outspread and somewhat triangular sheath of Gothic drapery. A moon is usually at her feet, as at Palau, and her head is encircled with twelve stars or with a halo containing a *motif* twelve times repeated. In other words, this is the iconographical phase of the Virgin called the Madonna of Humility, which united to the motherhood incorporated in the act of nursing the suggestion of the Immaculate Conception through the identification of Mary with the woman in the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse under whose feet is the moon and upon whose head is a crown of twelve stars. In view of Dominican opposition to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, it is strange that pictures of the Madonna of Humility were ordered particularly for churches and monasteries of the Black Friars. The part of Italy where this type had most vogue, so far as can be judged from extant examples, was the Marches. The chief exponent was Francescuccio Ghissi (active beginning with 1359), but he seems to have obtained his inspiration from his greater master, Allegretto Nuzi.[1] Ghissi's nursing Madonnas of Humility are often accompanied by adoring angels in the way common in Catalonia; but since the Catalan representations of the subject, however stiff, are ordinarily looser and freer than the geometrical rigidity into which Ghissi conventionalizes his compositions, the Spanish artists probably used other Italian treatments of the theme, such as those of Nuzi or the example by Andrea da Bologna in S. Agostino at Pausula, which, however, bears too late a date, 1372, to have started the tradition in the sister peninsula. The predilection of Nuzi, Ghissi, and Andrea da Bologna for brilliant and conspicuous brocades would have attracted a Catalan eye. The sight of a single example (perhaps imported into Spain) executed by one of these Italian painters of the Marches would have been enough to inaugurate the production of the Spanish series. Inasmuch, however, as the Marches were far off and we are definitely informed of no journeys of these Spanish artists of the fourteenth century into the interior of Italy, it would be preferable to discover prototypes on the east Italian coast. The Madonnas of Humility are not confined to the Marches in the Trecento, and there is, indeed, one extant specimen that fulfills admirably the conditions that we should demand in order to account for an influence in Spain. Now in the Museum of Palermo, it comes from the church of S. Francesco in that city, the capital of Sicily which then belonged to Aragon and had close political and commercial relations with Barcelona. It is the work of Bartolommeo Pellerano da Camogli, who, trained in the Sienese tradition, was active at Genoa, exactly the locality that we should desire in order to establish a connection with Spain and in order to substantiate once more the guess that Catalan and Valencian painting owed more to the art of the eastern Italian littoral, which was under Sienese influence, than to Siena itself. The signed date, 1346, is early enough to have allowed the picture to have its effect upon Jaime and Pedro Serra, and its beauty is great enough to have aroused the enthusiasm of Spanish members of the profession. It would be absurd, of course, to claim that it was just this painting that gave the impetus for the Catalan renderings of the subject, but many other works of the sort were surely to be seen at the time along the coast, and some were doubtless exported to Spain. It has been conjectured, indeed, that the Palermo picture may have been the very one that is known to have been ordered in 1346 from Bartolommeo for a church at

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[1] Lionello Venturi, *A traverso le Marche*, *L'Arte*, XVIII (1915), 14. The nursing Madonna of Sanseverino by Allegretto mentioned in this article is dated 1366, seven years later than Ghissi's first known rendering in 1359; but Ghissi may be drawing upon earlier and lost prototypes by Allegretto. The Holden Collection in the Cleveland Museum contains a Madonna of Humility ascribed to Nuzi.

Rapallo, near Genoa; and it might thus have inspired a Spaniard before it found its way, for some reason or other, to Sicily.

A further attribution which Gudiol and others make to Jaime Serra on stylistic grounds is that of the capacious and important altarpiece from Sijena now in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona. In order to reconstruct the retable in its original condition, later accretions of the figures of Sts. Cosmas and Damian from the fifteenth or early sixteenth century had to be removed, and sections that had strayed into the Cabot Collection at Barcelona recovered. The large enthroned Madonna at the centre (Fig. 152), accompanied by the Magdalene, St. Catherine, and the kneeling donor, Fray Fortaner de Glera (d. 1400), is surrounded by twelve smaller narrative panels from her life and that of Our Lord; the Crucifixion occupies its usual place above the middle panel; and the predella contains the Last Supper, flanked by four scenes incorporating mediaeval legends of the desecration of the Host by Jews. The figure-painting and the pretty and delicate feeling recall the Saragossa retable; but if the Sijena altarpiece is the work of Jaime Serra, it is a Jaime Serra in a somewhat different mood and with modifications of the traits revealed at Saragossa. The imagination is livelier; there is greater animation (as in the Christ of the Resurrection); even the draperies have more movement and complication, as again in the Resurrection (Fig. 153); the Gothic undulation of the edges of the garments is more nervous; and the types are often more realistic and even decidedly Spanish (such as the shepherds in the Nativity, or the Roman soldiers in the Crucifixion, or some of the Apostles in the Last Supper). There is a general tendency to greater elaboration. Not only is the countenance of one haloed figure behind the Virgin introduced into the Nativity of Christ, but also the halo of another unseen form, suggesting more definitely that the two personages were conceived as the midwives, Zebel and Salome; the Virgin now appears kneeling at the side in the Resurrection according to another curious conception of the Serra atelier that is to persist in Catalan iconography; more elements of *genre* are introduced (for instance, the bed in the Annunciation of the Birth of Christ and again in the Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin, or the very carefully delineated folds of the counterpane in the Dormi-

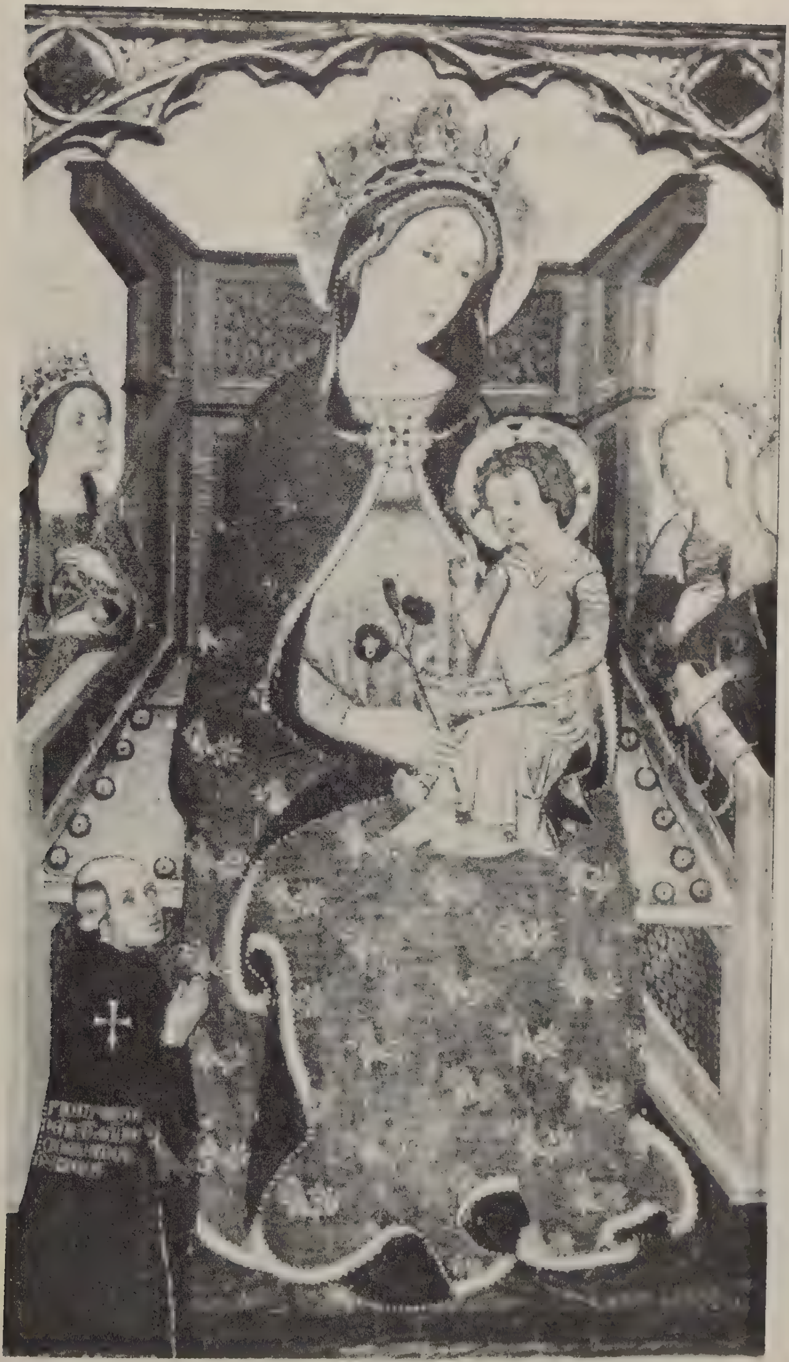

Fig. 152. JAIME SERRA (?). CENTRAL SECTION OF RETABLE FROM SIJENA. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

tion, or the discomfited doctor of the law tearing his books in the panel of Christ in the Temple, or the increased number of dainty bits of landscape in the spirit of the international style, as in the Resurrection and Baptism, in the latter of which fish are painted in the river); the architectural backgrounds are more pretentious; and the setting of such sections as the Nativity and the Resurrection reveals a greater scrupulousness in the struggle with perspective. Although the central Virgin wears a solid gold tunic, patterned geometrically, and a blue mantle brocaded and edged with gold, and although many of the other figures are clad in garments accented by a delicate gold design, yet the general tonality of the altarpiece is less bright and miniature-like than in the panels of the Saragossa Museum. The contacts with the documented works of Jaime Serra, however, are so numerous as to defy cataloguing — for example, the similarity in the compositions of the Crucifixion and the Coronation, the likeness of the angelic wings, the analogy of the Gabriel of the Annunciation of the Birth to the same figure at Saragossa, the striking similarity of the hands in the Annunciation of the Death to those of the Annunciation of the Birth at Saragossa, the almost identical designs for the haloes of the enthroned Virgin of Sijena and of the large head of Christ at Saragossa, the likeness of style in the portraiture of the diminutive donor to that of the Fray Martín de Alpartil in the other altarpiece, the contraction of the countenances of St. John and the holy women in the Crucifixion into an expression of grief according to the precedent set in the retables of the Saragossa Museum and of the church of S. Nicolás. On the whole, the attribution to Jaime Serra may be accepted, but he may very well have been assisted on this, which was probably a late work,[1] by another painter, perhaps, as the documents teach us in other instances, by his brother Pedro.[2]

The ascription of this retable carries with it the assignment, at least to Jaime Serra's immediate shop, of a Crucifixion con-

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[1] It must, of course, have been painted while the donor, Fortaner de Glera, who died in 1400, was still alive, for Jaime Serra himself was dead by at least 1396.

[2] Mrs. Delphine Fitz Darby, who has been working under my direction on early Catalan painting, has come to the conclusion, after a careful and intelligent examination of the Sijena retable, that it is by neither of the brothers but by an assistant who partook of some of the qualities of both.

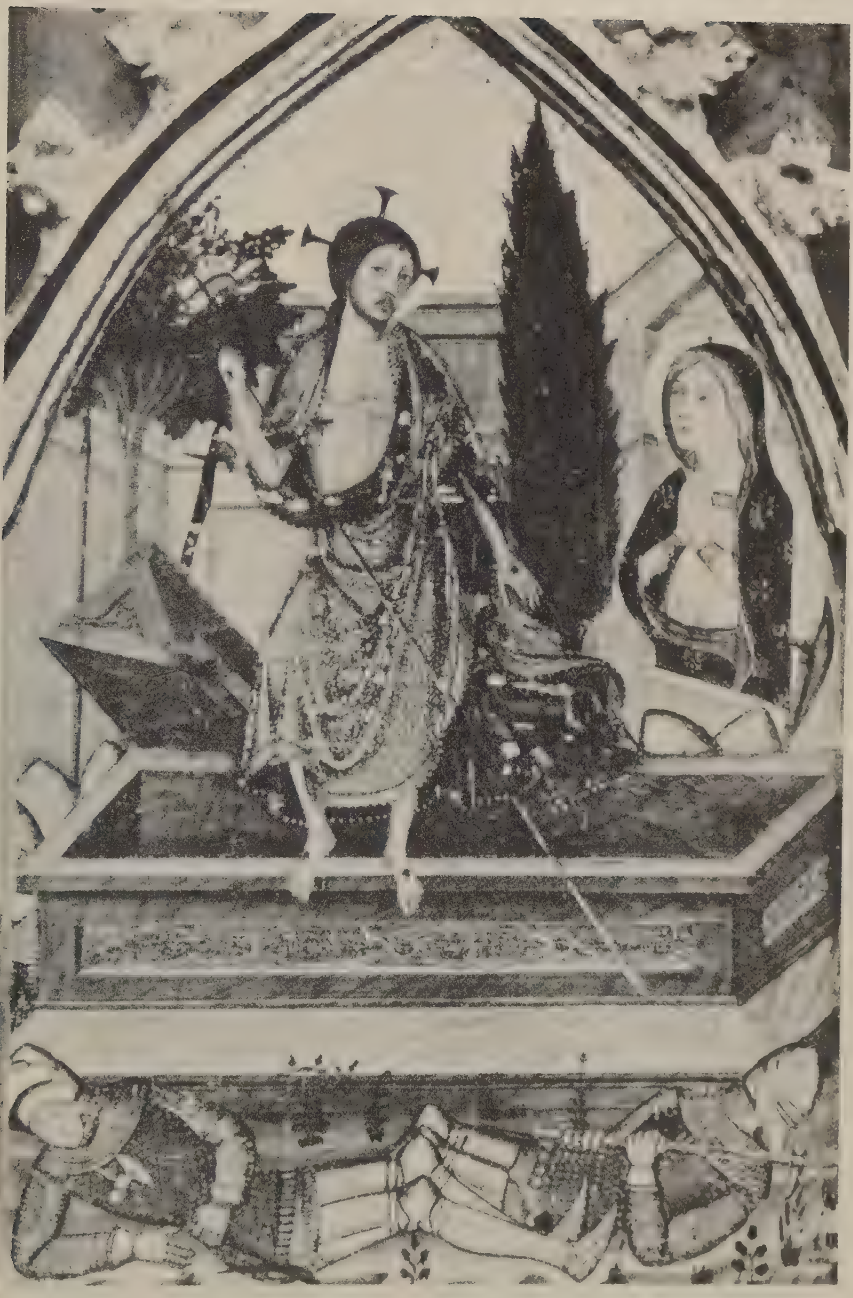

Fig. 153. JAIME SERRA (?). RESURRECTION, FROM RETABLE OF SIJENA. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

vincingly analogous to that of Sijena, No. 49 of the Museum at Vich. Evidently the upper central piece of a lost retable, it still retains two effigies of Prophets on its frame. Jaime's expression of sorrow through the lineaments of the countenance manifests itself also here; but a touch of rudeness in the execution might imply that this was one of the sections that the master left to an apprentice.

A panel of the Nativity of Christ in the Moritz N. Oppenheim Collection at Frankfurt am Main is almost identical in composition with the Sijena representation of the theme, and the types are even more like those of Jaime. The *motif* of griffins on the Virgin's mantle recalls the brocade of the Palau Madonna.

In the Muntadas Collection, Barcelona, is a panel representing the Madonna and Child with a kneeling donor and displaying on the frame figures of saints, which, as far as the rapidity that conditioned my study of the pictures in this house justifies an opinion, can likewise be safely assigned to Jaime Serra himself.

Of the other pictures that have been attributed to him, none, in the opinion of the present writer, should be accepted with certainty or *in toto* as having issued from his own hand. The most important and the closest to his manner is the retable of St. Stephen that has entered the Plandiura Collection from the church at Gualter in the diocese of La Seo de Urgel and province of Lérida. The central effigy of the deacon, clad in a red dalmatic ornamented with a brocade of the characteristically delicate type employed by the Serras, is flanked on each side by three scenes from his life and surmounted by the usual Crucifixion. At the left are the ordination, disputation, and lapidation (Fig.154). The topmost scene at the right is the burial of St. Stephen, and the lowest the invention of his body (which lies between two corpses treated with the leering hideousness of *genre*, probably the cadavers of two of the triad who were interred with the protomartyr, Gamaliel, Nicodemus, and Abibas). I have not been able to find the source of the episode in the central compartment on the right, where St. Stephen appears to have released a warrior from prison and to have restored him to a group of maidens.[1] A masculine donor in brilliant red and his wife kneel at the feet of the principal effigy. The backgrounds are of undiapered gold except for the borders of the compartments which are decorated with a *motif* of grouped dots. The partly ruined predella has also been found in the church, but at my last visit to the Plandiura Collection I could not see it because it was being repaired. It is the types in the burial, in the enigmatical scene beneath it (especially the maidens), and in the Crucifixion that are most like those of Jaime; the Christ receiving St. Stephen's soul in the lapidation resembles more his conception of the Saviour than that of Pedro Serra; and the masculine and feminine donors are quite in the mode of his portraiture, achieving just about the degree of veracity that is found in his repre-

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[1] Mr. Benjamin Rowland has discovered this subject for me — St. Stephen delivering the Lord of Pinós from prison, the same episode that is depicted in the Catalan retable of Granollers in the second half of the fifteenth century.

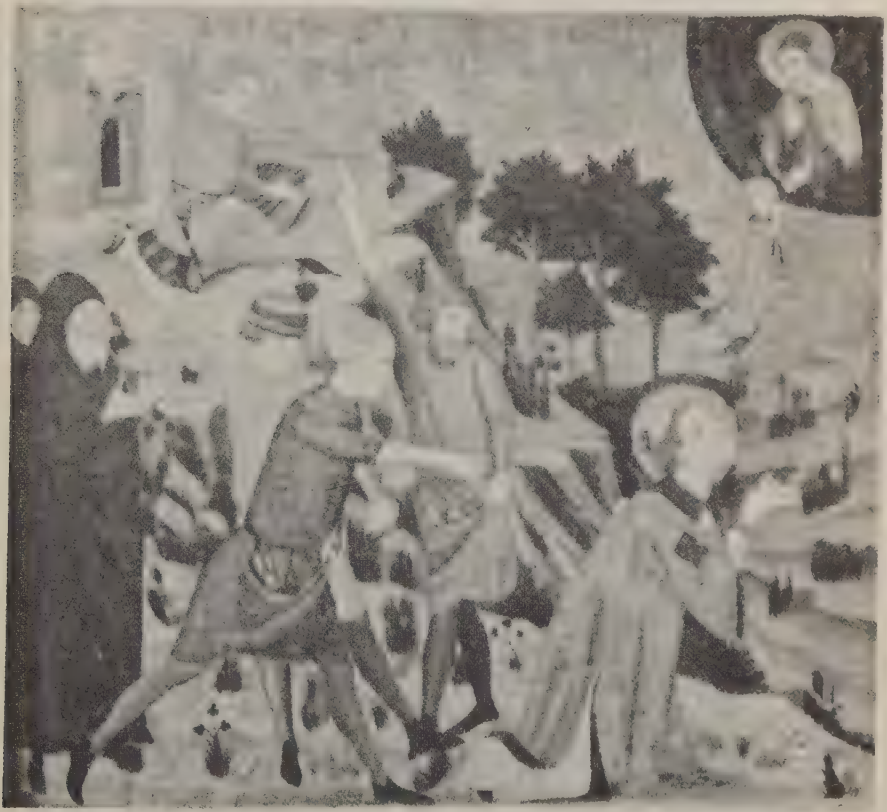

FIG. 154. JAIME SERRA (?). STONING OF ST. STEPHEN, SECTION OF RETABLE OF GUALTER. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

sentations of contemporaries. The elongation of Stephen, in the central panel and indeed in the lateral compartments, into a mystical and incorporeal type of sainthood cannot be quite paralleled in any other works of Jaime, but it is irrational to limit his capacity of variation and invention to what is exhibited in his few certified productions. The landscapes, quite in the Sienese manner, for instance in the stoning, are perhaps more developed even than in the Sijena retable, but there is no reason again for assuming that Jaime did not progress further along this road than the authenticated paintings record. The exterior of a building with an open door in the unexplained scene under the burial and the interior of a church in St. Stephen's disputation with the Jews are painted with surprising accuracy and with a delightful sensibility to prettiness. The episode of the disputation, with its very realistic characterization of the Jews, is almost a double of Pedro's rendering of the same subject in the predella of the Manresa retable of 1394; and it is partly for this reason that Gudiol consigns the Gualter altarpiece to the group of pictures upon which it may be supposed that both brothers worked while in collaboration. But the Hebrew ethnical type is stressed also in the doctors who debate with the young Christ in the Sijena retable; and inasmuch as Jaime possibly lived on until 1395, he may, if this be a very late work of his, have taken his composition from his brother, or Pedro may have been indebted to him. It is wholly likely that one brother would have influenced the other even when they were not collaborating; and I should be disposed to agree with Miss Richert in excluding Pedro from participation here and in attributing the retable solely to Jaime, or to a very close follower who possessed as distinguished a technique and as ethereal a spirit as the master himself. The Spanish love of casting the scenes in symmetrical arrangements manifests itself in the ordination, in the disputation, and in the entombment.

With more conviction one may discern the hand of a pupil rather than of Jaime himself in the fragments of a retable of St. Olive from Santa Oliva,[1] just north of Vendrell on the road from

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[1] Gudiol, followed by Miss Richert, wrongly identifies the saint with Eulalia, and he states the provenience as Santa Eulalia de Provençana (close to Barcelona). I believe that I am indebted for the information in regard to the provenience from Santa

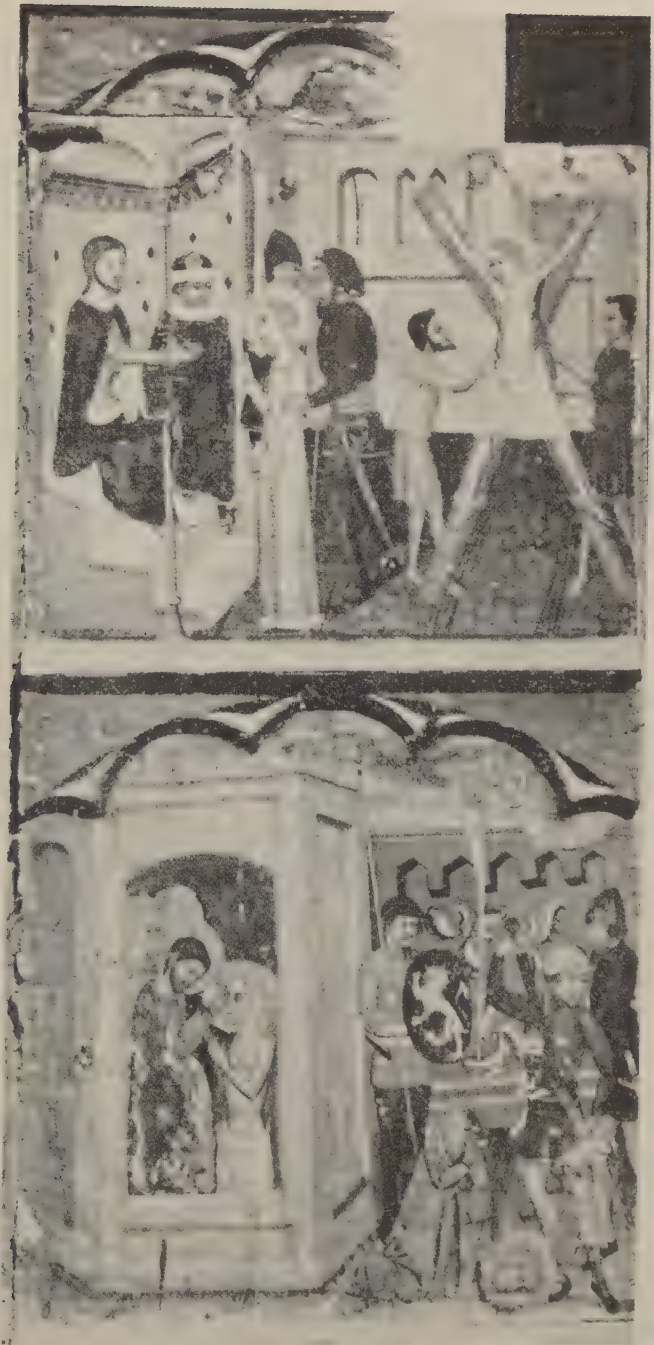

Fig. 155. SCHOOL OF JAIME SERRA. FRAGMENT OF A RETABLE OF ST. OLIVE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Barcelona to Tarragona, now in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona. No participation of Pedro can be admitted, and although the artist has an emaciated canon of the human form, he is not identical with the master of Gualter, whoever that master be. Of the fragments, one depicts, against a background of undiapered gold, the standing Madonna with a Child that has all of Jaime's winsome gentleness, flanked by St. Olive and St. Julian the Abbot.[1] The tunics both of the Virgin and of St. Olive, under their mantles, are a gold brocade. On the second fragment (Fig. 155) two of the lateral compartments are preserved, in one of which are depicted the judge's questioning of St. Olive and her torture and in the other of which she is rewarded in prison by a visit from Christ and decapitated. By a charming piece of imaginative conventionalization, which adds just the desired delicate touch of the supernatural, the white-clad soul of the saint, received above by an angel, is protracted and gradually attenuated into a long, glistering line that issues from the truncated neck of her body. If it were not blasphemous thus to speak in regard to a painting so simply and sincerely felt, one might say that the artist has really achieved the effect that modern spiritualistic mediums vainly seek with their disorderly splurges of "ectoplasm." He may have been inspired by some description of St. Olive's death similar to the beautiful sentence in a Lectionary quoted by the Bollandist hagiographers: "Eius anima, in specie candidae columbae,[2] egressa de corpore, inspectantibus universis, Angelorum manu, cum hymnis et canticis, recepta est in coelum." Such representations of the ascending souls of martyrs are not uncommon in mediaeval Spanish iconography.

Oliva and the identification of the saint to the courtesy of the learned director of the Diocesan Museum, Don Manuel Trens, but unfortunately I failed to record the debt in my notes. The provenience of the panel with the three standing effigies is stated as Santa Oliva on a photograph published in an article on the Museo Diocesano, signed R. J., in *Vell i nou*, Nov. 1, 1916, p. 255. There are two virgin-martyrs named St. Olive, one of Brescia and one of Palermo, but I presume that the retable was devoted to the latter, about whom more is known. The four scenes of her martyrdom on the panel correspond to the accounts in the Bollandist hagiographers under the date of June 10, even in the detail of her laceration on the rack by combs (*pectinibus*), except that in the written versions she is visited in prison, not by Our Lord, but by an angel.

[1] Not St. Benedict, as Gudiol has it. I do not know, however, which of the many Sts. Julian is meant.

[2] The same detail, however, is related of St. Eulalia.

In the battered remains of a retable of St. Nicholas in the Amatller Collection, Barcelona, although the style seems fundamentally that of Jaime Serra, the collaboration of Pedro is quite within the range of possibility. The extant central panel presents the holy bishop standing in full canonicals, which constitute a splendid design in subtly disposed blocks of color. A second panel from one of the lateral sections includes the story of his rescue of the three maidens (only one of whom is now preserved in the picture) from a life of shame and a fragmentary scene which is apparently a piece of the compartment that depicted his staying of the decapitation of the three innocent men by grasping the executioner's sword. The third and last panel represents the calming of the tempest for the laboring mariners and the murder and resurrection of the three boys (Fig. 156). The figure that recalls most strongly the types of Jaime Serra

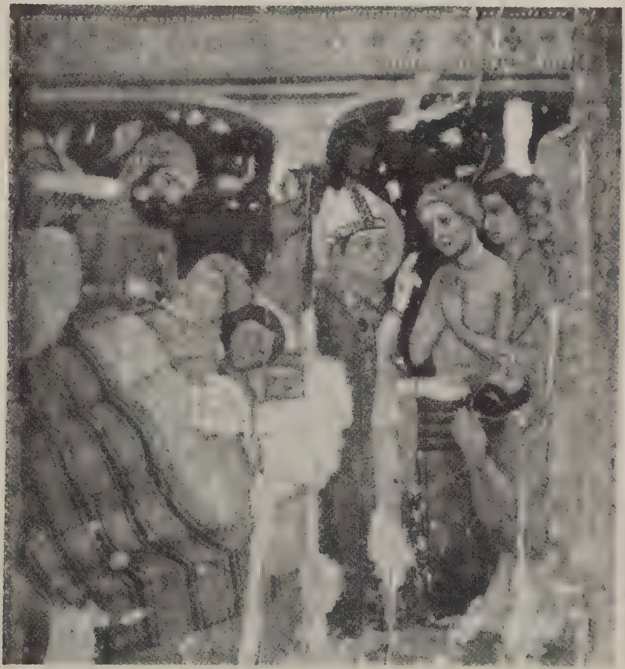

FIG. 156. JAIME AND (?) PEDRO SERRA. MIRACLE OF ST. NICHOLAS. AMATLLER COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

is the first of these boys. The facial traits and costume of the maiden who is saved by St. Nicholas's charity are repeated several times in the episodes of the Jewish profanations of the Host in the predella of the Sijena retable; and, indeed, of all Jaime's documented or attributed works, the one that is the nearest relative of the St. Nicholas fragments is this predella, which is the section of the Sijena altar where, if at all, the hand of an assistant, possibly Pedro Serra, is to be particularly discerned. The broader physiques in the retable of St. Nicholas, especially in the central effigy, in contrast to Jaime's refinement, may denote the occasional intrusion of Pedro's draughtsmanship or at least of his influence.

Two further panels in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, both with full-length figures surmounted by a Crucifixion, one dedicated to St. Vincent and the other to St. James Major, present as baffling a problem as the attempt to distinguish the hands of the two brothers in certain pictures that issued from the Van Eyck atelier. Although the types resemble those of Jaime Serra, they embody somewhat more advanced conceptions of the human form than his authenticated or attributed works, and yet one does not quite sense in them the style of Pedro. The question is: are they late productions of Jaime or early productions of Pedro, or — and this has been the generally received solution — are they the result of a partnership? Even if the last supposition be accepted, it remains to be determined, for the purposes of a book, which brother at the time was the dominant personality in the collaboration, since a writer has to consider whether he will set the discussion of the panels under Jaime or Pedro. I have changed my own opinion so often that I have several times transferred the two pictures from one place to the other, but I have finally decided that the balance tips in favor of considering them in the chapter devoted to Jaime. It must be admitted, however, that a partnership is entirely reasonable and that neither brother may have assumed in the partnership a preponderant rôle. Only the borders of the gold backgrounds in both pictures are patterned. In the panel of St. Vincent (Fig. 157) from the town of San Celoni (north of Arenys de Mar), Jaime's manner is perhaps a little more tangible than in the other instance, although the effigy is less delicate and attenuated

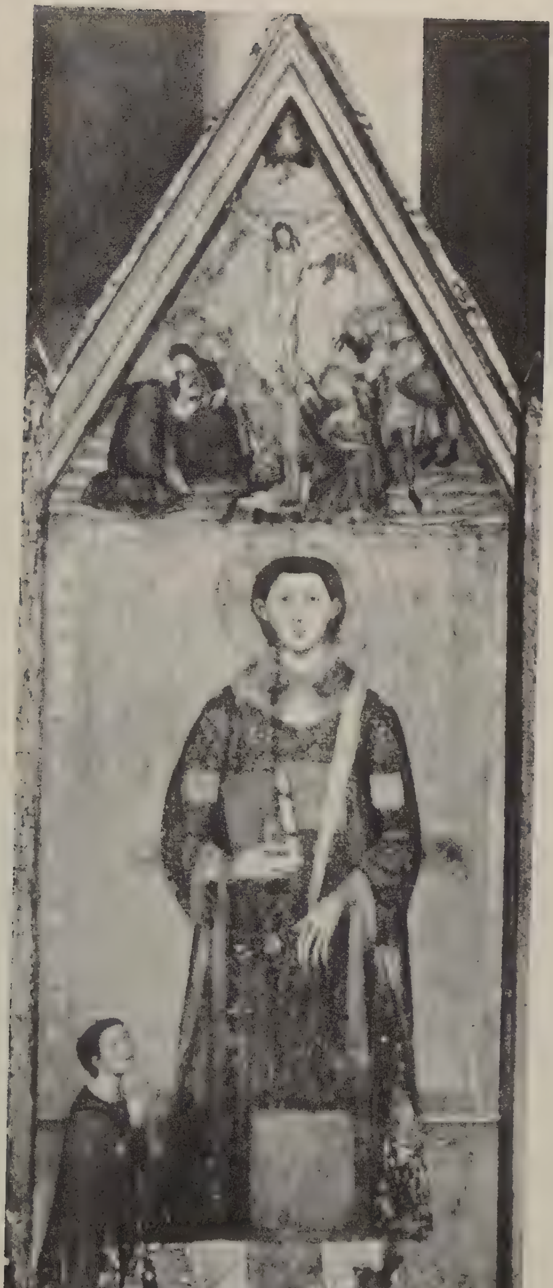

Fig. 157. JAIME AND PEDRO SERRA (?). ST. VINCENT. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

than that of the St. Stephen of Gualter. The saint is depicted in strict frontality, accompanied by a diminutive kneeling clerical donor. The way in which Sienese prototypes constantly hovered in the minds of Catalan painters of the fourteenth century is illustrated by the color of the Crucifixion, which is absolutely that of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The panel of St. James, from the church of Sta. María de Junqueras, now known as the Concepción, Barcelona, has preserved on its frame six small figures of saints, likewise very Sienese in quality. The central effigy of the patron of Spain here turns somewhat away from frontality towards the little feminine donor at his feet. His dark blue robe has a bold brocade which adds confronted dragons to the confronted birds that we shall find on the Trastamara Madonna ascribed to Pedro Serra.

Now that we are well involved in the labyrinth of connoisseurship, I myself may be allowed to suggest one or two additional attributions to Jaime or his immediate *entourage*. Very close to his style, though perhaps not by his actual hand, is a charming predella in the Salas Capitulares of the cathedral of Barcelona, representing, in a continuous rocky and desert landscape, without separating partitions, the life of the hermit, St. Onuphrius. The story is told in the best mood of the delightful simplicity and directness that the Trecento applied to sacred narrative. St. Onuphrius is first shown as a young man leaving his monastery in the Thebaid and setting out for the solitary life, guided by a supernatural light that appears in the heavens and led by an angel. He then meets the old anchorite and is instructed by him. In the next scene, now withered himself to haggard age and clothed from head to foot only in his hair and beard, he is fed by an angel. At the end comes the visit of the holy man, Paphnutius, who at first turns aside in fear at the sight of the monstrous being into which the long years of solitude and privation have transformed Onuphrius. As he next relates the tale of his mortifications to Paphnutius, an angel once more provides the supernatural sustenance. He then kneels, as a vision of the Saviour unfolds itself to him (Fig. 158), and finally, encompassed by a throng of angels, is received into the heavenly mansions. The last scene is his burial by Paphnutius, who is assisted in the interment by lions and, conforming to

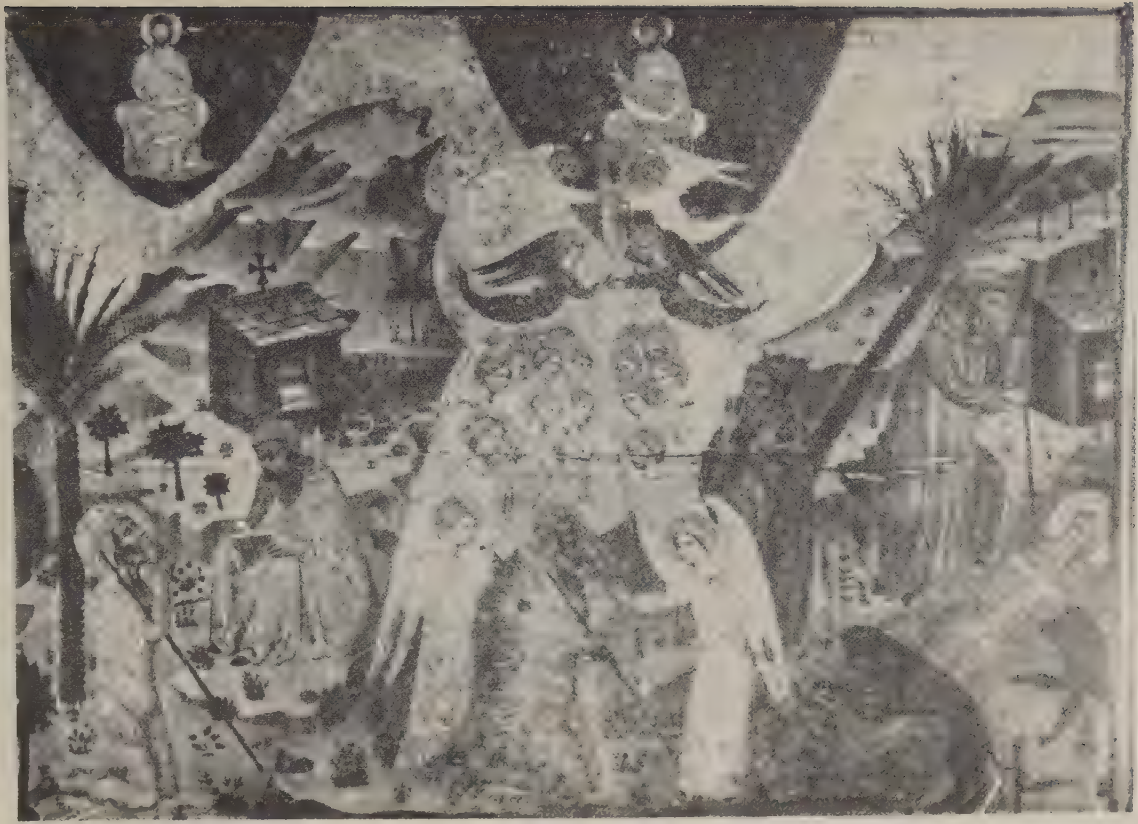

FIG. 158. JAIME SERRA (?). SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. ONUPHRIUS. CATHEDRAL, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

the legend, has given his cloak as a shroud. The most persuasive analogies to Jaime Serra are provided by the types of the angels and of Christ in His two appearances to St. Onuphrius. The whole predella is permeated with Sienese reminiscences, not least among which, as frequently in Jaime's works, is the geological formation of the long, rocky background. It is quite within the realm of possibility that the painter had seen the strikingly similar episodes from the lives of hermits in the Campo Santo at Pisa, which, whoever the author is eventually proved to be, were certainly produced under Sienese influence. If the life of an ascetic is sombre, the artist cannot refrain from enlivening it here with the same decorative devices to which he was accustomed in treating the stories of other saints: gold, patterned at the edges, takes the place of the sky, the figure of Our Lord is clothed in the precious material, and the kneeling

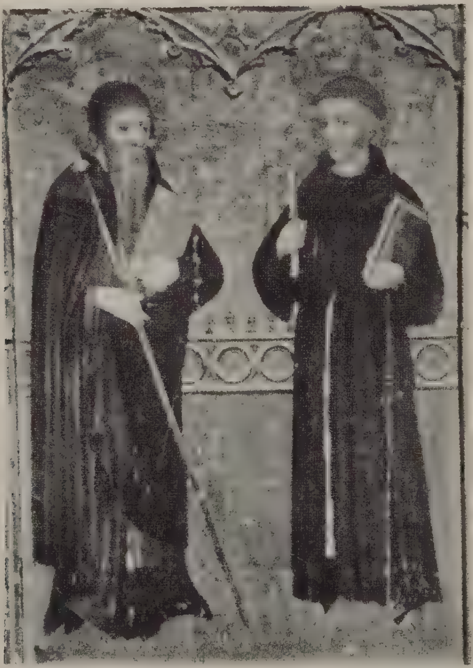

FIG. 159. JAIME SERRA (?). STS. ANTHONY ABBOT AND FRANCIS. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, LÉRIDA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

saint, at the moment of his translation, is enveloped with one unbroken, gilded, angelic blaze.

That the large panel of unknown provenience in the Museo Diocesano at Lérida, enshrining standing effigies of Sts. Francis and (?) Anthony Abbot (Fig. 159), was once the centre of a retable by Jaime or Pedro Serra or by a very faithful pupil, no one would dispute. The questions at issue are: to the style of which brother is it most similar, and is the workmanship that of the master or a follower? To the first of these questions I should answer "Jaime"; to the second, with perhaps somewhat less conviction, "the master himself." By a fortunate coincidence there is opportunity for comparison with exactly the same personages in a documented work by Pedro Serra, the Sts. Francis and Anthony (in this case definitely identified by his attribute of the bell) who, as small figures on the frame, flank the lower part of the Epiphany in the Manresa altarpiece. The general similarities make clear the intimate relationship between the art of the two brothers; but the more developed modelling, the freer articulation, the greater vitality, and the more incisive characterization of the Manresa figures demonstrate, with approximate certainty, that the simpler and somewhat more cramped forms of the Lérida panel cannot have been painted by Pedro. The fuller draperies, with their increased Gothic undulations, embody at Manresa that later phase of the output of the Serra workshop which it fell to Pedro's lot to expound. Although possibly Pedro did not always stamp his gold backgrounds with his peculiar pattern, the mere incision of the gold of the Lérida panel with a light foliate design, widely different from Pedro's quatrefoils, may be taken for what it is worth as evidence. Despite the fact that the Lérida figures are less advanced stylistically, they constitute, within their limits, quite as masterly a work of art as Pedro's creations. If they are not by Jaime Serra, they are by a disciple who was quite his equal.

The whole retable of St. Anthony Abbot in the Moritz N. Oppenheim Collection at Frankfurt am Main (Fig. 160) lies less close to Jaime himself, but it is at least the product of an artist in his immediate circle. The central effigy, conceived with idol-like frontality, is surmounted by the customary Crucifixion. The three narrative scenes at the left are St. Anthony's distribution of his goods to the poor at twenty years of age, his victory over the demon of fornication, and his beating by devils; the corresponding compartments at the right depict his enjoyment of a vision of Our Lord after the cudgelling, his visit to St. Paul the Hermit at the time of the supernatural feeding by the crow (strangely analogous to the composition that Velázquez was to bestow upon the subject), and the cure of the afflicted at his shrine after his death. The last scene is a curiously exact prototype of Huguet's treatment of this theme, but it is represented with even more of that delightful literalness of contem-

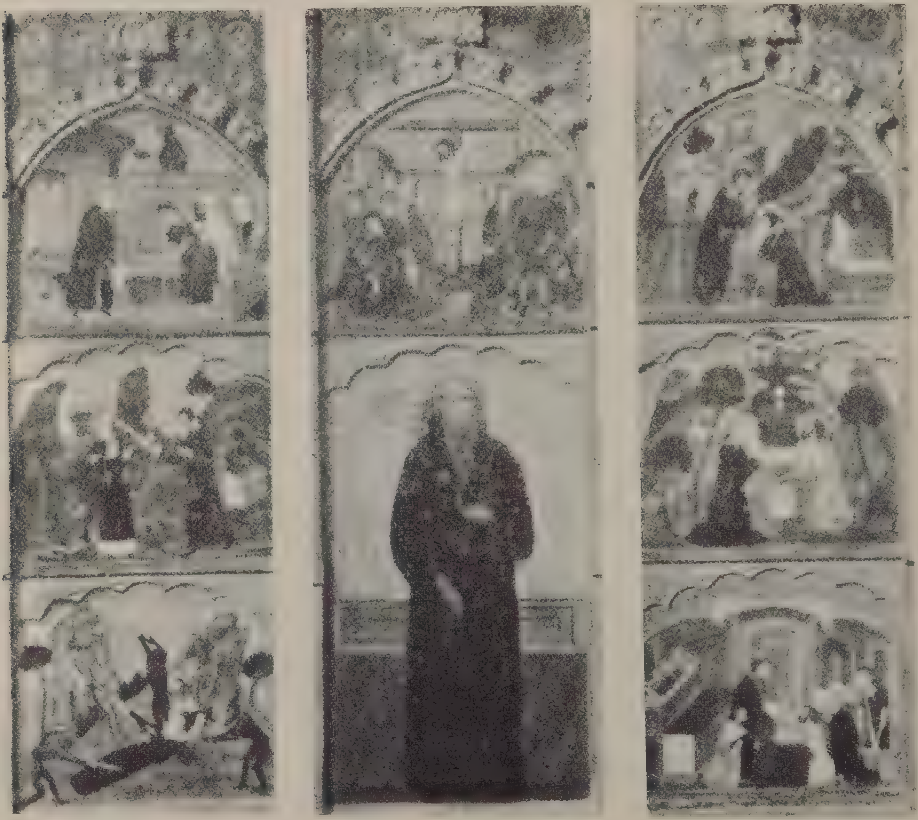

Fig. 160. SCHOOL OF JAIME SERRA. RETABLE OF ST. ANTHONY ABBOT. OPPENHEIM COLLECTION, FRANKFURT AM MAIN

(From the publication of the Frankfurt Exposition of 1926)

porary life which distinguishes Catalan art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for a priest is applying to the arm of a paralytic a cloth that has been rubbed upon the saint's tomb. The standing figure of St. Anthony in the principal panel does not resemble the conception in the Lérida picture, but it is none the less quite in Jaime's manner. The nearest approximations to the master in type are found in the Christ of the Crucifixion and in the two angels who accompany Our Lord in His appearance to the saint. The rocky landscapes of the desert parallel those of the St. Onuphrius painting,

CHAPTER XXIII

PEDRO SERRA AND THE SCHOOL OF THE SERRAS

1. Pedro Serra

In the works that may be assigned to Pedro Serra by documents or style, he emerges as a more mature painter than his brother, exercising his art with a surer stroke. He is recorded first as a collaborator of Jaime from 1363 to 1370; his first independent commission of which we know is dated 1368; and he is last mentioned in 1399. His earliest documented achievement is the retable of the Holy Spirit in a chapel at the right of the nave in the church of Sta. María at Manresa, for which he was paid in 1394. The great central panel contains a representation of Pentecost (Fig. 161), composed according to the Catalan norm, above which is a large Coronation and around which are ranged twelve smaller scenes from the creation and from the New Testament, with numerous effigies of saints on the frame, and with the Crucifixion and four angels in the pinnacles. The predella actually in place does not belong to the original altarpiece but consists of four half-lengths of saints in a distinguished style of the second half of the fifteenth century like that of Huguet and of smaller full-lengths of saints by a modern hand. A panel from the original predella, containing the disputation of St. Stephen and the mass of St. Martin, is preserved in the Archives of the church. There is record of some restoration as early as the year 1412. The relationship to the art of his brother strikes the eye at every point both in the types and in the compositions, for instance, in the Resurrection and Ascension, which parallel the rendering of these themes on the Sijena retable. The types, however, exhibit so much greater homage to the superior art of Italy than do those of Jaime, especially the separate figures of saints upon the frame, that we are forced at once to assume that Pedro had undergone, in some way unknown to us, a new and more thorough submersion in the Sienese streams; and this impression is confirmed by the absolutely Sienese formation of the

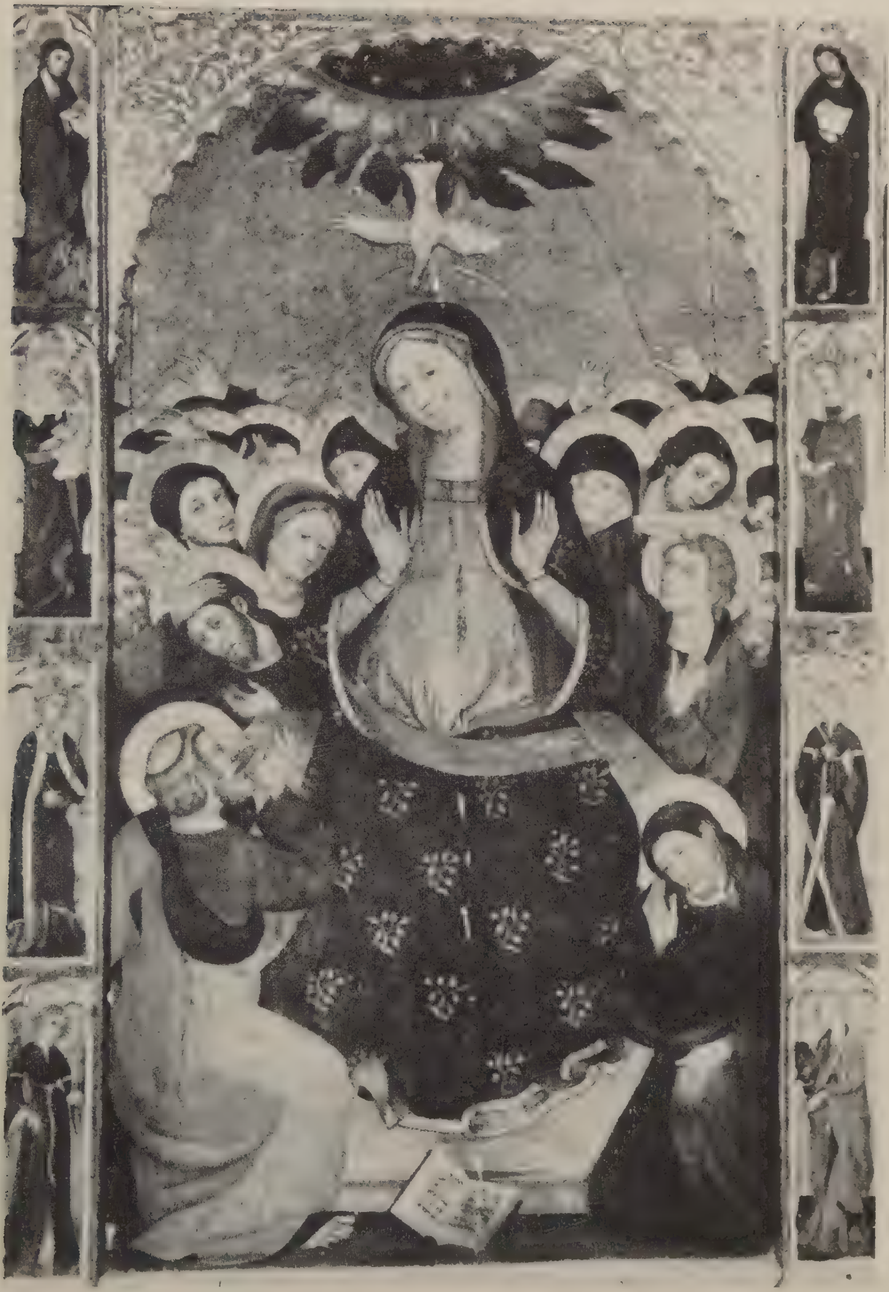

Fig. 161. PEDRO SERRA. PENTECOST, CENTRE OF RETABLE. STA. MARÍA, MANRESA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

rocks that he depicts in the backgrounds of the Nativity and Epiphany (each set against one of the large open caves of which the Sienese were fond), of the Transfiguration (Fig. 162), of the Crucifixion (with the edges of the stony mass scalloped, as already in Duccio), and of the Ascension. Pedro, furthermore, is an artist of larger ambitions and capabilities, of more accurate observation and firmer draughtsmanship. The forms are everywhere more correctly and more surely drawn. Although he is still to be classed among the most charmingly delicate artists of the Middle Ages, yet he makes his bodies ampler than those of his brother, he defines them and their draperies with more fluid and broadly swelling lines in contrast to the stiffer and straighter drawing of his brother, and he commences to introduce some indication of shadow into the folds of his garments. So it is that through a stronger realization of tactile values and through a largeness of conception he attains more monumentality. The advantages, however, are not wholly on the side of Pedro, for in his progress towards a more mature art he loses something of his brother's exquisite and ethereal quality. In one or two respects, moreover, Jaime may have gone further than Pedro even along the new road: he is perhaps more painstaking in attempts at linear perspective, and, if the Sijena and Gualter retables are rightly set in the canon of his works, he eventually painted more spacious and naturalistic landscapes.

Nowhere does Pedro realize his possibilities better than in the capacious central Pentecost. The Catalan composition for this theme that appears in Jaime's retables at Palau and Sijena and in the panel of the school of the Serras at Cardona he expands into a scene of grandiose impressiveness. While retaining the Catalan respect for formal and symmetrical design, he loosens the arrangement of the group of sacred personages about the Virgin into the freer form of an oval, though still without attempt to distinguish different planes in perspective. He has boldly elaborated the composition by adding to the Apostles the holy women. The crowding of a panel with personages so that only the heads of some, as here, emerge from the crowd in sharp relief against the haloes becomes a peculiarity of Catalan painting in the fifteenth century; sometimes merely the tops of the heads and haloes are visible. It is in the faces, also, that the

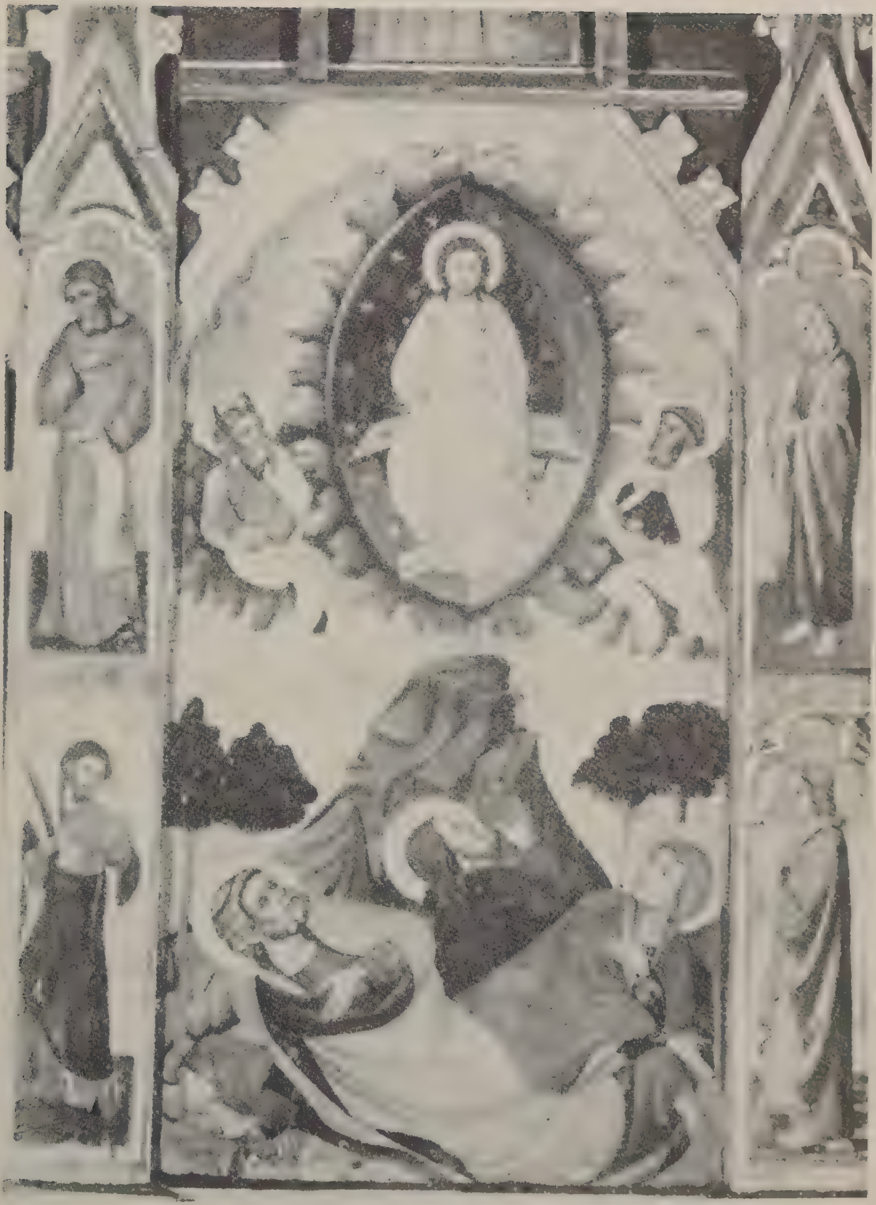

Fig. 162. PEDRO SERRA. TRANSFIGURATION, SECTION OF RETABLE.
STA. MARÍA, MANRESA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Catalan desire for expressiveness, which we have found embryonically present in Ferrer Bassa and Jaime Serra, begins to attain fruition. In some instances Pedro has succeeded in rendering even subtle psychological states, as in the dreamy doubter at the lower right whom we have found, less carefully analyzed, already at Palau, or in the quizzical face that looks out at the spectator from the upper left. He has developed, furthermore, the precedent of his brother at Palau by finely contrasting the sad and meditative doubter, in posture as well as countenance, with the ecstatically believing St. Peter who balances him. The ethnic type, as in the Sijena retable, is often unmistakably Spanish. The vivid and varied expressiveness of the heads and the effective gestures of single personages contribute also to relieve the formality of the composition; and the union of design with realism of detail again points forward to the characteristically Spanish style of the Quattrocento. The Transfiguration presents a rigidly symmetrical composition, in which, around the mandorla containing Christ, Moses (with the horns very prominent) balances Elijah (dressed as a Carmelite, according to the tradition that he had founded this Order), St. Peter and St. John balance each other even in posture about St. James as a central axis, and pairs of trees are pendants on either side of a Sienese pyramid of rock. That Catalan painting has not yet quite reached complete ease of draughtsmanship is betrayed by the ineffectual attempt to depict the prostrate attitude of St. Peter.

Many are the signs of a transition to the international style. The lowest saint on the extreme left section of the frame (St. George?) is decked out, according to the manner in which the internationalists conceived canonized youths, like a dandy of the epoch, and might already almost be taken for a figure by Pedro's pupil, Borrassá. In the section of the predella depicting the disputation of St. Stephen, the artist, as in the almost identical composition of Gualter and as at Sijena, has imparted to the listening Jews, in the spirit of the detailed realism of the international style, a distinctly Hebrew cast of visage. In the mass of St. Martin (where the more slovenly drawing may denote the collaboration of a pupil), the Iberian race of the congregation is stressed, and it is interesting to find the service

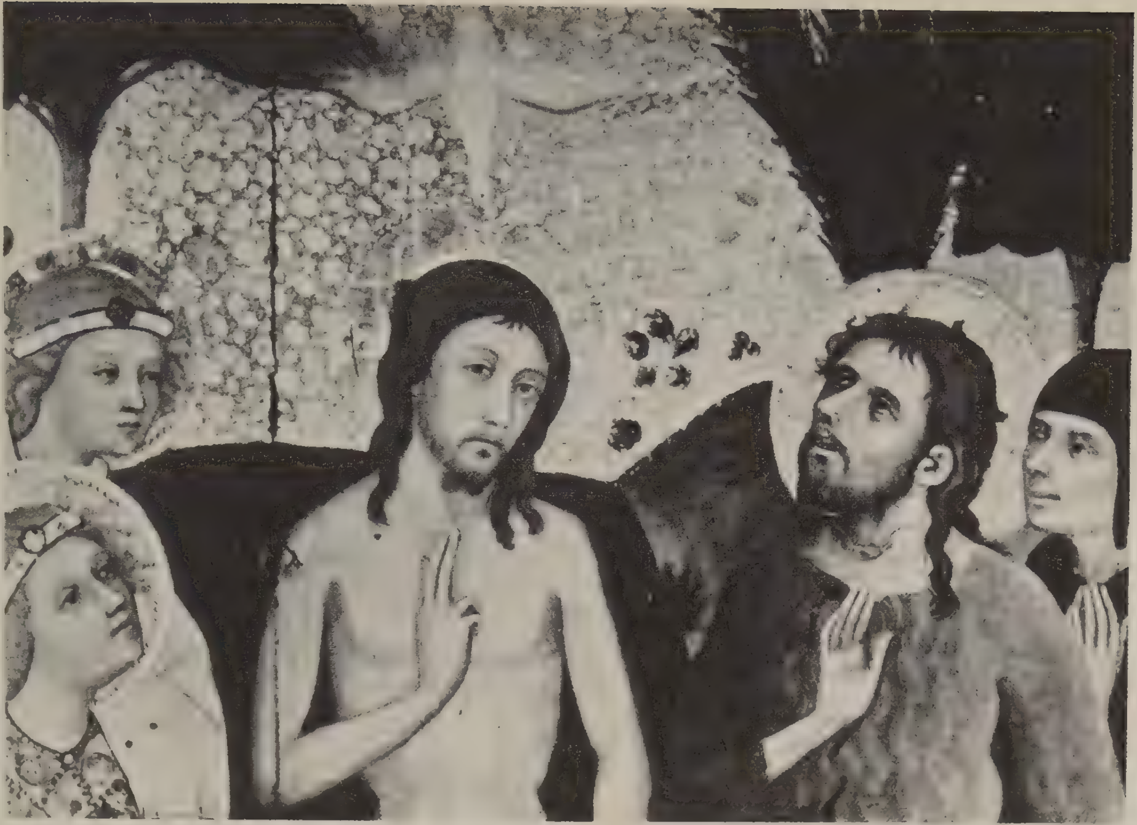

Fig. 163. PEDRO SERRA. DETAIL OF BAPTISM, SECTION OF RETABLE. STA. MARÍA, MANRESA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

taking place, not in an Italian church, but in a typical Catalan Gothic church of the fourteenth century, with the nave flanked by a series of lateral chapels instead of aisles. The forest of the garden of Eden in the creation of Adam not only resembles the groves of Pisanello, but it is alive, in Pisanello's manner, with the international *genre* of hares, birds, a lizard, and a coiled serpent.

Despite the fact that the retable is somewhat blackened and dirtied (except in the fragment of the predella in the Archives, which remains in beautiful preservation), it is easy to see that the color is already essentially Spanish, in that the tonality is deeper and richer than is ordinarily encountered in Italy of the Trecento. In the Coronation and in the creation of Adam, Christ wears a red that is almost prophetic of a Flemish hue. The backgrounds are gold, taking the place of landscape or of the sky even in the apertures of doors or windows; and yet Pedro and his successors sometimes feel it incumbent upon them to suggest that there was after all such a reality as the sky by a curious convention of a little crescent of blue in the centre of the gold at the top of the compartment.[1] Examples are the Pentecost, the Baptism, the preaching of St. Peter, and the two scenes of the predella. The gold background itself he treats with a pattern peculiarly his own. Instead of incising a design of foliage, he stamps into the gold a network of an endlessly repeated, minute, geometrical figure that looks like a conventionalized flower of four petals at right angles to one another constituting a species of quatrefoil (Fig. 163). The stamp impresses the petals but not the centre of the flower. Against the gold he has a delightful way of relieving the masses of conventionalized trees. Gold is also employed for the throne of the Coronation, for St. Stephen's dalmatic, and universally for the Virgin's tunic; but the frequent custom of bordering the garments with gold is here sparingly followed. The frank acknowledgment of formal design is carried, as not uncommonly in Pedro Serra and in later Catalan painting, to the point of baldly representing the floral figures of the brocade of the Virgin's

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[1] For the earlier history of this *motif* in the Middle Ages, see W. de Grüneisen, *Studi sulle pitture medioevali romane*, *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, XXIX (1906), 443-525.

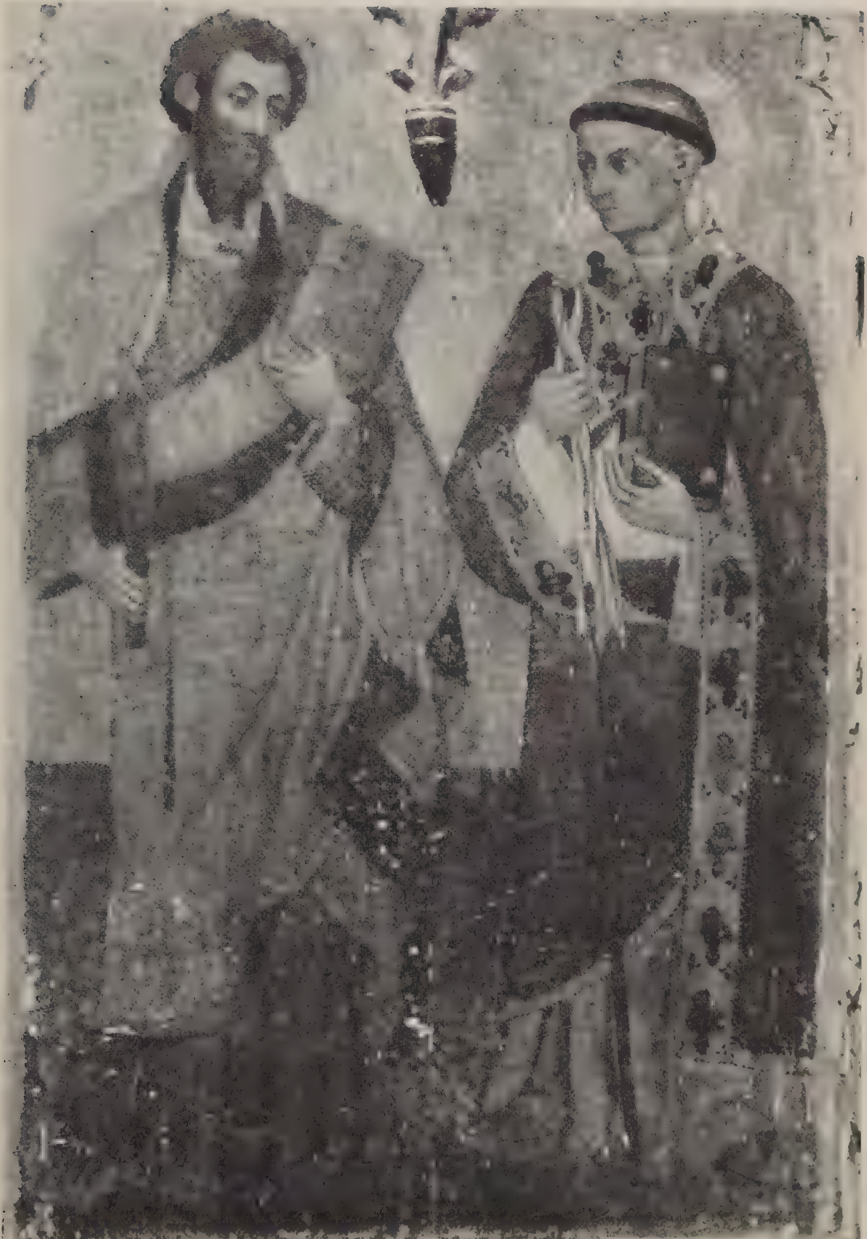

Fig. 164. PEDRO SERRA. STS. BARTHOLOMEW AND BERNARD. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Thomas)

mantle always in absolute frontal view, as if they were seen on a flat surface, without regard to the foreshortenings and partial disappearances that they would naturally suffer in the rounding and undulation of the garment.

The large panel containing standing effigies of Sts. Bartholomew and Bernard, No. 1784 of the Museum of Vich (Fig. 164), may be regarded as a documented work of Pedro Serra since there seems to be no reason for doubting that it is the central section of a retable for the church of Sto. Domingo at Manresa which he contracted to paint in 1395. An obvious Sienese derivation once again joins his habitual monumentality and the drawing that betokens a real master. Upon the monumentality, as so often in his productions, is superimposed the delicacy of a miniaturist, for instance in the prettily painted busts of saints in the gold orphreys of St. Bernard's blue cope, which is itself embellished with a gold brocade.

Of the paintings that have been attributed to Pedro Serra through stylistic evidence, the rather small panel of the Pentecost now in a room attached to the church of Sta. Ana, Barcelona, has been tentatively but generally and perhaps rightly credited to his account on the basis of the parallelism to the composition in the cathedral of Manresa. The draughtsmanship, however, is less authoritative, the postures and gestures more commonplace, the expression of the faces less tensely defined, and the gold background is not treated with Pedro's geometrical mesh but with a grander pattern of conventionalized foliage such as we shall often meet in the fifteenth century. According to Pedro Serra's fashion, the Virgin wears a gold tunic under her blue mantle; the arbitrary spreading of the floral design over the mantle is here particularly tangible.

Much may be said for Gudiol's and Colasanti's[1] attribution to Pedro Serra of the altarpiece at the northwest end of the parochial church at San Lorenzo de Morúnys (west of Berga), the central panel of which is another in the Catalan series of representations of Pentecost. The work had been hitherto ascribed to Borrassá because of a document of 1419 in which he acknowledges payment for a retable in the town, but there is no reason for connecting the document with the altarpiece in question, except that it plainly is a production of an artist in the circle of Pedro Serra, and Borrassá was a pupil of Pedro. The retable of the Pentecost at San Lorenzo de Morúnys may very well have been painted years earlier than 1419, and Miss Richert, indeed, ascribes it to Pedro Serra's youth. The Descent of the Holy Spirit is flanked on the left by the Marriage (Fig. 165) and Annunciation of the Virgin and the Baptism of Christ (in an unusually elaborate landscape and with the anomaly of the presence of a saint of the old dispensation marked by a hexagonal halo, perhaps Zacharias). On the right are three scenes from the life of St. John Evangelist, the episode of the poisoned cup, the boiling in oil, and the raising of a dead woman (evidently not Drusiana, for St. John is accompanied by another

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[1] A. Colasanti, *Contributo alla storia della pittura nelle Marche*, *Intorno alla tavola della collezione Schiff in Pisa*, *Bollettino d' arte*, IX (1915), 364.

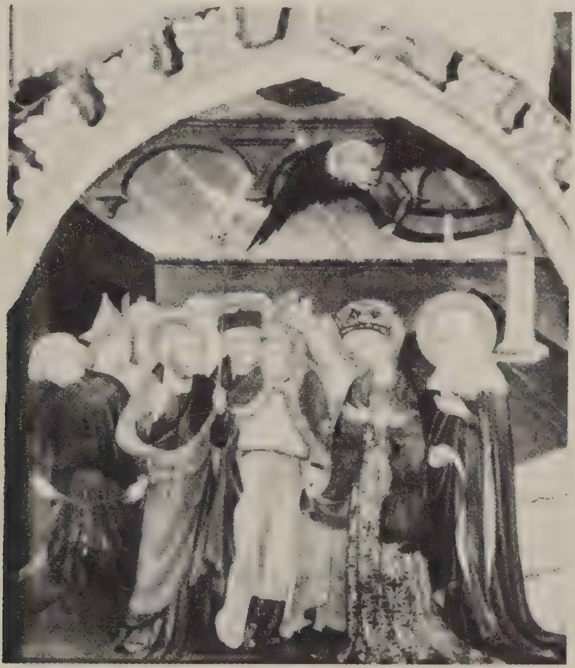

Fig. 165. WORKSHOP OF PEDRO SERRA. MARRIAGE OF VIRGIN, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, SAN LORENZO DE MORÚNYS

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Apostle). The spot above the central panel, which usually displays the Crucifixion, is usurped by a representation of St. John writing on Patmos, which rises out of the Aegean like a clump of Sienese rocks; and the Crucifixion is relegated, in small compass, to the middle of the predella. Half of the scene at the left end of the predella has been sawed away, and all of the predella is so badly darkened that one or two of the subjects are hard to identify with certainty. The scene of which one half has been lost is the Transfiguration. In the almost utter blackness of the next compartment it seems possible to recognize Christ banishing the devil at the Temptation. The desert is indicated by the *genre* of a serpent, a caterpillar, ants, and the like. The scene adjoining the Crucifixion on the left is Christ appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection. The three corresponding compartments at the right of the Crucifixion are again devoted to St. John. In the first, still depicted as a youth, he causes Stacteus, whom he has raised from the dead, to proclaim to the Apostle's two worldly disciples, Atticus and Eugenius, the perdition that awaits them if they cling to their wealth. In the crescent of blue at the top of the panel, so characteristic a trade-mark of the Serra shop, the artist has curiously set two golden boxes, which must represent the nuggets into which St. John had turned stones for his two converts. In the other two sections are shown his sermon just before his death and then his actual translation to heaven. The uprights of the frame contain the usual figurines — in this instance, a pair of angels, Jeremiah and Isaiah, St. Catherine and an unidentified canonized virgin. The rendering of Pentecost shares the inferiorities of the Sta. Ana picture to the Manresa example in an even more distressing degree. It is in every way more meagre in composition and duller in expression. The gold backgrounds are diapered only in the Pentecost and the St. John on Patmos, but in these cases they reveal a modification of Pedro Serra's usual checkering, for the quatrefoil is enclosed in a circle. The blue arcs are several times used in the midst of the gilded skies both in the predella and in the body of the retable. Inasmuch as at least the central panel is below the standard of Pedro's ordinary achievement, the retable may be by a very faithful pupil rather than the master himself, or at least may involve the col-

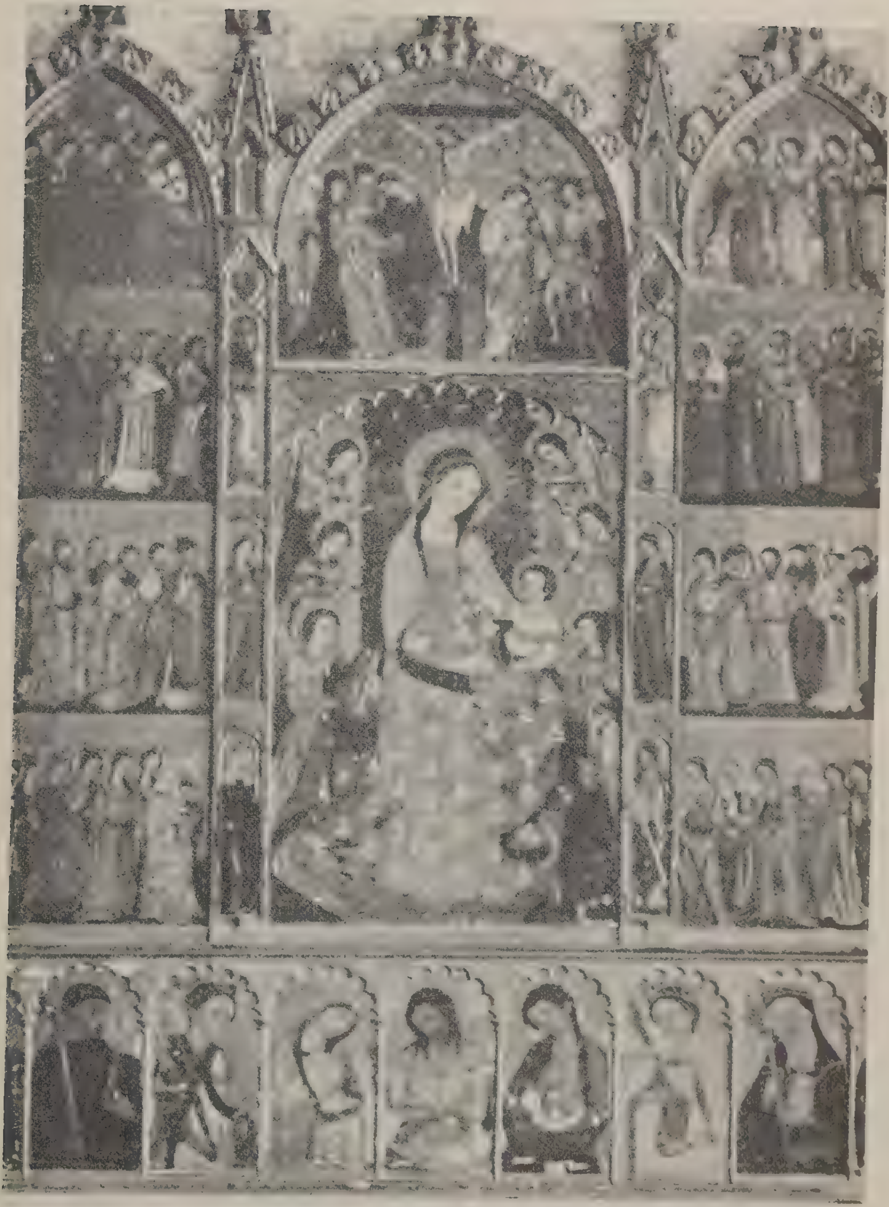

Fig. 166. PEDRO SERRA (?). RETABLE OF SAN CUGAT DEL VALLÉS. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

laboration of a pupil; that this pupil was Borrassá, is proved neither by the style nor the document of 1419. If we were required to name a pupil, a better guess would be Cabrera, whom we shall soon be called upon to consider, for the types, particularly when they appear in the lateral compartments in contemporary costume, are not unlike his, and they betray frequently a partial degree of the stubbiness of physique that he cultivates. Nevertheless, the analogies are not quite absolute enough to support, without documentation, an attribution to Cabrera, and we may fall back upon the theory that the retable was ordered from Pedro Serra but that he left the execution largely to his shop (perhaps to Cabrera). The kneeling angels of the Baptism are quite in Pedro's own manner, and the Annunciation, as a whole, is not unworthy of him. The superiority to the general average of Cabrera's attainments is probably due to Pedro's collaboration. Occasionally the forms curiously suggest those of the San Cugat altarpiece, which Pedro Serra is usually credited with having painted and which represents the phase of Pedro that peculiarly interested Cabrera.

There are several factors that make one hesitate at first to join the almost universal chorus that attributes to Pedro Serra this retable of All Saints from the church of San Cugat del Vallés, now in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona (Fig. 166). In the principal panel, six fluttering angels make melody to the Madonna and Child enthroned in front of a red tapestry. Above is the Crucifixion, and ranged in the lateral compartments are processional groups of angels and saints. The two topmost compartments at the sides contain angels; in the next pair of lateral sections are worthies of the old dispensation; below them, at the left, advance the Apostles, and, at the right, another company of the blessed of the Christian dispensation; and the lowest compartments are devoted to galaxies of feminine saints. It is probable that the painter had hovering in the back of his mind the solemnly beautiful chapter on the feast of All Saints in the *Golden Legend*, where there are first enumerated and discussed the four great categories or *differentiae* of Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, and where, at the end, there is recounted that vision of Our Lord and the Virgin adored by the celestial hosts which the sexton of St. Peter's enjoyed. Both in the vision and in the picture, St. John Baptist leads the Patriarchs and Prophets, St. Peter stands at the head of the Apostles (although in the picture St. Stephen is placed among the Apostles), and Our Lady is honored by a throng of virgins. But there is no specific group of martyrs in the retable, for the cortège opposite the Apostles is largely monastic;[1] and the enumeration of the saints according to these classes is so much a commonplace of the liturgy (as in the *Te Deum*) and of mediaeval thought in general that, despite the parallelisms, it is not absolutely necessary to postulate that the master was familiar with the pages of the *Golden Legend.* Soler y March aptly suggests that he was thinking also in terms of the ecclesiastical processions, which not infrequently included in their array groups of actors impersonating the different categories of saints. In the customary mode, smaller effigies of sacred personages are lavished over the pieces of the frame, and in the predella eight large busts of saints flank a central dead Christ. The extant and detailed contract for the lost altarpiece of All Saints executed between 1363 and 1366 by Jaime and Pedro Serra in partnership for the church of Sta. María at Manresa demonstrates it to have been almost identical in composition with the retable of San Cugat.

Mayer has indicated two of the difficulties in attributing the work to Pedro Serra, the lesser sternness of style, as compared with the altarpiece of the Holy Spirit at Manresa, and the closer similarity to the types, delicacy, and prettiness of Siena. The whole retable is infused with an utterly delightful and dulcet tone of Sienese imagination at its best. The Virgin is certainly more sweetly spiritual than the one at Manresa, and is quite the most mystically gracious Madonna that the mediaeval Catalan school produced. The gentle temper of Siena manifests itself in such details as the entrancing little Virgin in the arms of St. Anne or the accompanying of the archangel Raphael by the young Tobias; and the style of Sano di Pietro is prophesied in such a figure as David with his harp. The color, also, reproduces that of the Sienese Trecento more closely than was Pedro's wont. One could go further and specify other variations from Pedro's norm, such as the daintier point to which the lower face and chin are often drawn, the smaller mouth, and, in general, the lesser national impress. Yet a flood of considerations carry one back in the end to the conviction that the retable issued from Pedro's hand. If some of the figures embody the slight variations from his canon that have been mentioned, many others, particularly in the assemblages of saints in the panels and in the smaller effigies on the frame, are the brothers and sisters of his creations at Manresa. The Crucifixion almost reproduces the Manresa composition. The gold background has Pedro's usual pattern, the brocade of the Virgin's mantle exhibits his customary unnatural expanse of floral design (from the figurations of which the gold has now worn off or been stolen), and her tunic displays the solid gold that it was his practice to bestow upon this garment. If the donor, who kneels, in the dwarfed proportions of the international style, at the Madonna's feet, is in reality, as has been surmised, Jaime de Montcorb who was abbot of the monastery of San Cugat from 1411 to 1415 or 1416, and if the retable is in truth by Pedro Serra, it must have been a work of his extreme old age, in which he might have reverted to a hypothetical, more Sienese phase of his youth. Since the identity of the donor is not proved,[1] however, the altarpiece may actually be a representative of Pedro's early manner. The San Cugat retable is one of the first works in which the enterprising, older critics sought to trace Teutonic influence;[2] but the only evidence in this instance is the absolutely inconclusive presence of musical angels.

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[1] For the identification of the members of this group, see J. Gudiol, *Museum*, II (1912), 455.

The striking parallelism of composition, style, and excellence of craftsmanship in the Madonna and musical angels from Sta. Clara at Tortosa, now in the Plandiura Collection, to the central panel of the San Cugat altarpiece justifies an ascription to the same hand, which in all probability is that of Pedro Serra. The analogies extend even to the gold, in geometric pattern, of the Virgin's tunic and to the red hanging behind her. The figure of the brocade of her mantle in the Tortosa piece includes a bird pecking at the foliage. There are now united, in the Plandiura Collection, to the picture of the Madonna two oblong, horizontal panels, apparently parts of the same retable, each with four half-lengths of saints; and, since the saints are not assigned individual compartments but stand in continuous lines, these panels may not have been sections of a predella but lateral divisions of the altarpiece, so that the Tortosa example, like that of San Cugat, would have been dedicated to All Saints. The saints of Tortosa, however, are on a larger scale than those in the lateral compartments of the San Cugat picture, but this may be explained quite as well by the fact that they are half-lengths instead of, as in the San Cugat picture, full-lengths, as by the possibility that they belong to the predella. In the predella of the retable of Abella de la Conca, which is at least an imitation of Pedro Serra's achievements, the half-lengths of saints are likewise not ensconced in compartments; but there, as in the San Cugat picture, they flank a Pietà, which is absent from the Tortosa altarpiece or in any case is not preserved. That the figures of saints from Tortosa are absolutely in Pedro's manner, and especially in that manner as it appears in the retable of San Cugat, it needs but a glance to realize. The St. Peter and St. Clara (Fig. 167), in particular, are convincingly similar to their homonyms of the predella of San Cugat, and

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[1] J. Gudiol, *Els trescentistes*, 15, and the article in the *Museum*, II (1912), 448. The identification has been based on the mere guess that the escutcheon might be that of Montcorb.

[2] See above, pp. 190–191.

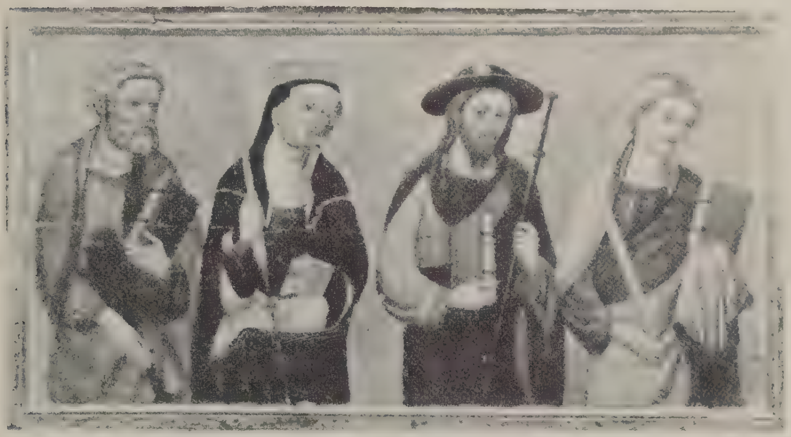

FIG. 167. PEDRO SERRA (?). SECTION OF RETABLE OF STA. CLARA, TORTOSA. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

the St. John Baptist reproduces the Precursor of one of the upper sections of the San Cugat picture in costume and in that conventionalized and decorative projection of little points of hair at regular intervals upon the halo to denote dishevelment which is frequently found in Sienese painting. The execution of the forms in these two panels of the Plandiura Collection is more advanced, especially in the introduction of chiaroscuro, so that, if the difference be not due to restoration, they might be considered transitional to the style of Borrassá. The gold background exhibits the same variation of Pedro's design, with the quatrefoil enclosed in the circle, as is encountered in the retable of San Lorenzo de Morúnys.

A close relationship of the retable in the church of Abella de la Conca (east of Tremp) to the art of Pedro Serra is demonstrated by the similarity of the composition of the central panel to the central sections of the San Cugat and Tortosa altarpieces (except that here there are but two angels) and by the parallelism in the iconography of the Crucifixion and the six scenes from the life of the Virgin to the renderings at Manresa (except for some slight variations in the Coronation). The Crucifixion resembles, also, that of the San Cugat picture, and the Madonna is accompanied by a kneeling donor of the same stamp as the figure who has been identified with Montcorb. Miss Richert believes the work to be only an imitation by an inferior hand; but although I have not been able to see the painting, I believe that I discern Pedro's actual hand even through the veil of a poor photograph, and I am forced to wonder whether Miss Richert has not mistaken for the artist's slovenliness what is really due to the blurred outlines of the reproduction. It is particularly in the six larger half-lengths of saints in the predella that the identity with Pedro's style imposes itself upon the judgment. A concrete proof is the St. Peter at the extreme left, who repeats the same Apostle of the predellas of San Cugat and Tortosa.[1]

A Virgin of a different sort (Fig. 168), of historical as well as aesthetic importance, has been well-nigh unanimously attributed to an early moment in the career of Pedro Serra, the Madonna of Humility surrounded by four adoring angels and worshipped by diminutive effigies of Henry of Trastamara

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[1] See Appendix.

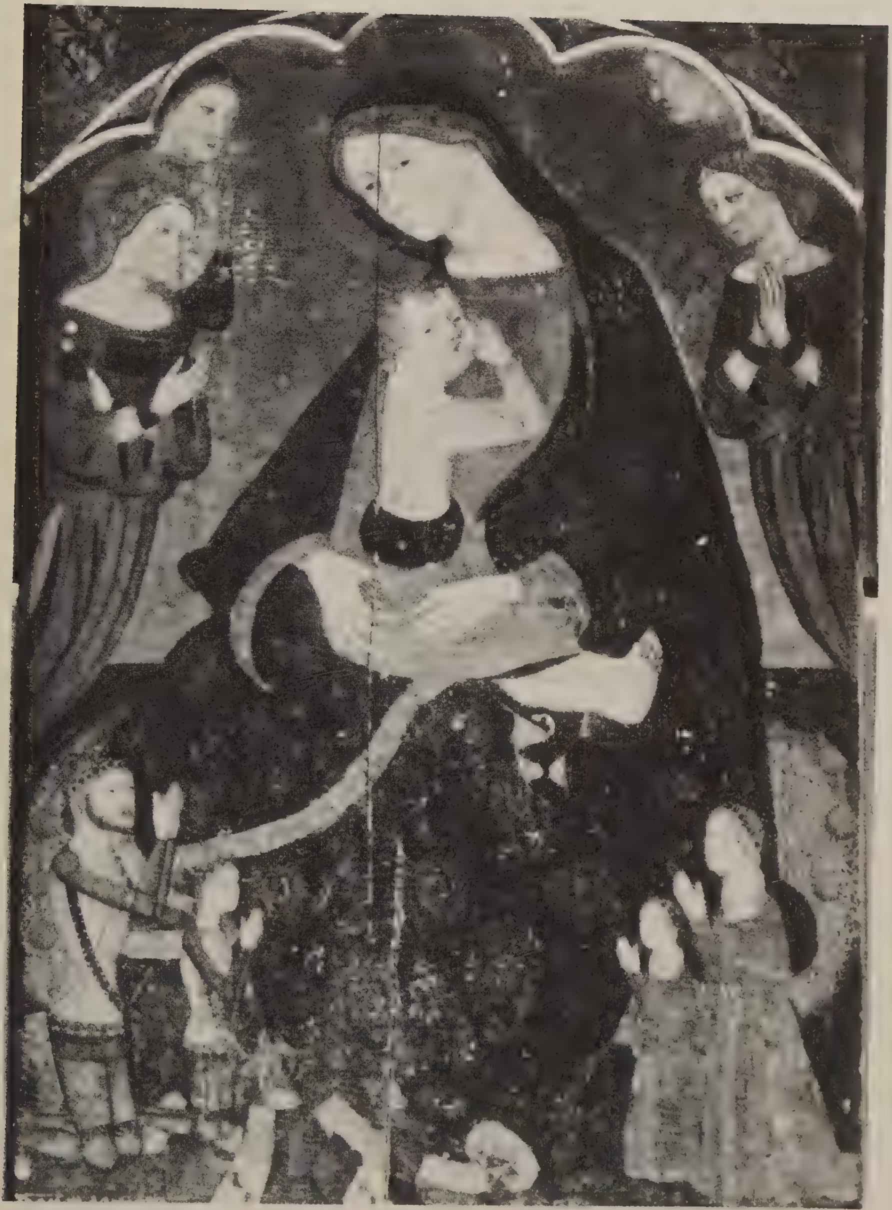

FIG. 168. PEDRO SERRA (?). MADONNA OF HENRY OF TRASTAMARA.
ROMÁN VICENTE COLLECTION, SARAGOSSA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

(afterward Henry II of Castile) and the Infante Don Juan on one side and Henry's wife, Joan, and the Infanta Eleanor on the other, a picture coming from the church of Tobed, near Calatayud, in Aragon and now in the collection of Don Román Vicente at Saragossa. The painting has been very generally explained as a subsequent thank-offering of Henry for his escape to Aragon after his defeat at the battle of Nájera in 1367 by his half-brother, Peter the Cruel; possibly he found refuge in this very town of Tobed, which is close to the frontier of Castile. Sanpere dates the work before 1375, the year when the Infanta was married to the heir of Navarre, afterwards Charles the Noble, on the basis of the (doubtful) conjecture that as crown-princess in 1375 she would have worn in this picture a diadem; through an elaborate calculation of the ages of the royal children he conjectures the year of the picture to be specifically about 1373. The same critic imagines also that the painting was an ex-voto, not only for Henry's own deliverance, but also for that of the other members of his family, whom he had been obliged to leave behind at the mercy of his enemies. The long lacuna in the documentary mention of Pedro Serra after the year 1370 he would explain, with an even wider flight of the imagination, by his hypothetical absence in Castile in the employ of Henry II, the former Henry of Trastamara, and it would be at this epoch in his life that he painted the votive picture of Tobed. The indecisiveness of pictorial, as contrasted with sculptured, portraiture of the Trecento is betrayed by a comparison of the figure of Henry with a statue to which it bears little resemblance, the effigy on his tomb in the Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos in the cathedral of Toledo, strongly characterized as a fairly old man, although in actuality he died at the age of forty-six in 1379.

A categorical attribution of this celebrated work is a difficult proposition. Miss Richert has had the hardihood to take a stand against the general critical current and to name the elder brother, Jaime, as the author. It must be acknowledged that there is much to support her in her position. The composition is exactly similar to the rendering of the subject at Palau, which is manifestly the earlier of the two pieces; and even the cushion has an identical trimming. The types of all the donors, but especially the women, are perhaps nearer to Jaime than to Pedro. The design of foliage on the cushion is found repeatedly in the elder brother's authenticated productions. The red robes of the two lower angels display a similar pattern, although a not very different brocade is utilized also in works connected with Pedro, as on the St. Agnes or the central figure in the left group of the Patriarchs in the San Cugat altar. The gold background is not diapered as in Pedro but is smooth, according to Jaime's habit, except that there is here a *motif* of grouped dots at the edges. It requires, on the other hand, a hard and, to me, impossible wrench of the eye and intellect to believe that the principal figures, the Madonna and the angels, flowed from Jaime's brush. It is not incredible that they were done by Pedro, and in this case the panel might be one of the joint creations of the family or it might have been executed solely by Pedro when he was just beginning to emerge from his brother's domination. If the ascription to Pedro be justified, the fact that the artist is still hampered by the rigidity and defects of drawing betrayed in the Palau Madonna would confirm the supposition that the Trastamara panel was painted early in his career before he had become complete master of his craft. By reason of the close compositional analogy to the Palau picture, the primitive stiffness might be explained also by the use of a cartoon that belonged to his brother or to their united atelier. The type of the Virgin, though more robust than Jaime's, is not too far removed from the more delicate phase of Pedro's production embodied in the San Cugat retable, when he was drawing pointed chins and small mouths. The hovering angels, however, not unlike those that surround Pietro Lorenzetti's enthroned Madonna in the Uffizi, are in so much broader and squarer a manner than Pedro ordinarily cultivated that, in view of the absence of complete conformity with the style either of Jaime or Pedro even in the other aspects of the picture, one is forced to ask himself whether, after all, the author may have been neither of the brothers but some master who had early been brought within the orbit of their influence. It would be possible to enumerate further minor variations from Pedro's norm. Although, for instance, the Virgin's tunic consists of the solid gold in geometric design that he habitually employs for this garment, the brocade of her blue mantle is of an ostentation unusual for him, a repeated figure of confronted birds in the midst of foliage.

There may conveniently be grouped together at this point several Catalan repetitions of this theme of the Madonna of Humility, more or less analogous to the Trastamara specimen. The very small panel from the region of Lérida, No. 44 of the collection presented to the Prado by Don Pablo Bosch, is so nearly identical that it may well be a reduction, for use in a shrine of a private house, by Pedro Serra himself or whoever the painter of the Trastamara picture was. The principal divergences are the limitation of the angels to a pair, here at the left, and the introduction of but one kneeling donor, a cleric. If the original lines and colors were not hidden beneath much repainting, the similarity might be even more obvious, for instance in the Gothic undulations of the Virgin's blue robe. The gold background, moreover, is virtually effaced. The Madonna of the large panel from Albarracín, west of Teruel, in the Plandiura Collection, is based upon the same cartoon, but the six angels are transformed from worshippers into musicians. It is now the actual stars traditionally associated with the Madonna of Humility that radiate from her halo. In this instance, the physical types are so different that no critical standards, however lenient, could admit the piece as a work of Pedro Serra; and, although the background is of undecorated gold and the patterns in the angelic garments remotely similar to those of Jaime Serra, it is quite as difficult to accept Gudiol's attribution to the elder brother. The author was some but moderately gifted hanger-on of the Serra atelier at no very late date in the second half of the fourteenth century. A cross between the compositions of the Trastamara and Albarracín pictures is constituted by the Madonna of Humility until recently in the Ermita de Sta. Catalina at Torroella de Montgrí (east of Gerona) but last seen by me in the director's office at the Barcelona Museum (Fig. 169). The Child, in particular, is a twin of the Albarracín example, and the angels have similar, brilliantly feathered wings. These four angels, however, do not serenade, but once again simply adore, as in the Trastamara panel. The ruder types exhibit a harsher and less delicate hand than either

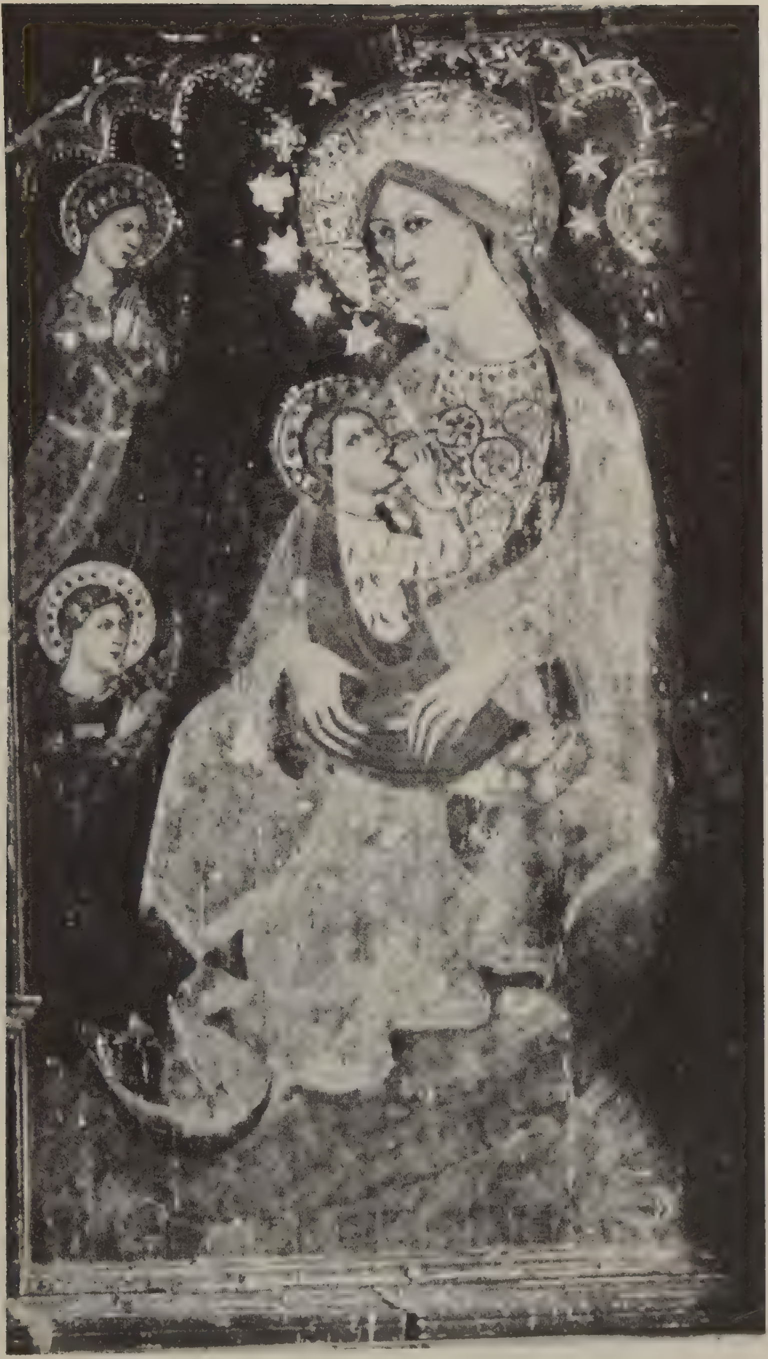

Fig. 169. MADONNA FROM TORROELLA DE MONTGRÍ. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA (?)

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

the Trastamara or Albarracín master. The wreath of stars about the Virgin's head and the moon at her feet combine with a heavy monumentality and a geometrical compactness to suggest vividly certain of Francescuccio Ghissi's renderings of the theme. The background is of unpatterned gold. The Child's tunic and the robe of at least one of the angels are brocaded, as not infrequently in the products of the Serra atelier, with birds. The Virgin's mantle is figured with heraldic eagles. In the absence of any starting-point for attributions to a painter who, the documents teach us, must have been one of the great personalities in the art of the period and who will eventually concern us, Lorenzo Zaragoza, Sanpere indulges in a random shot and ascribes to him the Torroella panel. The Catalan critic may be allowed his turn at guessing with the others, although the work hardly seems worthy of so distinguished a name.

When, however, he goes further and assigns to the same hand the Madonna of Humility from Penellas, near Cocentaina, south of Valencia, now in the Museo Diocesano of Valencia (No. 15), we are no longer in the sphere of mere conjecture but have material evidence upon which to check him up; and, although it is hard to discern the original of the Valencian picture beneath the extensive repainting, yet even that which can be dimly glimpsed is enough to make one demur at accepting as its author the master of Torroella. Despite the fact that the Virgin is now turned to the right instead of the left, the composition still reverts to the standard exemplified by the Palau and Trastamara panels, and the six angels resume the music that we left them making in the picture from Albarracín. Certain superficial resemblances to the Torroella piece are doubtless to be discerned, such as the starry aura, the moon, and the somewhat ostentatious foliate design of the Virgin's gold tunic, with a larger pattern than that employed by the Serra brothers; but the types are too diverse to admit a unity of authorship. Although the gold background is incised with a florid foliate pattern of scrolls like that of the Virgin's tunic but unlike that of Pedro Serra's works, yet the Penellas panel is nearer than the Torroella piece to the Serra products. The types resemble those of the San Cugat retable, and, notwithstanding the repaint upon the Virgin's countenance, especially upon the eyes and lips, it is evident that originally she was a sister even to the Trastamara Madonna. The upper and lower pairs of angels are clad in the ivy brocades of the Serra workshop. It is legitimate to wonder whether, if the retouchings were removed, the Penellas example might not turn out to lie closer within the circle of the Serra brothers than has hitherto been supposed. Still another repetition of the composition used by the Serra atelier for the Madonna of Humility exists in Valencian territory — in the church of S. Salvador at Valencia itself. Our Lady sits upon the usual cushion, here covered with a gold-figured fabric, and the fluttering angels, though once again reduced to four, continue to function as celestial musicians. Certain elements, such as the patterns of the brocades of the Virgin's gold tunic and of the angels' vestures, might suggest that the picture is a fifteenth century adaptation of the older cartoon; but the fundamental drawing, as may be seen particularly in the Madonna's hands and the Child's legs and feet, appears to belong to the fourteenth century and possibly to the execution of a Valencian artist who was imitating Catalan achievement. If the patterns of the stuffs cannot be made to jibe with the fourteenth century, we may have recourse to the hypothesis that they are the result of a later working over.[1]

With all the reservations made necessary by knowledge that comes only from a small and dim photograph, I venture a new ascription to Pedro or in any case to a very close follower, the retable of Sts. Julian and Lucy hidden in the convent of Santo Sepulcro at Saragossa. The large central panel is devoted to the standing effigies of the two saints as in the fragment of the Manresa altarpiece of Sts. Bartholomew and Bernard now at Vich. The left lateral section is divided into three compartments with scenes from the life of St. Julian, the sinister prophecy of the deer that he has started, his unwitting slaughter of his parents and his wife's revelation to him of the awful truth, and his transportation of the leper or of some other traveller across the raging river while his wife watches on the other bank. The three scenes from the life of St. Lucy on the right side are her trial(?), the attempt to drag her by oxen, and her martyrdom. The Crucifixion appears at the habitual spot; the uprights of the frame are adorned with twelve small figures of saints; and in the predella are the Betrayal(?), the Trial before Pilate, the Flagellation, Deposition, and Entombment. The types appear to be absolutely those of Pedro. The central St. Julian should be compared with the doubting St. Thomas in his representations of Pentecost. The central St. Lucy incarnates the quintessence of the delicacy and evanescent spirituality with which he excels in imbuing his feminine forms. The saints on the frame would not appear as aliens if they joined the gently pious assemblage on the supports of the retable of the Holy Spirit at Manresa. The composition for the Crucifixion is virtually duplicated in other works of Pedro, especially in the altarpiece at Manresa just mentioned, although the Gualter retable, attributed to Jaime Serra, includes a still closer analogue. The subject of Christ before Pilate receives the same curious composition, with an emphasis upon the judge rather than upon Our Lord, as in the panel of the Vich Museum that we shall soon discuss as ascribed to Pedro. So far as can be seen in the photograph, the gold backgrounds bear the peculiar figuration that is his trade-mark.

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[1] For another adaptation of the Trastamara cartoon at Villahermosa, see vol. III, p. 125.

Several smaller works or fragments may be attributed to Pedro Serra almost with certainty. The most beautiful of these is a piece of a retable depicting St. Matthias (Fig. 170), in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, which lies about half-way between the types of Jaime and Pedro but which is eventually demonstrated, by a comparison with the saints on the frame of the Manresa altar, to have been executed by the younger brother and by that brother at his best. It is one of those instances in which Pedro has approached closest to the mastery as well as the style of Simone Martini. The gold background is not treated with his usual pattern but with an exquisitely bordered foliate *motif* of the utmost delicacy and loveliness.

Largely on the evidence of the presence of Pedro's customary quatrefoils in the background, Gudiol ascribes to him a veronica of the Virgin now in the Museum at Vich but probably once in the cathedral. Although from so small a part of the body as the mere head definitive judgment is dangerous, at least the veronica betrays nothing that would forestall the attribution.

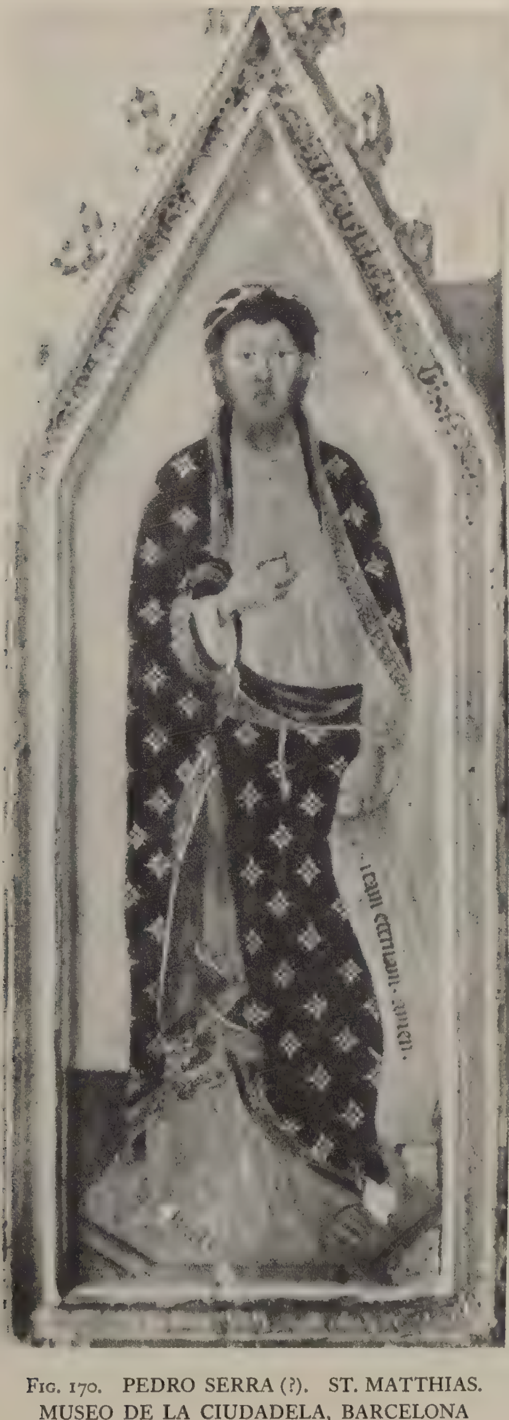
tam eternam. amen.

Fig. 170. PEDRO SERRA (?). ST. MATTHIAS.
MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Gudiol also advances the hypothesis that it may belong to Pedro's last years, since in 1399 he is known to have been working for Vich. The pallid tonality is perhaps due to the fact that the painter was asked to reproduce some earlier veronica, peculiarly hallowed as a cult-image. It has sometimes been thought that this was a famous veronica, painted on parchment, still in the cathedral of Valencia and probably presented to that church by the king, Martin the Humane. Almost identical with the Vich example, except for a more angular cast of the features, which, however, makes an attribution to Pedro Serra impossible, it might conceivably, considering Martin's previous sojourn in Italy, be an Italian work of the fourteenth or, at the earliest, thirteenth century. In any case, the Valencian specimen was a copy after a painting in Rome supposed to have been executed by St. Luke. Since the dates of Martin's reign are from 1395 to 1412, one might wonder that in so short a time, if it really was the example owned by Martin, it should have acquired such a religious popularity that Pedro Serra would have been commissioned to make a replica of it; but contemporary references show that the sovereign enhanced the importance and fame at least of the veronica that he himself possessed (whether or not the one now in the cathedral of Valencia) by his own devotion to it, having the habit of sending it each year from Valencia to Barcelona for the celebration of the feast of the Conception in the latter city.[1] Perhaps the most likely solution to the problem is that both examples, as well as other Catalan versions, are based upon some lost prototype. The other Catalan versions include a specimen in the cathedral of Tortosa and one formerly in the church of the Sangre at Alcover (near Tarragona). The probable derivation of all the examples from a common original renders it hard either to draw nice distinctions between them or to make subdivisions within the group; but the Tortosa picture may be aligned with the Vich example not only because it is painted on wood but also because the drawing and the type are more similar than they are to the version at Valencia. The craftsmanship, however, is something inferior to Pedro Serra's standard at Vich and can scarcely be a product of his brush. The veronica that has recently disappeared from the Iglesia de la Sangre at Alcover, though based upon the same original, is the work of a decidedly different and perhaps somewhat later hand, which also executed a companion-piece, a head of Christ, still in the same church. The Serra pattern in the background of the Vich panel is not paralleled in any of the other three specimens; the Tortosa and Alcover examples display an incised foliate design, which, however, is not the same in both cases.

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[1] Gudiol (*Vell i nou*, June, 1921, p. 68, n. 3) is right, I believe, in refusing to follow Sanpere (*Los cuatrocentistas*, I, 38–40) and others in identifying with the veronica of Martin a panel of the Madonna and Child surrounded by angels' heads in the Salas Capitulares of the cathedral at Barcelona, which is plainly a Sienese work of the Quattrocento. In the first place, the Barcelona piece is not a veronica, and in the second place the records speak only of a yearly loan of Martin's precious picture to Barcelona. I am glad to have behind me so great an authority on Sienese painting as Professor G. H. Edgell in identifying the Barcelona Madonna as a painting by Sano di Pietro or a close pupil, so that it could not possibly have been executed before the late thirties, long after King Martin's demise. Martin is reported to have presented another specimen to the Carthusian monastery of Valldemosa on the island of Majorca: see vol. III, p. 162.

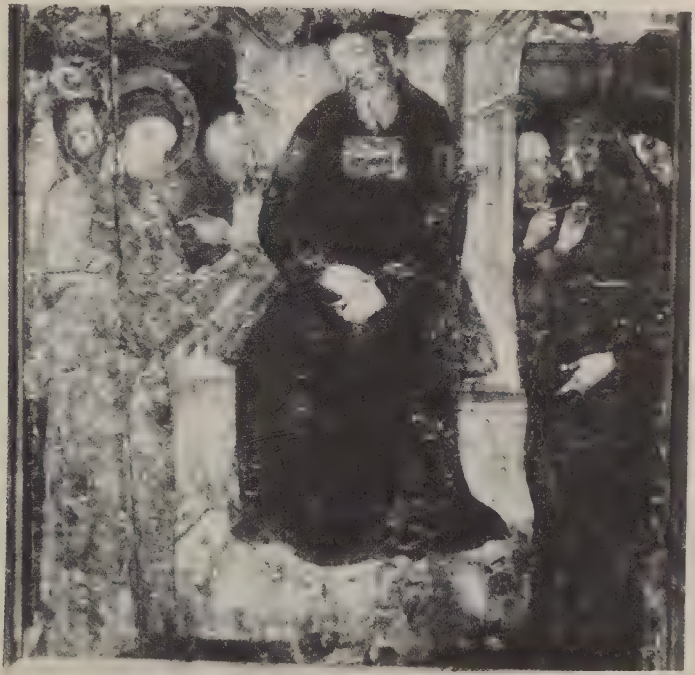

Fig. 171. PEDRO SERRA (?). CHRIST BEFORE PILATE. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

The panel of the raising of Tabitha in the Schiff Collection, Pisa, which seems certainly to be by the hand that executed the Pentecost of San Lorenzo de Morúnys (whether that hand be Pedro Serra's or a pupil's), has the interest of perhaps constituting, since it was found at Forlì, another link in the chain that bound mediaeval Spain and Italy.[1] One is at a loss to explain its peregrination to Italy, which has not been given to the importation of Spanish pictures, except by the hypothesis that it was actually painted there by a Catalan master on a visit to the peninsula. Nor is it without significance that Forlì lies in the Marches, whence may have been derived the Catalan type of the Madonna of Humility. If the little picture is by Pedro Serra, it must have been a late work, transitional to the style of Borrassá. The same protasis and apodosis apply to a large panel of Christ before Pilate in the Museum of Vich (Fig. 171). Although the starting-point for the types is found in the creations of Pedro Serra, the greater modernization and naturalism of the forms, especially of the Christ and of the two accusers at His side, make the work, indeed, the sort of thing that Borrassá might very well have produced in his youth. The group of strongly characterized Jews at the right continues the tradition of the baiters of St. Stephen in the predella of the Manresa retable. The Spanish passion for formal symmetry has had an unfortunate effect upon the panel spiritually, for it relegates Our Lord to a quite subordinate position. Since, when a saint occupied a throne, he was naturally set in the middle of the space, the painter was so accustomed to this place for the throne that he put it there even when he had to install upon it Pilate, who thus is the most conspicuous personage. Such compositions enabled an artist to balance the rest of his figures about the throne as a central axis, and on this principle Christ becomes merely one of a group at the left which is a pendant to the Jews at the right.

Scattered here and there are a few more pieces that must have come from Pedro's altars or from those of closely related

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[1] It is curious that the picture was at one time generally ascribed, even by Berenson and other reputable critics, to Lorenzo da Sanseverino the Elder; Colasanti, in the article that has already been cited, preceded Gudiol in the attribution to Pedro Serra. The ascription to Pedro, however, had already been made by Van de Put, *Notes on Some Early Spanish Masters*, *Burlington Magazine*, XIII (1908), 155–156.

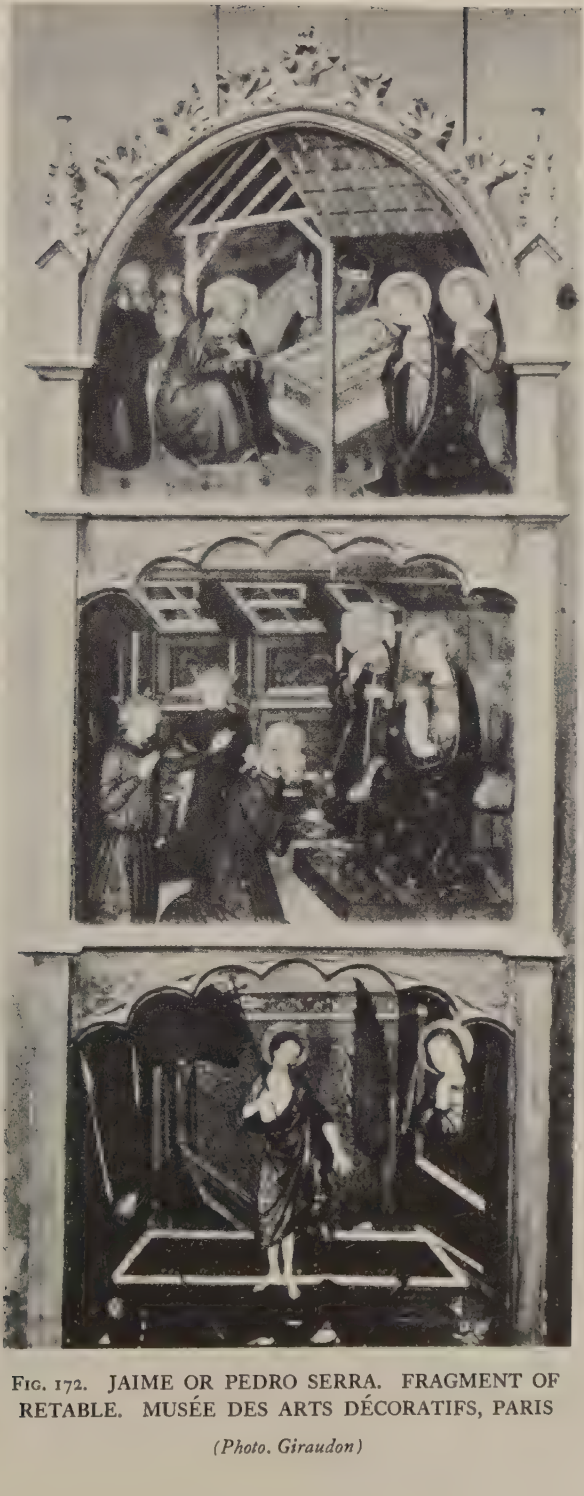

FIG. 172. JAIME OR PEDRO SERRA. FRAGMENT OF RETABLE. MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS, PARIS

(Photo. Giraudon)

artists. A panel with compartments displaying the Nativity, Epiphany, and Resurrection, in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (Fig. 172), can have proceeded only from the hands of one of the two brothers, but repainting renders doubly difficult the decision in regard to which brother should receive the honor. The compositions are closer to those of Jaime, whereas the types resemble more the creations of Pedro but of Pedro when he was still a disciple of his elder brother. Perhaps it is another instance of collaboration. Don Rómulo Bosch of Barcelona possesses much damaged fragments of a retable from the church of S. Pedro at Cubélls (northeast of Balaguer) which are perhaps to be assigned to Pedro himself: a large panel of St. Peter enthroned before kneeling donors; three smaller pieces of the Ascension, Pentecost, and Coronation of the Virgin; and two bits[1] that I did not see at my last visit to the Collection because they were in process of restoration. Two other small and sadly injured panels in the Soler y March Collection, Barcelona, representing the Resurrection and Pentecost, seem more probably school productions. Likewise close to Pedro Serra but scarcely by his own hand are two fragmentary panels in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, one of which depicts the Annunciations to St. Joachim and to St. Anne (Fig. 173) and the other the Birth and Presentation of the Virgin. The painter, whoever he was, unites delicacy of spirit with an adequate technique and employs a soft gamut of color in harmony with his gentle mood. The two very Iberian shepherds in the background of the Annunciation to St. Joachim approximate Pedro's types so nearly, that, if the same were true of the other figures, there would be no need of hesitation in making the ascription to the master himself. The delicate patterns on the robes of the angels resemble those of Jaime Serra. The composition for the Presentation corresponds to that used by the Master of the Cardona Pentecost in the St. Anne altar.

2. THE MASTER OF THE CARDONA PENTECOST

If we postpone for the moment the consideration of those pupils of the Serra brothers whose names we know, such as Borrassá and Cabrera, there still remain two anonymous painters, not belonging perhaps to the Serra atelier itself but yet strongly influenced by its productions, to each of whom a certain number of works may be attributed. Of these there deserves first mention the master who did the Pentecost in the parish church of Cardona (Fig. 174). Two small panels from the same retable, depicting the Annunciation and the Baptism, are now in the Museum of Solsona.[1] The derivation from the

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[1] They are the calling of St. Peter and his delivery from prison.

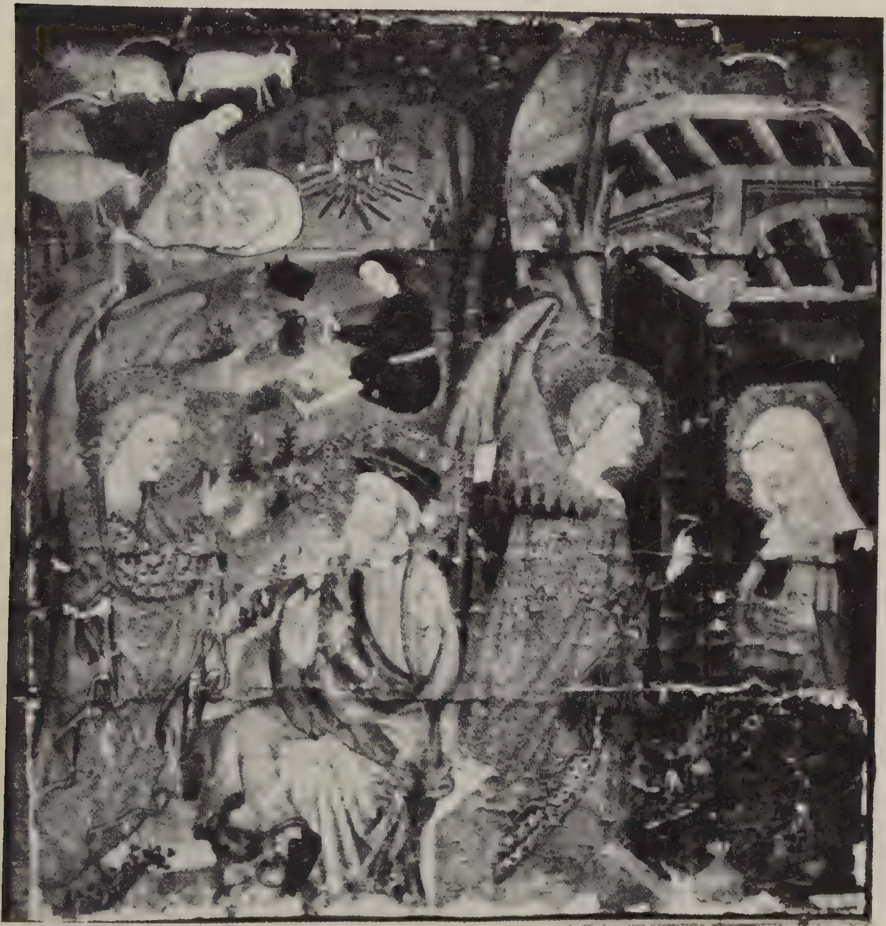

FIG. 173. SCHOOL OF PEDRO SERRA. ANNUNCIATIONS OF STS. JOACHIM AND ANNE. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

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[1] Such is the provenience stated for the two panels by Gudiol and Miss Richert. The catalogue that was shown to me in the Museum of Solsona, however, speaks of

Serra brothers,[1] especially, perhaps, from Jaime, needs no demonstration. The painter, however, has decidedly modified what he has borrowed. His chief productions belong already to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Sienese artistic ancestry of his types is still stamped upon their faces, notably in the youthful Apostles, for instance in the St. John who balances the St. Peter in the Pentecost; but his types are less ethereal and less primitive than those of the Serras upon which they depend. He gives to the heads a flatter structure and a squareness that constitute one of the distinctive traits by which his hand may be recognized. He has a certain hardness and rigidity different from the Serras' softness and ease. Not only are the outlines more strongly indicated, but his poses are more constrained, the draperies are more stiffly arranged, and the compositions more formal. The Pentecost follows the usual Catalan exactly symmetrical iconography for the subject, as we find it rendered in the Serra atelier, but the Apostles are now disposed, with excessively obvious regularity, in two rigid rows one above the other (although there is not even yet any attempt to represent the second row, in proper perspective, behind the other). The design of a series of stylized folds, into which the lower edge of the Virgin's mantle is thrown in the pictures of the Serra workshop, here becomes even more precise and less pliable. The Virgin, in the Annunciation, is schematized into a strictly frontal and almost identical piece of symmetry. The general tonality of color is not that of either Jaime or Pedro Serra; and the gold backgrounds are not undiapered, according to Jaime's wont, nor do they exhibit Pedro's quatrefoils, but, instead, a delicately incised pattern of rather freely drawn branches of holm-oak. The painter retains the Serra convention of symbolizing the sky by crescents of blue in the midst of the gold. In the Baptism he also follows the Sienese, as well as his masters, in the mannerism of scalloping the edges of the river bank.

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them as coming from the predella of the retable of St. Ursula at Cardona; and it is, indeed, perfectly possible that they belonged, not to the altarpiece of the Pentecost, but to the altarpiece of St. Anne which is now attached to the retable of St. Ursula at Cardona and which is by the same hand that executed the Pentecost. The retable of St. Ursula itself is by a different hand and of slightly later date. Sanpere hesitates whether to ascribe the Solsona pieces to the Pentecost or to the St. Anne altar.

[1] Gudiol, applying a document referring to a work of Jaime Serra at Cardona, actually ascribes the Pentecost and the two panels at Solsona to him: see above, p. 226.

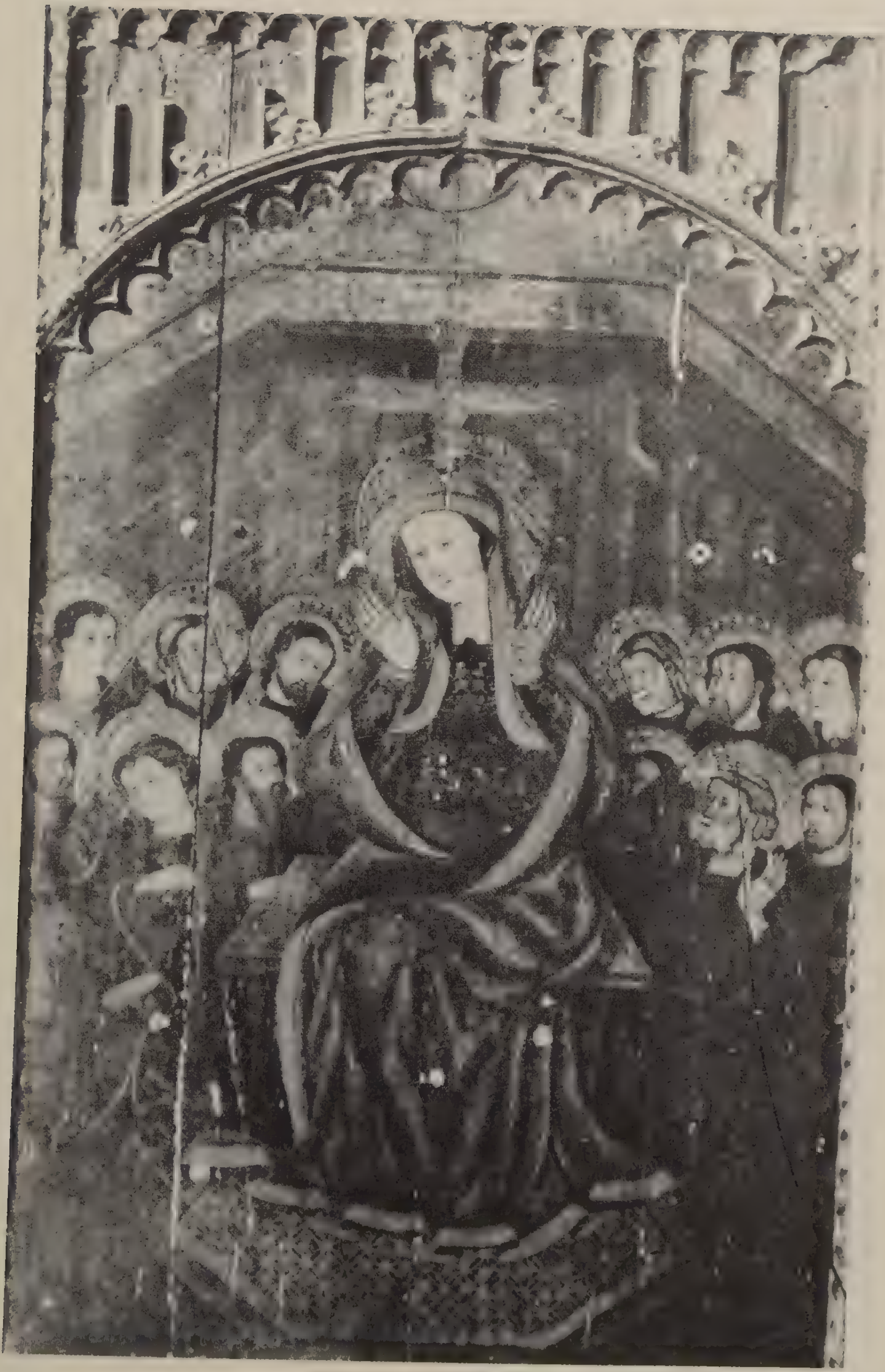

Fig. 174. MASTER OF THE CARDONA PENTECOST. PENTECOST, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, CARDONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Stylistic identity provides incontrovertible justification for ascribing to the same artist the retable of St. Anne, now attached, in the parish church of Cardona, to a somewhat later retable of St. Ursula over an altar at the left of the nave. The central panel (Fig. 175) exhibits a seated St. Anne holding the young Virgin and flanked by St. John Evangelist and by another masculine saint, as yet unrecognized.[1] At her feet is a diminutive kneeling donor. Each of the lateral compartments includes two scenes: the Annunciation to St. Joachim and the Meeting at the Golden Gate; the Birth and Presentation of the Virgin; the boiling of St. John in oil and his writing of the Apocalypse on Patmos while the seven-headed dragon of that book stands upon a rock in the background; and two episodes from the life of the other saint. At the top, the central pinnacle displays the Last Judgment, the left pinnacle, heaven, with St. Peter receiving the blessed, and the right pinnacle, hell. All the qualities observed in the Pentecost and its predella here put in their appearance again, with a tendency, however, to more crowded compositions, as, for instance, in the long line of women who disturb St. Anne's quietude in the Nativity. The environment of the early fifteenth century is now more palpably given by the architectural settings and the contemporary costumes. St. John on Patmos is represented very much in the same way as in the retable of San Lorenzo de Morúnys.

The relics of the activity of this painter, whom we shall call the "Master of the Cardona Pentecost," may be increased by the addition of a delightful panel, last known to me as in private possession at Budapest (Fig. 176). The composition is one that

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[1] Sanpere identifies him with St. Benedict and Miss Richert with St. Anthony Abbot; but in the lives of neither of these saints can I find record of the scene at the right in which one saint is saying mass while two diminutive men appear on the altar and while, outdoors, sits a hermit saint beside a hind nursing an infant saint. Is the saint of the central panel and of the mass the infant grown to maturity? The scene is certainly not the episode in the life of St. Benedict that Sanpere guesses it to be — the two female gossips leaving their coffins during the requiem that is said for them. There are probably here two separate scenes, as in the case of the other compartments. I suspect that the saint is Giles, and that the scene at the altar has something to do with the story of the angel revealing to him the French king's sin while he is saying mass, although it is not here an angel that appears upon the altar; but I am still unable to interpret the other scene, despite the presence of the hind that usually accompanies St. Giles, and it is hard to determine whether the baby or the hermit would be St. Giles.

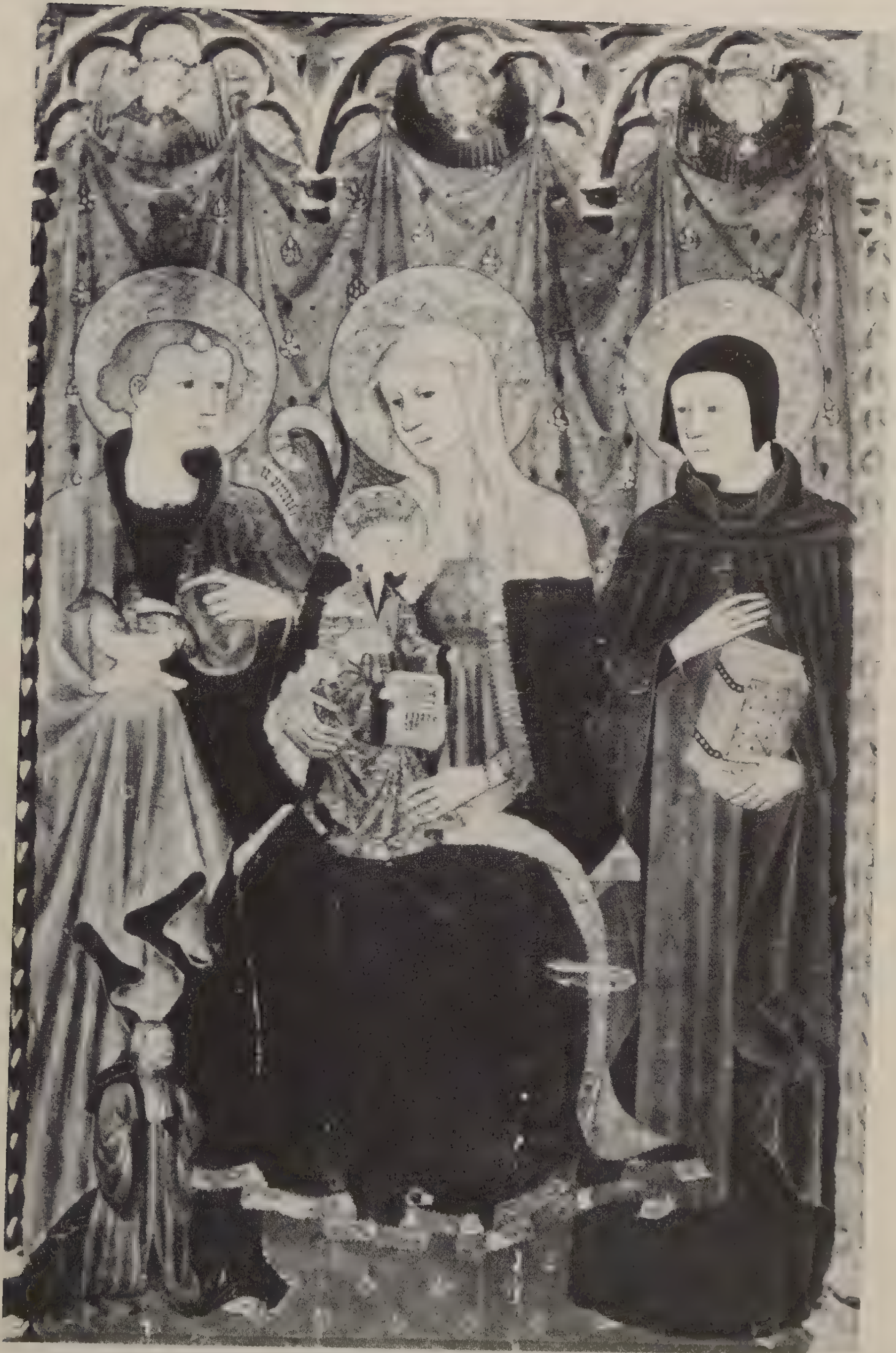

Fig. 175. MASTER OF THE CARDONA PENTECOST. CENTRE OF RETABLE OF ST. ANNE. PARISH CHURCH, CARDONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

enjoyed special popularity in Aragonese manifestations of the international style, except that St. Anne here takes the place of the enthroned Virgin. The throne is magnified and emphasized as a part of the composition, and its intervals and surrounding spaces are filled with music-making angels. The stylistic parallelism to the Cardona pieces stares one in the face, with a somewhat closer approximation to the manner and ethereal sentiment of Jaime Serra, so that the panel may be reckoned an early work of the Cardona master, perhaps still belonging to the fourteenth century. The relation of the St. Anne to the corresponding figure at Cardona well-nigh reaches identity, although in the Budapest piece the little Virgin, whom she clasps, herself now holds, according to the more usual mediaeval iconography, the infant Christ, a figure in which the painter has nearly achieved the winsome charm that the Serra brothers lent to the Holy Child. The similarity extends even to the wimple worn by St. Anne and to the rigid stylization of the lower border of her mantle. Virtually the same pattern of brocade as that worn by the angel at the lower right occurs in the St. Anne retable on the spread over the bed in the birth of the Virgin, on Domitian presiding over St. John's boiling, and on one of the sufferers in hell. The instruments of three of the angels and their modes of playing them are repeated in the representation of heaven at Cardona. The pose and dress of the donor are almost exact reproductions of those of the analogous figure in the St. Anne retable.

The Archaeological Museum at Madrid contains a small and inferior triptych, which, if it could be authoritatively cleared of the shadow of forgery, might be classified as a work under the influence of the Master of the Cardona Pentecost, though scarcely by his own hand. The centre is devoted to the Madonna enthroned among angels; the left wing to Gabriel of the Annunciation, St. Francis's reception of the stigmata, and a figure of St. Catherine; and the right wing to the Virgin of the Annunciation and to effigies of Sts. Anthony Abbot and Sebastian.

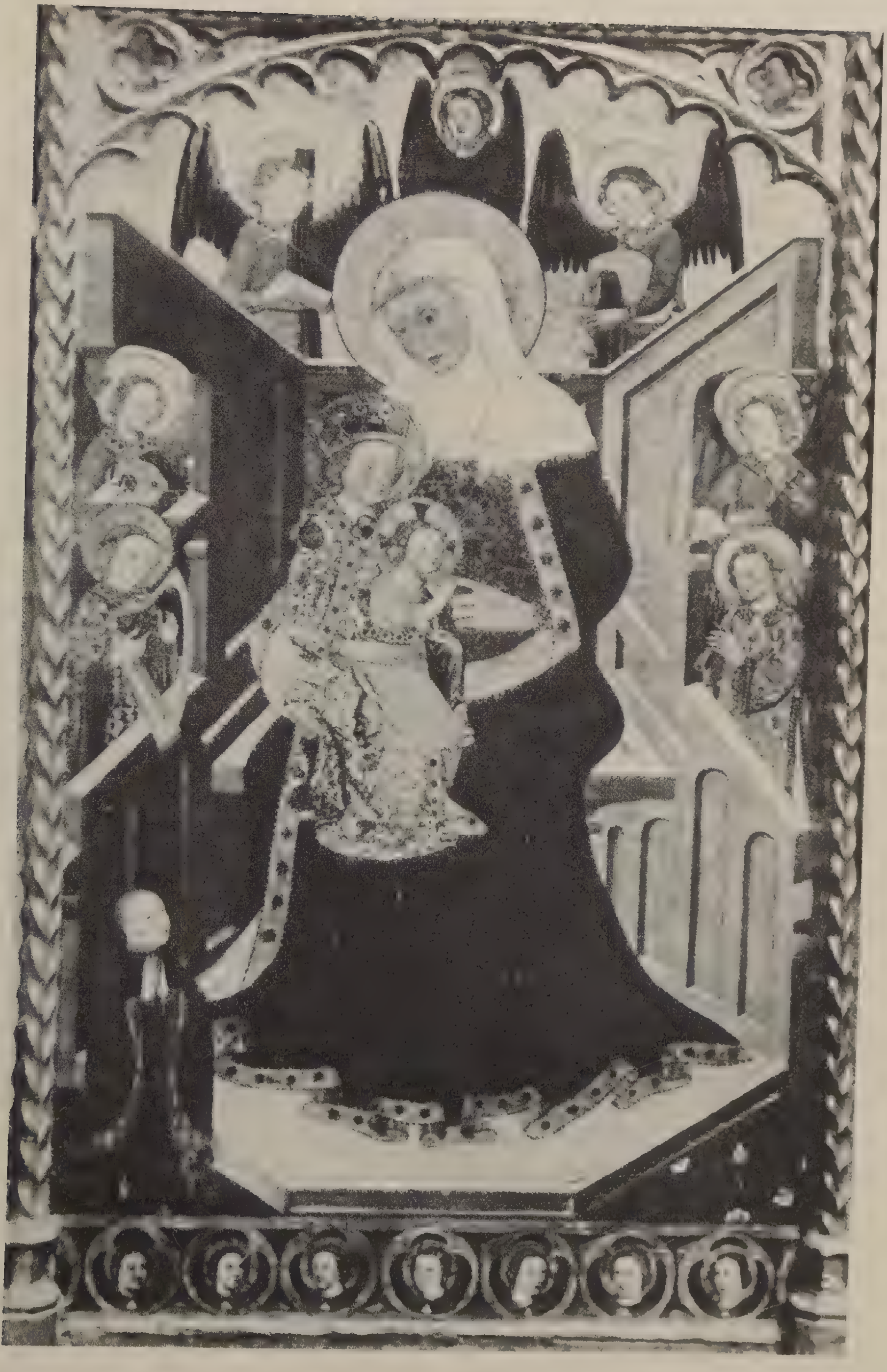

FIG. 176. MASTER OF THE CARDONA PENTECOST. ST. ANNE, VIRGIN, AND CHILD. PRIVATE COLLECTION, BUDAPEST

3. The Master of Albatárrech

From the followers of the Serras, it is perhaps possible to add still another personality to the shadowy group of anonymous "Masters of This or That" in the limbo of the history of art. We may follow the usual practice and call him, after the place in which his principal work exists, the Master of Albatárrech, a town just south of Lérida. Over an altar at the right of the nave in the church of this village is a panel representing Our Lord as Salvator Mundi glorified and seated in a starry mandorla, the elliptical lines of which are accented by a double flight of many angels (Fig. 177). Small effigies of Prophets remain on the frame, and there is a predella of half-lengths of saints and of one of the characteristically tender and charming representations of St. Anne holding the Virgin and Child. Other parts of the retable are now distributed in two institutions at Lérida. In the Museo Diocesano are compartments of the Birth and Resurrection of Christ, feminine saints and more Prophets from the frame, a further bit of the predella, and two kneeling clerical donors. The picture gallery of the Academia Mariana contains the following four panels: the Transfiguration; the resurrection of the dead on the Last Day; the Baptism of Christ in the presence of eight angels and of the Virgin, the latter detail a curious piece of iconography parallel to her appearance in the Serra composition of the Resurrection of Christ (as in the Albatárrech panel of the Lérida Museum) and witnessing to her constantly increasing cult; and a setting forth of the dogma of the Communion of Saints, in which, against a starred blue background, St. Peter is received by Our Lord in heaven, with St. John Evangelist (not the Virgin) at His right, in the midst of successive, curving tiers of the blessed consisting of the other ten Apostles, of two ranges of masculine saints, and of a final row of feminine saints. The background of the Baptism displays one of the Serra semicircles of blue to stand for the sky. In the same room of the Academia Mariana is a small Crucifixion, numbered 1, which possibly, although not certainly, belonged to the Albatárrech retable. The style of the altarpiece embodies a development upon lessons learned from the Serras which is similar in some respects to the manner of Borrassá and

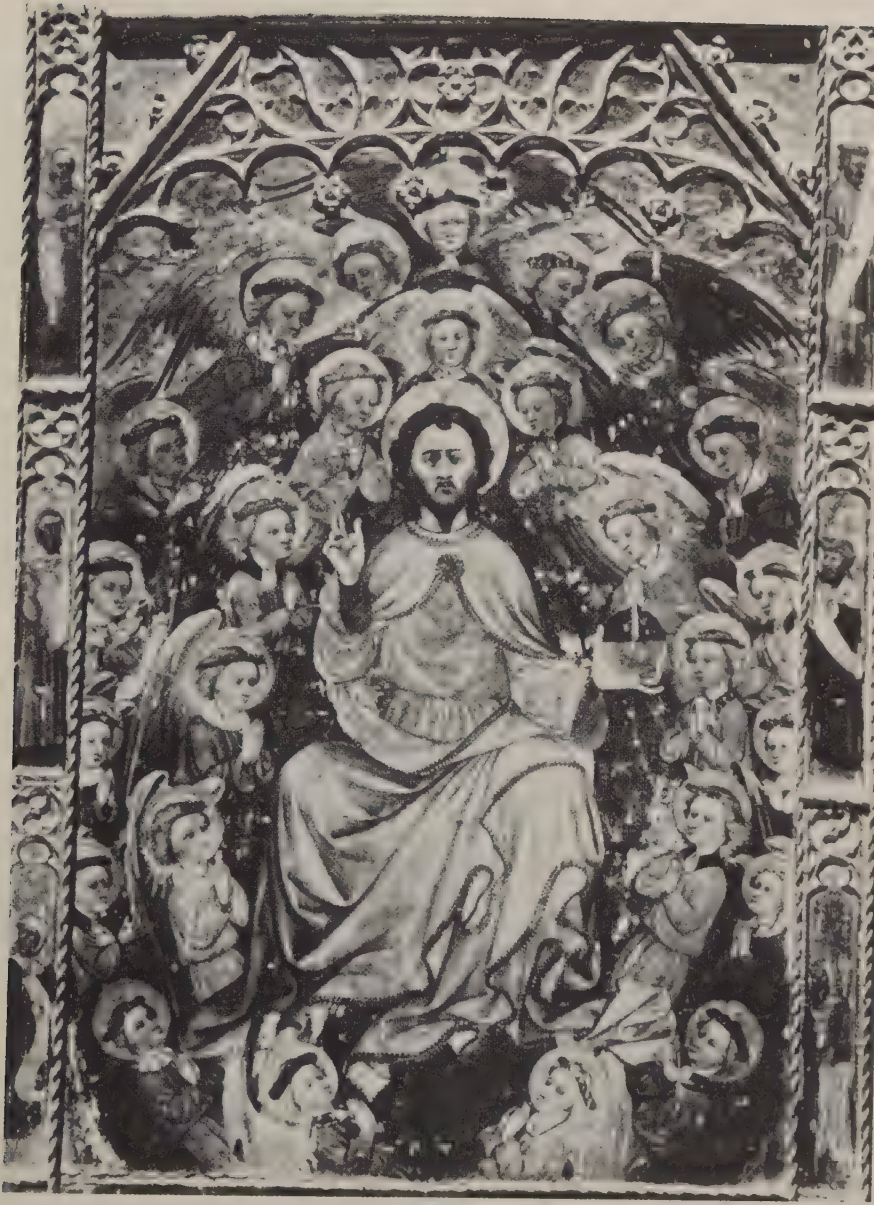

Fig. 177. MASTER OF ALBATÁRRECH. SALVATOR MUNDI. PARISH CHURCH, ALBATÁRRECH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

probably contemporaneous with it but which, nevertheless, is not the product of that painter's brush. The types resemble those of Pedro Serra more closely than do the figures of Borrassá, for instance that of Christ in the Transfiguration; and, instead of the breadth and serenity with which Borrassá invests the countenance of the Saviour, the head of the Albatárrech Christ is a narrower and more pointed oval with a stern and almost acrimonious expression which is the master's substitute for real majesty. The draperies, as in Borrassá, have become more copious and monumental, especially over Christ's lower body. In the Resurrection of Christ the folds of His garment fly forth in the capricious whirls of that other Catalan style of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century which we shall later discuss as the "Guimerá manner," which is more influenced by the whimsicality of late Gothic art, and which had its effect also upon Borrassá. The sleeping Roman soldier at the upper left is even a bit of Gothic caricature. The contemporary headdresses of the feminine saints are those that Borrassá employs for the women of King Abgar's household. Despite the analogies to Pedro Serra and Borrassá, the painter is not quite the technical peer of either. The more slovenly drawing in the panels of the Birth and Resurrection of the Saviour, however, may be due to the collaboration of apprentices. The question of his identity with the Master of the Solsona Last Supper will be a subject for our future consideration.

To the Master of Albatárrech, although without that certainty which attaches to the ascriptions to the Master of the Cardona Pentecost, may be assigned a very similar representation of the Salvator Mundi from Estopiñán (near Balaguer) in the Plandiura Collection (Fig. 178). The countenance of the Saviour is not absolutely identical with that of Albatárrech, but it is exactly of the same dour and profoundly Spanish type. His draperies also resemble those of Albatárrech, and in each panel the colors that He wears form a vibration of different shades of red. In both examples He likewise holds the globe of the world, but in the Plandiura picture, where one quarter of the globe should be, the land is strangely and realistically indicated by the substitution of a castle. The thing that chiefly gives one pause in making the attribution a dogma is the somewhat different sort of head in the angels.

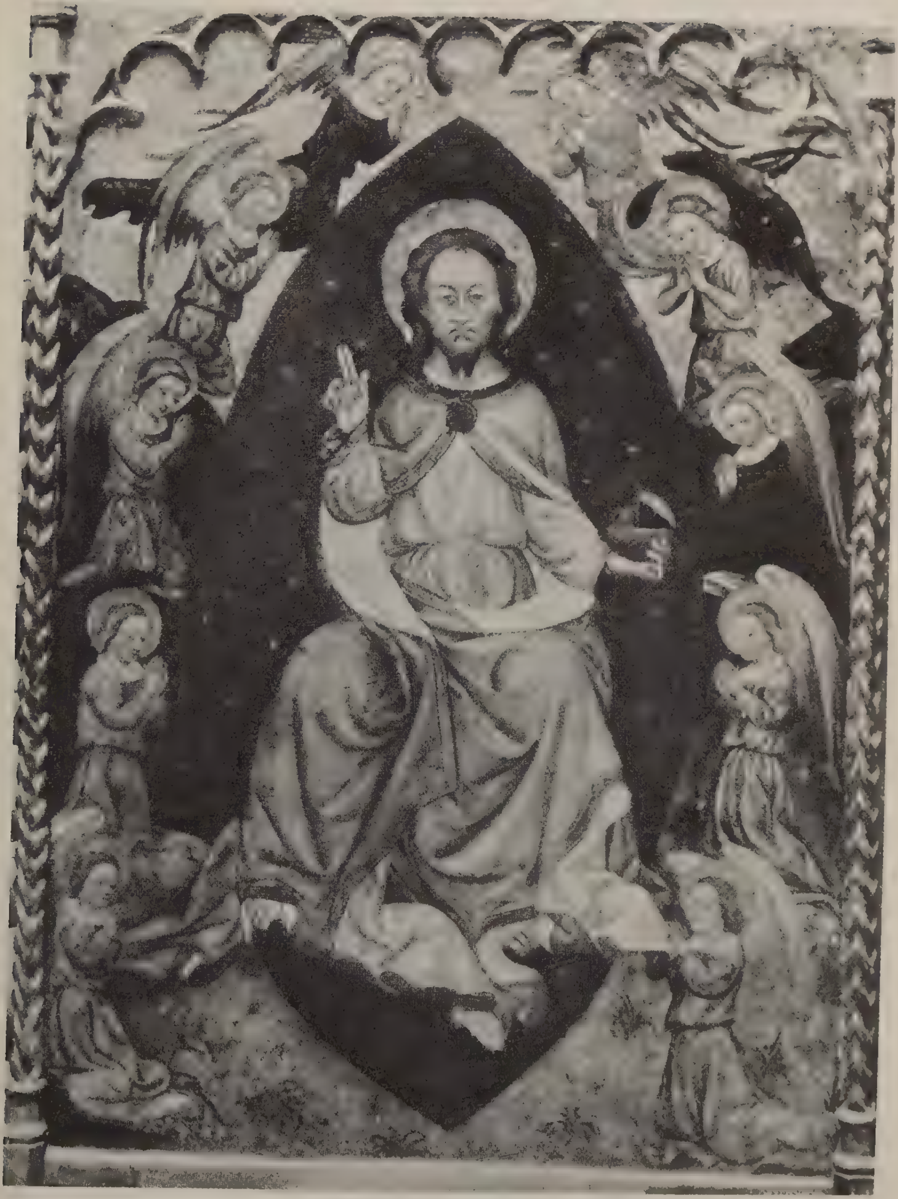

Fig. 178. MASTER OF ALBATÁRRECH (?). SALVATOR MUNDI. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

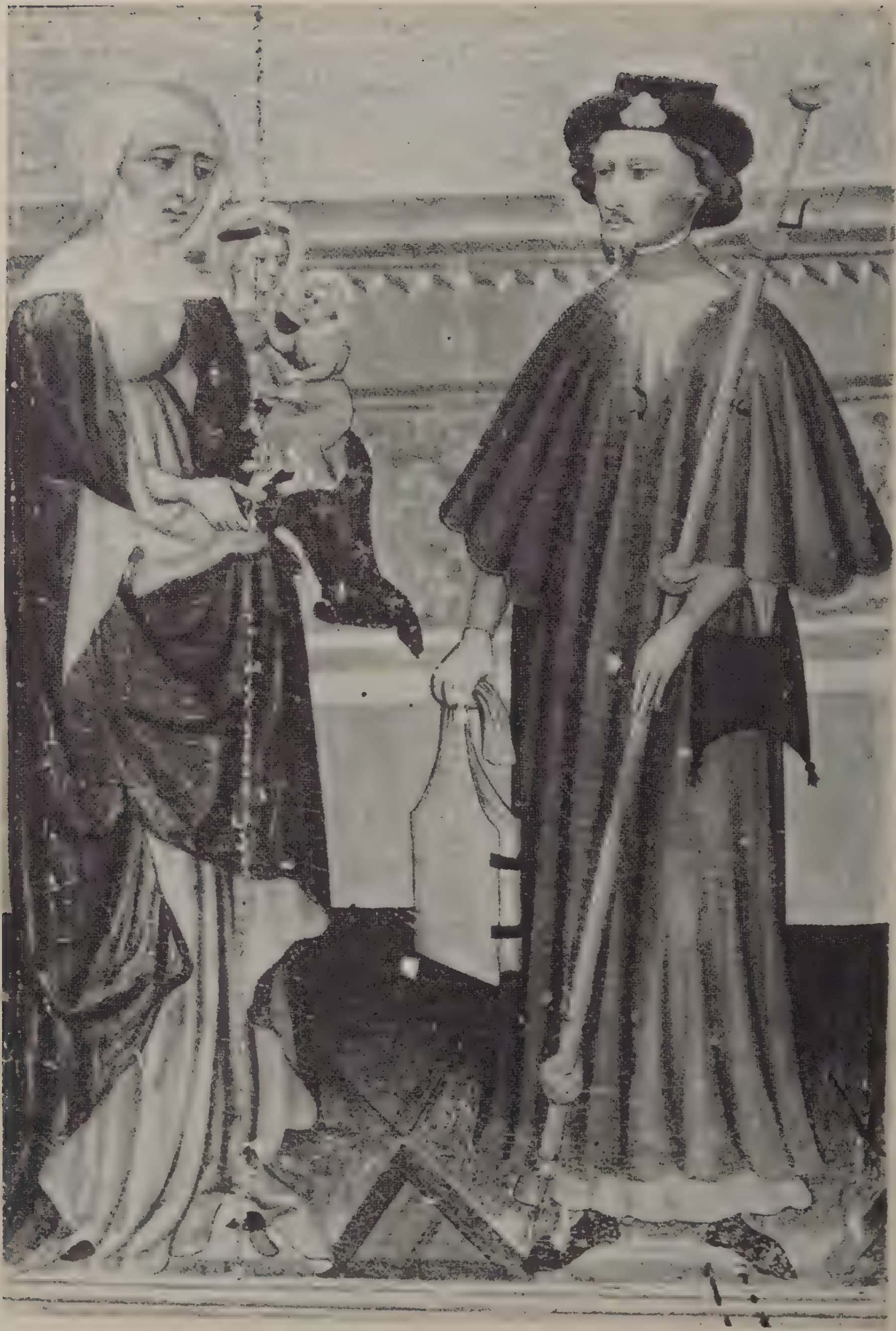

FIG. 179. MASTER OF ALBATÁRRECH. CENTRE OF RETABLE OF ST. ANNE AND SANTIAGO. ERMITA DE S. ANTONIO, GRANADELLA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

With much less hesitation we may ascribe to the workshop of the Master of Albatárrech the three retables in the Ermita de S. Antonio at Granadella, still farther south of Lérida. Equal to one another in structure and in style, they obviously proceed from a single workshop, which it is not presumptuous to identify with that of the Master of Albatárrech. That the attribution is rather to the workshop than only to the Master himself, must be emphasized from the first, for the slovenly craftsmanship that is a token of the collaboration of assistants invades all of the subordinate compartments to a more obvious extent than in the case of the pieces of the Albatárrech altar at Lérida, and perhaps here and there it obtrudes even into the large central sections. In each retable, the central panel is occupied by the standing effigies of two saints against the back-

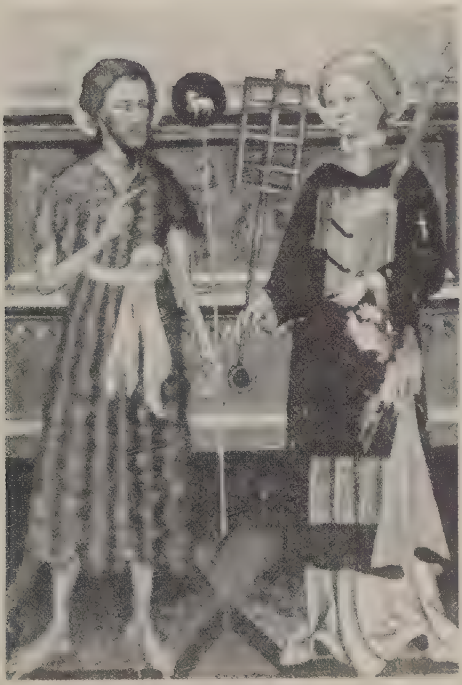

Fig. 180. MASTER OF ALBATÁRRECH. CENTRE OF RETABLE OF THE BAPTIST AND ST. LAWRENCE. ERMITA DE S. ANTONIO, GRANADELLA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

ground of a balustrade capped by the usual expanse of gold; to the lives of each of these saints three small compartments at the sides are devoted; and the central pinnacle at the top contains in two instances the customary Crucifixion and in the third instance Christ the Judge with the kneeling Virgin and St. John. The saints honored are: in the retable that probably once adorned the high altar but is now on the left wall of the nave, Anthony Abbot and the Magdalene; in the retables at the ends of the two transepts, Anne and Santiago (Fig. 179); and John Baptist and Lawrence (Fig. 180). The repeated pairs of shoes painted on the *guardapolvos* of all three retables are a heraldic pun upon the name of the donors (a leading family of Granadella) Sabaté, which suggests *sabater*, the Catalan word for cobbler. Only a few of the legendary scenes in the lateral compartments require any elucidation. The lowest of the three episodes from the life of the Magdalene represents her resuscitation and preservation, on an island, of the wife of the Count of Provence and her baby, the tale that is related also in the frescoes of the Magdalene Chapel in the lower church at Assisi ascribed to Giotto. The scenes from the life of St. James are: his conversion of the enchanter, Hermogenes, to whom he presents his staff as a talisman against demoniacal cunning, while the books of magic are burned at their feet; his baptism of one of his tormentors, Josias, just before both the Apostle and Josias are executed; and the transportation of his body to the palace of Queen Lupa in Spain by wild bulls. In addition to the general analogies in types and style to the Albatárrech retable, the following are some of the specific resemblances that may be adduced to persuade the doubter. The group of the standing St. Anne with the Virgin and Child, one of the best parts of the three altarpieces and surely by the master's own hand, is virtually a repetition of the half-length of the same theme in the Albatárrech predella, the parallelism extending even to the curiously ill-favored countenance of the Child. The little Virgin here is very like the Virgin in the Nativity at Lérida; the heads of the large St. Lawrence, of the St. John Evangelist in the Crucifixions and Last Judgment, and of the temptress of St. Anthony are similar to those of the angels at Albatárrech; the angels that appear here and there in the lateral compartments are some bungling assistant's attempt to imitate the entrancing examples painted by the Albatárrech master; and the Salome of the scenes from the life of the Baptist (Fig. 181) might be any one of the piquantly coiffed feminine saints of the frame at Lérida who had suffered the loss of a halo and was less modest about her dress. The draperies have the same sinuous breadth. The nature and disposition of the folds of the Virgin's mantle in the Lérida Nativity are reproduced on the Virgin in the Crucifixions and Last Judgment of Granadella. The types and postures in the *Noli me tangere* as an episode from the life of the Magdalene practically equal those of Christ and the Virgin in the Lérida Resurrection, and in both instances there is the setting of a thick forest. The episodes of the story of St. Lawrence, especially his distribution of the

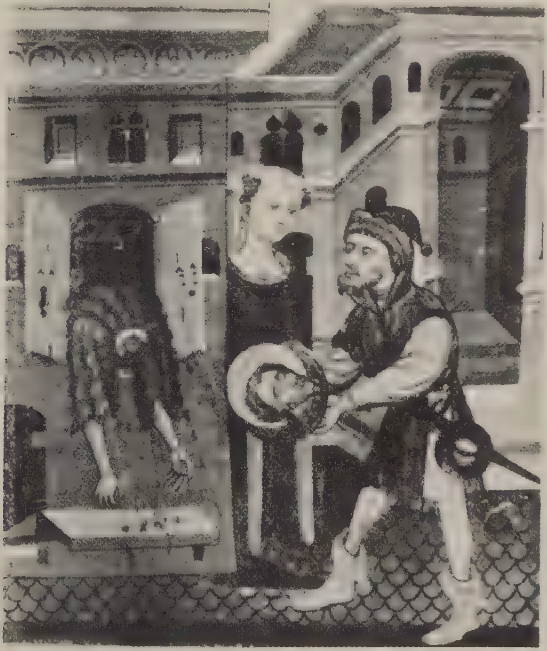

FIG. 181. MASTER OF ALBATÁRRECH. DECAPITATION OF BAPTIST, SECTION OF RETABLE OF BAPTIST AND ST. LAWRENCE. ERMITA DE S. ANTONIO, GRANADELLA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

treasures of the church, contain a number of rapidly sketched caricatures like that of the sleeping soldier in the Resurrection at Lérida. Not only in the central panels but often in the subordinate compartments a balustrade is used for a background, as in the Albatárrech predella, and it is sometimes, as again at Albatárrech, embattled. The same fondness for a rather garish tonality, with a frequent resort to red, is betrayed. The garments often display linings of a different color from the external fabric, as in the case of St. Anthony's temptress, who wears red lined with yellow and is another of the better rendered figures that witness to the master's own brush. Even the gold backgrounds are accented with the *motif* of tiny circles of dots that appears in the Albatárrech altarpiece, and both at Granadella and in the Albatárrech picture the gold of some of the haloes is chased and adorned with this dot pattern. Nor is the geographical propinquity of Albatárrech and Granadella without some force, however slight, as cumulative proof.

If I have shrunk from dogmatism in the former instances, I can claim nothing more authoritative than the status of a "pious opinion" for the ascription to the Master of Albatárrech of the panel of the Madonna and Child enthroned between two angels, now anonymously loaned to the Chicago Art Institute (Fig. 182). The most persuasive factor is the analogy in the types of the angels, with their fillets, to those that surround the Saviour at Albatárrech. Certain elements suggest a contact with Aragonese art, which would be expected in such border-towns between the two provinces as Albatárrech, Granadella, and Estopiñán. There is the stress upon the throne as a vital part of the composition; the Child has the "cute" but by no means pretty cast of features frequently encountered in Aragonese paintings of the first half of the fifteenth century and already observed in the works at Albatárrech and Granadella; and the blue mantle of the Virgin, although the figures of its brocade have been obliterated, still displays a lining of what apparently was intended to represent ermine, an emblem of the heavy magnificence that the Aragonese cultivated. If the artist was identical with the Master of Albatárrech, the Master may have been an Aragonese who studied in the Serra workshop, or at least he was affected by his proximity to Aragon.

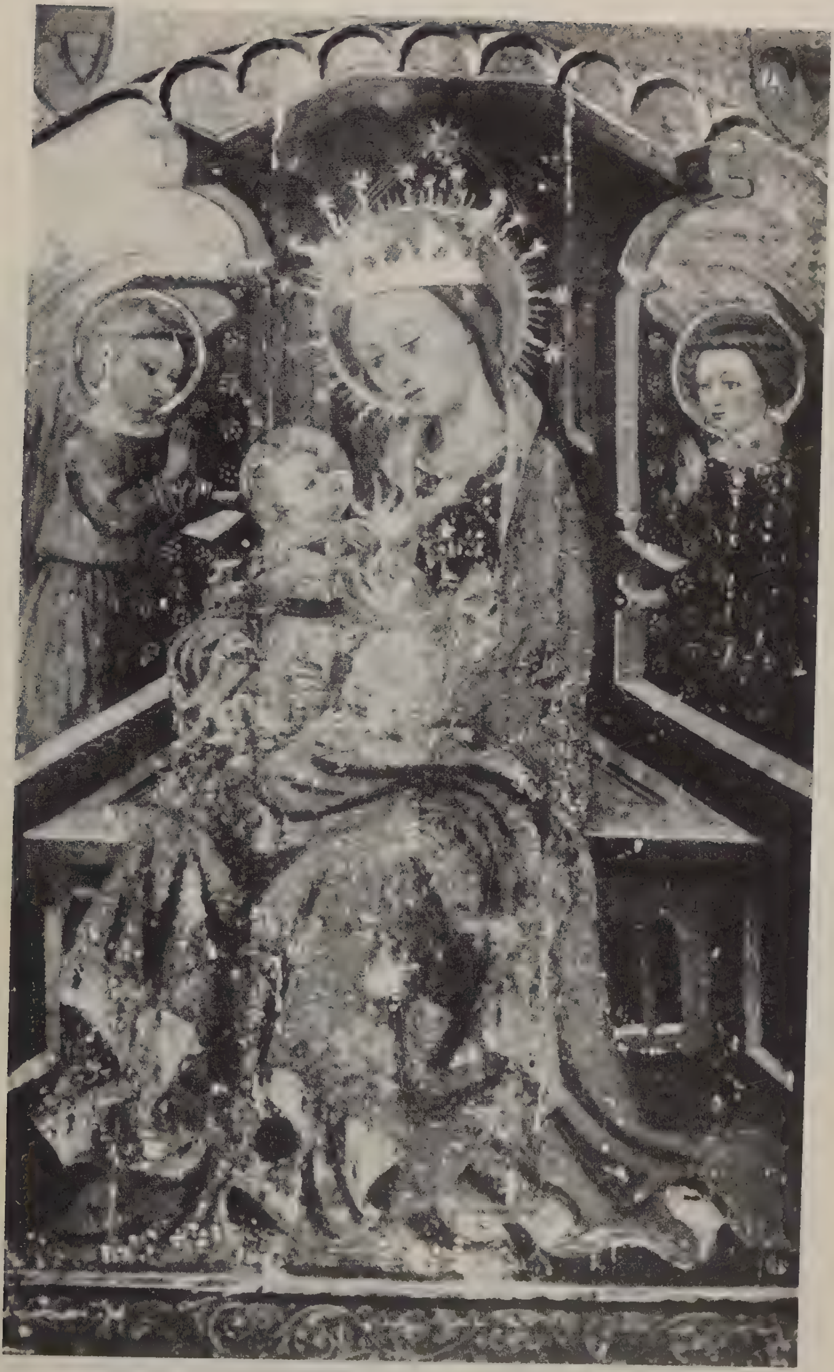

Fig. 182. MASTER OF ALBATÁRRECH (?). MADONNA AND ANGELS. ART INSTITUTE, CHICAGO

(Courtesy of the Art Institute)

Whoever the painter of the Chicago picture was, he had been drawn within the influence radiated by the magnetic art of the Serra brothers. The panel does not witness to great aesthetic attainments, and there are even defects beyond the summary delineation of certain details that was characteristic of the period. The foreshortening of the throne is unusually haphazard; the Child's right leg is monstrously attached to the body; and the Virgin's hands are disagreeably like creepy spiders' legs. The original effect of the blue fabric behind the throne against the gold background and indeed of the whole bright tonality is much impaired by the darkening of time. It is enough, however, for a picture that it should reflect any of the suave charm of the Serras. The date is the very end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.

4. Other Paintings of the School of the Serras

Another student of the Serras' art was the painter who executed the retable of St. James Major from Vallespinosa, near Santa Perpetua, north of Tarragona, now in the Museo Diocesano at Tarragona (Fig. 183). The central enthroned effigy is flanked by four episodes from the saint's story, three of which are identical with those depicted in the retable of Sts. James and Anne at Granadella, except that, in the scene of the execution, Josias is already dead; the fourth episode is the miraculous journey of the body to Spain. At the top, the central panel is occupied by the Crucifixion, and the lateral pinnacles by the Annunciation and Nativity. The backgrounds are incised with a light foliate pattern. The compositions of the Annunciation, Nativity, and Crucifixion depend upon the models of the Serra workshop; and the types in general, although not identical with those of either brother, are plainly inspired by their creations and retain much of their peculiar delicacy. The fashion of the costumes and architectural setting would imply that the retable was painted in the first years of the fifteenth century, but in spirit the artist still belongs to the Trecento. The altarpiece has the placid charm of Catalan Gothic painting, and, although, as often, the central panel is technically superior to the lateral compartments, the Serra brothers would not have blushed for the attainments of this follower.

The retable of Sts. Anthony Abbot and Margaret, No. 949 of the Museum at Vich, is a respectable production belonging to the school of the Serras, but it is difficult to say whether the influence of Jaime or Pedro is uppermost. The central compartment contains the two standing effigies, the St. Anthony resembling somewhat the corresponding figure on the Manresa frame but not that of the panel at Lérida which we have tentatively ascribed to Jaime Serra; the Crucifixion above is not unlike those of the Gualter altar of St. Stephen and the Saragossa altar of Sts. Julian and Lucy. In the upper compartment at the left the holy hermit suffers the temptation by Satan in

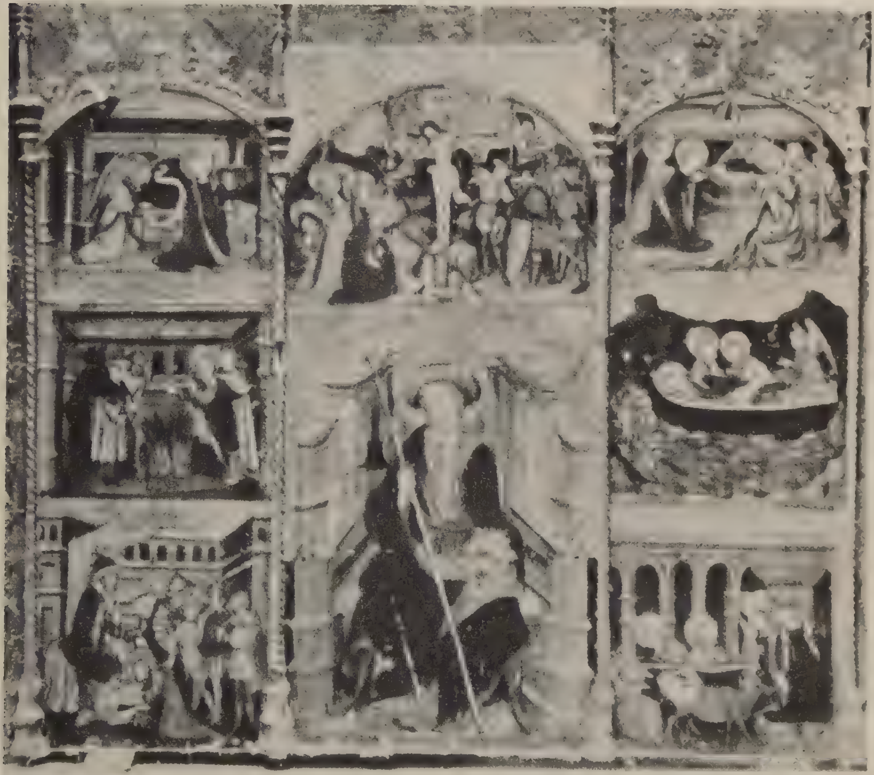

Fig. 183. SCHOOL OF THE SERRAS. RETABLE OF ST. JAMES MAJOR. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

the guise of a richly dressed woman; in the lower compartment he is subjected to the bastinado of demons and is then, as in the *Golden Legend*, comforted by a vision of the Saviour. The two panels at the right depict St. Margaret's encounter as a shepherdess with the passion-stricken Olybrius and her decapitation. The painter has evidently taken a special interest in the former scene, outstripping his modest capabilities and rendering the postures and gestures of the maiden and her suitor with much charm and delicacy and with a tranquil dramatic elegance highly characteristic of the Catalan school and prophetic of Huguet. Indeed, one feels throughout the altarpiece the nicety of an artist who, though of no great pretensions, has had experience in the illumination of manuscripts. He concerns himself, also, with landscape to a greater degree than the majority of his contemporaries. He gives to it almost as much importance as to the actors, and elaborates and dwells with delight upon the rocky setting in which he places the scene of St. Margaret's courtship as well as the demoniac attacks upon St. Anthony. In the two upper lateral panels the mountainous eminences are prettily divided by a valley thickly grown with trees. The skies, of course, are golden, but are not diapered. The Catalogue of the Museum at Vich points out the striking similarities of the narrative panels from the life of St. Anthony to a fragment of a retable, No. 788 of the same Collection, representing the identical two scenes.

A further witness to the popularity of the Serras' art in Saragossa and the region is constituted by a school-piece in the parish church of Longares, just southwest of the city. The central panel, which represented a Virgin of the fleur-de-lis, has disappeared, and for it has been substituted a much later painting of Santiago; but the other parts are still *in situ*, the Crucifixion at the top, the Annunciation, Nativity, and Epiphany at the left, the Purification, Dormition, and Coronation at the right, a predella of the Passion to which is added a panel of the Last Judgment, and small sacred effigies on the uprights. Although the style is patently that of a follower of the Serras, the craftsmanship reveals only average ability. The pattern on the Virgin's mantle in the various scenes is an ornament like a fleur-de-lis flanked by two confronted birds. At the bottom of the retable is a date that has been impossibly read as 1461. What has been taken for a *4* may be a *3*, and the identification of the last cipher as *1* is doubtful; but 1361 or any other year in the sixties of the fourteenth century is an early date for the influence of the Serras to have manifested itself so vitally as to have produced a pupil, when the first known moment in Jaime Serra's career is this very year, 1361. Some member of the atelier, however, may have gone down to Longares in the sixties while Jaime was working at Saragossa, or the inscription may have been tampered with.

5. Paintings less directly Connected with the Shop of the Serras

On the outermost circumference of the ripples set astir in the art of eastern Spain by the activity of Jaime and Pedro Serra there exists another group of paintings more distantly related to their productions. A retable of the Virgin in the Museo Diocesano of Tarragona, coming from La Secuita, just north of the city,[1] is an adaptation of their compositions and types by a lumbering provincial, whose peculiarity is his heavy and dumpy forms. The central panel is one of those representations of the enthroned Madonna and angels that were much affected in Aragon; the lateral compartments contain scenes from her life (Fig. 184). Don Alejandro Soler y March has suggested to me that there was probably a local school at Tarragona that followed the various artistic developments at Barcelona.

If the repaint could be peeled off the altarpiece of the Virgin, St. John Baptist, and St. Peter in the Rusiñol Collection (Cau Ferrat) at Sitges (Fig. 185), the indications are that the work might prove to be closer to the manner of the Serras than is now apparent and the craftsmanship perhaps better. In any case, the eventual inspiration from this source is unmistakable. There is no visible reason for Mayer's ascription of the picture to the circle of Borrassá, except that the hanging camel's head on St. John's vesture is emphasized as in the retable of the Baptist belonging to the school of Borrassá in the Musée des

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[1] Not the retable of the Virgin from Santas Creus in this Museum, which Miss Richert assigns to the Serra school but which will be discussed in this book under the school of Valencia.

Arts Décoratifs, Paris; but a comparison of these two figures of the same personage only renders obvious the more primitive character of the Sitges altarpiece and its dependence rather upon the more delicate Serra tradition. In the central panel the standing effigies of the Madonna and Child and of the flanking Sts. John and Peter are set, in a mode unusual in Catalan painting of the epoch, under an arcade, and, except for the diapered gold on the spandrels of the arches, the background is not of the customary gilt but (at least in its present condition) seems to be meant as a patterned wall or tight-drawn tapestry, which has the appearance of modern linoleum. The altarpiece, as now constructed, shows the triads of scenes from the lives of Sts. John and Peter on the opposite sides from the positions that they occupy in the middle section; the central pinnacle is reserved for the Crucifixion. The scenes from the life of the Baptist are

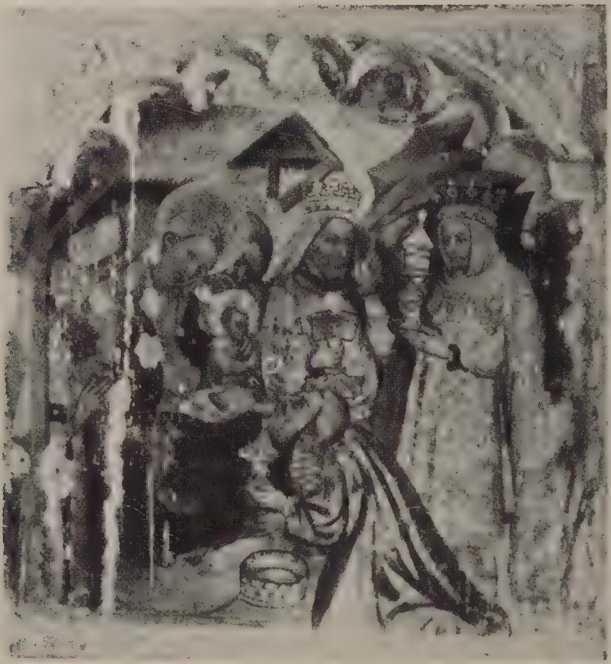

Fig. 184. SCHOOL OF THE SERRAS. EPIPHANY, SECTION OF RETABLE OF LA SECUITA. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

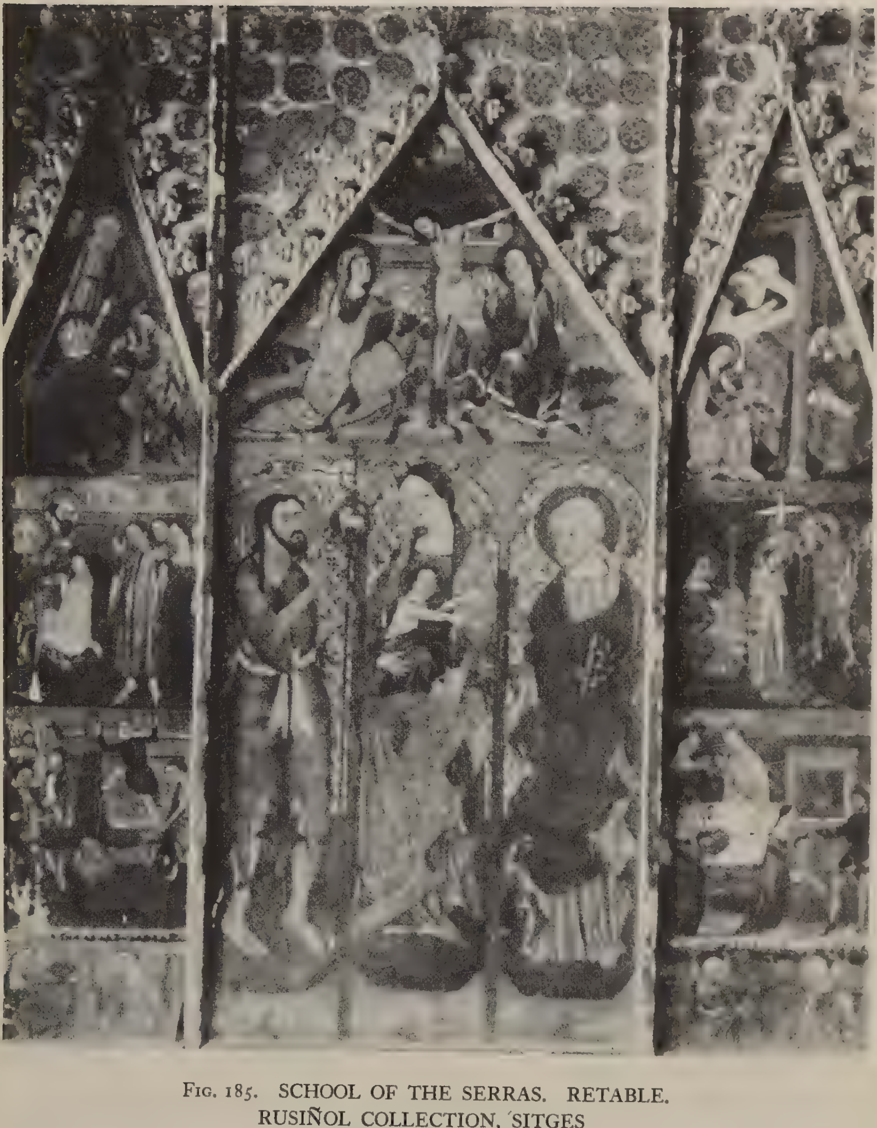

Fig. 185. SCHOOL OF THE SERRAS. RETABLE. RUSIÑOL COLLECTION, SITGES

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

his nativity, his baptism of Christ, and the Salome episode; those from the life of St. Peter include his walking to Our Lord on the Sea of Tiberias after the Resurrection, his raising of the youth to life in the presence of Nero, and his martyrdom. The predella, as it now remains to us, contains half-lengths of four feminine saints.

By the same hand are two panels formerly in the possession of the dealer Dupont at Barcelona (photos. 1519 B and 1524 B of Mas) representing Pentecost (Fig. 186)[1] and, in a pinnacle, the Birth of Christ surmounted by a medallion of Isaiah. The types are absolutely identical, especially in the use of the narrowest slits for the eyes.

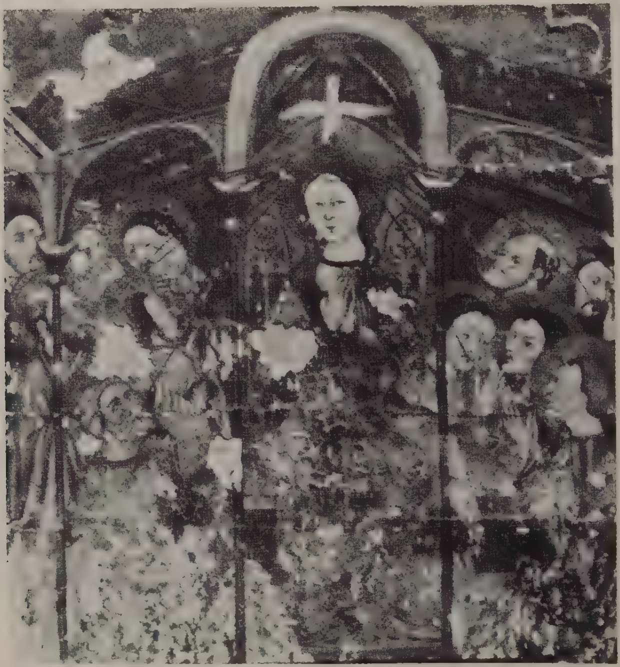

Fig. 186. SCHOOL OF THE SERRAS. PENTECOST. BIBLIOTECA-MUSEO MUNICIPAL, TARRASA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

The beautifully preserved retable over an altar at the south of the nave in the hospital church of S. Francisco at Villafranca del Panadés (Fig. 187) is analogous in certain respects to the

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[1] The Pentecost is now in the Biblioteca-Museo Municipal, Tarrasa.

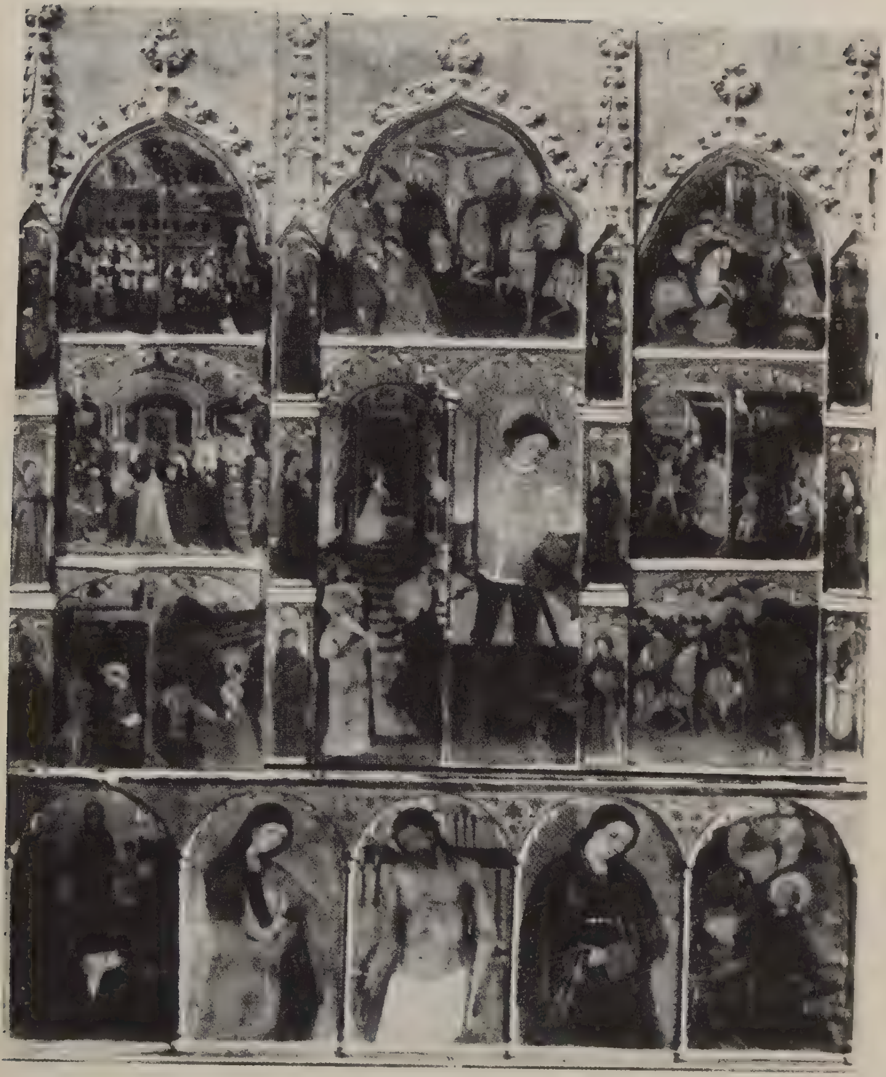

FIG. 187. SCHOOL OF THE SERRAS. RETABLE. S. FRANCISCO, VILLAFRANCA DEL PANADÉS

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Sitges altar but belongs to an eddy more remote from the Serras' activity. The pious honors are divided between the Virgin and St. George. In the central panel are depicted (separated by a column) her Presentation and the standing effigy of the warrior saint as a young knight of the period. The three compartments at either side contain scenes from their lives; the Crucifixion is in its usual place; the predella consists of five sections, the three central ones containing the dead Christ flanked by the sorrowing Mother and St. John, figures that are strangely larger than any of those in the principal part of the altarpiece, and the two outermost divisions exhibiting the levitation of the Magdalene or of St. Mary of Egypt and St. Francis's reception of the stigmata; and the uprights of the frame are decorated with the customary small forms of saints. The only piece of iconography that needs elucidation is found in the two unusual and charming scenes that unfold themselves to us within the limits of the topmost compartment at the left: the girl Mary enthroned in the temple, her abiding-place after the Presentation, surrounded by the seven virgins who are mentioned in the Apocryphal Gospels and in the *Golden Legend* as her companions, and, as is related also in these sources, ministered to by angels; and these seven maidens apparently displaying to Our Lady the parts of the veil that they have made for the temple in distinction from the purple section that is her own contribution.[1] The relationship, however distant, to the production of the Serra atelier in types, draperies, and general spirit requires no comment; it becomes closest in the figures on the frame, especially in the St. James at the top of the upright on the extreme left. The compositions for the Presentation and the Crucifixion are those traditional in the Serra workshop. The reason for discussing this retable immediately after the example at Sitges is that its types are somewhat similar. The women and girls, in particular, have the same rather round face, narrowing almost to a sharp point at the chin, and the same mode of combing the hair from the part in the middle in two oblique masses on both sides of the forehead. The Virgin of the

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[1] I do not believe with Sanpere that the scene depicts maidens presenting wedding gifts to the Virgin, nor can I follow Miss Richert's feminine imagination so far as to discern merely an episode of *genre*, in which the Virgin wins a prize for her needlework.

Presentation and the princess in the episode of St. George's fight with the dragon should be compared with the central Madonna of the Sitges retable or with the Salome and Herodias of the banquet scene. If the background of the central panel of the Sitges picture was originally gilt, the somewhat similar, though far from identical, linoleum-like pattern of the gold backgrounds at Villafranca would constitute an additional argument for connecting the two works. The painter of Villafranca is a fragile soul of no great artistic pretensions. His steeds, for instance, are more like hobby-horses even than those of the Serra brothers. But he has a pretty, little imagination that enjoys introducing such details from every-day life, in the international way, as the raised drawbridge of the castle in the background of the fight with the dragon, St. George's dapper blue coat trimmed with fur and brocaded with a charming *motif* in gold, the carefully delineated statues, already almost like those in Flemish painting of the fifteenth century, at the entrance to the chapel to which the Virgin climbs, or the whole delightful conception of her childhood in the temple. From the standpoint of more sterling aesthetic qualities, the best part of the retable is St. Francis's reception of the stigmata.

Into the baroque retable that conceals the frescoes in the second of the chapels in the south transept of the cathedral at La Seo de Urgel[1] there is set a curious work of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century distantly related to the tradition of the Serras, the painted wooden casket of Bernard de Traveseras, a Dominican inquisitor killed by the Albigensians in 1260.[2] On its outer side is depicted his body; on the end piece against which lie his feet, the scene of his preaching to the heretics; in the left space of the lid, the transportation of his soul to heaven in a red fabric upheld by two angels; and his escutcheon is represented both in the central and right spaces. Of the Catalan inscription on the lower ledge of the coffin there may now be read: "[Ber] nat de Traveseres (*sic*) Predicador Enquisabidor[3] dels Ereges" (preaching friar, inquisitor of the heretics). The execution is of a high order, resembling that of the loveliest Gothic illumination.

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[1] See vol. I, p. 148.

[2] Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'ordre de Frères Prêcheurs*, Paris, 1903, I, 500, where the name of the town of his provenience, Traveseras (in Catalan, Travessseres) near La Seo de Urgel, is wrongly spelt.

[3] Evidently a popular form, a fusion of *enquisidor* (colloquial for *inquisidor*) and *sabidor*.

In an antependium of the Virgin in the Vich Museum, which has the interest of illustrating the persistence of this painted type of Romanesque furniture even in the Italianate school of the fourteenth century, the influence of the Serras is so weak that one could easily be deluded into believing the inspiration Franco-Gothic. A close examination, however, divulges the fact that the author was endeavoring to paint in terms of the Serras, and one of the reasons that the result is so far removed from their actual achievements is that the picture cannot claim a position much above the level of the peasant art which, except in a few special cases, has been excluded from this book. The general structure is still that of a Romanesque frontal: the large central section is occupied by the enthroned Madonna and Child, behind whom two angels stretch a curtain; and in the four smaller lateral compartments are the Annunciation, Nativity, the visit of the Wise Men to Herod, and the Epiphany. Under the childish mind and hand of the painter, as he plays with the elements of the Serras' manner, their delicacy and ethereal sentiment evaporate into an excessive and stylized daintiness and into an unsophisticated sweetness. It is much the same phenomenon as happened in Mino da Fiesole's light and even frivolous treatment of the style to which Desiderio da Settignano gave a higher expression; but it cannot be denied that the very ingenuousness of Mino's and the Spanish craftsman's natures distills a certain charm. As Mino sometimes lapses into incorrectness, so the painter bestows upon the central Virgin an inordinately large and long left arm, holding three roses.

The execution and the random compositions of the altarpiece of St. Michael in the cathedral of Elne (now a part of France) are so far below even the usual standard of peasant painting that it would not have found a place in this book if Gudiol had not discussed it and ascribed it to the circle of the Serra brothers. To make matters worse, it has been daubed over by a later hand. Under these conditions the attempt to assign to a definite school is a precarious undertaking. I must confess that my first

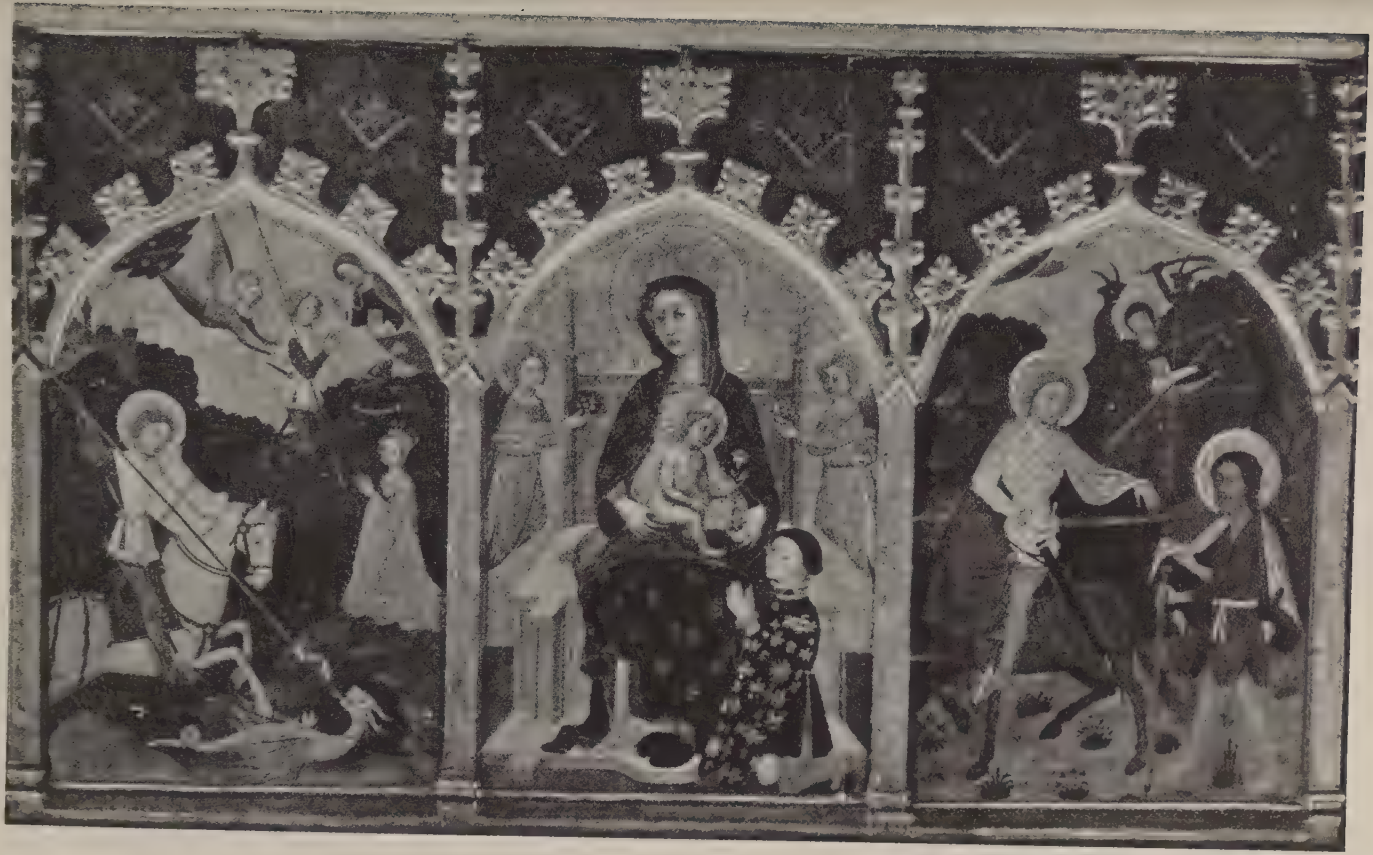

Fig. 188. SCHOOL OF JAIME SERRA (?). TRIPTYCH. FENWAY COURT, BOSTON

(Photo. Marr. Courtesy of Mrs. John Lowell Gardner)

impressions on the spot were that the retable had nothing to do with the Serras, but with long looking I gained from the figures of the angels the feeling, perhaps the false feeling, that the inept craftsman might once have seen, however little he had profited thereby, a painting or two by one of the Serras or their followers. In any case, it makes little difference to whose inspiration so negligible a work is attributed. The central effigy of St. Michael, surmounted, according to the norm, by the Crucifixion, is flanked by small scenes from his legend and raised upon a predella of which there remain only three pieces containing a nursing Madonna and two angels. At the sides of the retable are panels of a later period — either the middle or second half of the fifteenth century — one depicting St. Dominic and above him St. Margaret overcoming the dragon, and the other, St. Bernard and above him St. Eloy miraculously shoeing the horse. These pieces are only less rude than the St. Michael altar of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, although the episodes from the lives of Sts. Margaret and Eloy are pleasantly told and rather better rendered than the effigies of Sts. Dominic and Bernard.

If one could be certain that three panels of the Madonna, St. George, and St. Martin now forming a triptych in Fenway Court, Boston (Fig. 188), were Spanish and not Italian, they would have to be catalogued in the school of the Serras and in the following of Jaime rather than of Pedro. Whether they were originally parts of a larger altarpiece can no longer be determined. The Virgin and Child are enthroned in the central panel, the recipients of flowers from two hovering angels and of adoration from a knightly youth on his knees before them as donor. In the panel at the left are represented St. George's fight with the dragon and, on a hill in the landscape, the unusual scene of his instruction by Our Lord and encouragement by an angel. The right panel is quite as strange in its iconography, combining the episode of St. Martin and Christ disguised as the beggar in the foreground with the demoniac flogging of St. Anthony Abbot in the background. Around the starred lozenges on the setting of the frame are entwined heraldic *motifs* (which appear also on the donor's coat) of a crown of thorns containing the letter I or L. The forms in the triptych have the unsubstantiality that marks the style of the Serras in contrast to at least a suggestion of existence in three dimensions that even the most untutored Italian usually attains, and the drawing in places, as in the St. George enjoying a vision of Christ or in the legs of the beggar, betrays a provincialism like that of Spain. The types might have been created by someone familiar with the production of Jaime Serra, particularly the donor, the Saviour and angel assisting St. George, and the St. Anthony. The brocades of the Virgin's tunic and of St. Martin's doublet are of the general, though not exact, character employed in the Serra workshop; but the red and gold in the cloak of St. Martin, in the tunics of the angels beside the Madonna, and in the princess's mantle make a combination frequently encountered in Valencian art. Above all, the triptych is pervaded by a childlike simplicity of spirit that is one of the most appealing of the Serra qualities. The most persuasive argument, however, for a Catalan alignment is the singular parallelism of the composition for St. George's combat to a version in the Museo Arqueológico at Palma that comes from the town of Inca on the island of Majorca and also exhibits affiliations to Jaime Serra's manner. It is true that all European compositions of the scene are very much the same in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but in this instance the analogies are so close, as in the shape of the shield, the pennant at the end of the spear, the character of the dragon, and the little bunches of tiny trees, that it might almost be concluded that one painter knew the work of the other or that both were remembering a lost original, perhaps by Jaime Serra. The difference in types precludes a single authorship for the Boston and Majorca panels. The resemblance to the treatment of the theme in the Villafranca del Panadés retable is by no means so exact. Despite all the elements that point to Spain, the Catalogue of the Émile Gavet Collection,[1] where the triptych once hung, puts it down as north-Italian, and it does contain certain factors that are disconcerting for the critic who wishes to claim it for the Spanish school. The types are not quite those of the Serra atelier and might possibly embody an aspect of Italian provincialism at the end of the Trecento or very beginning of the Quattrocento. It is especially hard to place in Spain the nude Child when represented as enthroned with the Madonna. He is very rare, if not non-existent, in this theme even in the characteristic production of Italy during the Trecento, although the Italians very commonly depicted Him as half-clothed or covered only by a diaphanous veil; but one has only to turn over the pages of illustrations in the seventh volume of Van Marle's *Italian Schools of Painting* to realize how frequently He was represented as unclad in the dawning international style of northern Italy at the end of the fourteenth century and opening years of the fifteenth century. A few early international examples, however, may be found in Spain, for instance the Child with the Virgen de los Remedios at Seville. The difficulty in determining whether the triptych at Fenway Court is Catalan or Italian well illustrates the reason for describing the European artistic movement of this period as international.

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[1] Paris, 1897, p. 194.

CHAPTER XXIV

BORRASSÁ AND HIS SCHOOL

1. Borrassá and his Immediate Followers

The greatest disciple of Pedro Serra was Luis Borrassá, whose artistic reputation, like that of Cimabue, has experienced a curious cycle of fluctuations. By the beginning of the twentieth century it had come to be the fashion to ascribe to him not only many paintings that we now know or guess to be by Pedro Serra but also a host of other Spanish pictures of almost any date in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He became indeed a convenient peg upon which to hang well-nigh any primitive Spanish painting, not only of Catalonia but of all parts of the peninsula, and so acquired a prodigious fame. He was exalted to the position of the inaugurator of a new age, the peer of his contemporaries, Masolino and Masaccio, at Florence. Why his particular name was chosen for these purposes and why he was at that time almost the only early Spanish painter known to the artistically interested public, it is hard to see. The reason could scarcely have been the publication in 1906 of Sanpere's book on the Catalan painters of the Quattrocento, which, although it is very generous in its ascriptions to Borrassá and assigns to him an undue significance, could not have had a wide international circulation. Next, as in the case of Cimabue and Homer, the destructive forces of modern criticism had their turn, so stripping him of false attributions that he sank to a figure of quite secondary importance. In the last few years, however, the pendulum of criticism has begun to swing back to his favor, discovering for him two more documented paintings, the retables of Guardiola and Tarrasa, unearthing further mention of him in the old archives, and thus permitting a well-rounded reconstruction of his artistic personality. The work of defamation had certainly gone too far. In certain senses he can be said to have achieved progress beyond Pedro Serra. With him, the international style develops to a definite expression.

He also models more firmly in three dimensions, with more light and shade; he is somewhat more animated, although his interest in movement is not carried to the point of violating the serene tradition of religious art in Catalonia; and, above all, the delicacy of the Serras gives way somewhat in him to greater breadth and monumentality. He established himself at Barcelona at least by 1388, but he probably belonged to a family of artists of Gerona and was perhaps the son of a painter of that city named Guillermo. If a document of 1380 really refers to our Luis Borrassá, he appears first at Gerona in that year, in the humble guise of a repairer of glass-windows, though denominated in the writing as a painter. From that time on, the archives yield constant mention of him as an artist of popularity and renown. To the long and full list of documentary references in Gudiol's recent work on the master may be added the item published in Bassegoda's book[1] on the church of Sta. María del Mar at Barcelona, recording Borrassá's signature as a witness, with other parishioners, to an ecclesiastical sentence of the year 1413, which settled certain difficulties between the archdeacon of the church and its clergy. He is last noticed in 1424.

The documentation is virtually perfect for the retable (from which only the predella is lacking) in the Soler y March Collection, Barcelona (Fig. 189), consecrated to the life of the Saviour. It comes from the chapel of the castle of Guardiola (just southwest of Manresa), and a contract of 1404 is preserved in which Borrassá agrees to paint for the parish church of the town of Guardiola, S. Salvador, an altarpiece of the same form, dimensions, and subjects. The church (of which now only the foundations remain) was abandoned at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and it was probably at this time that the picture was transferred to the castle chapel. The tenacity of tradition is shown by the retention, for the central panel, of the old Romanesque theme of the Pantocrator enthroned in a mandorla and framed by the signs of the Evangelists; at the sides are the Transfiguration, Last Supper, Betrayal, and Resurrection, and, in its normal position at the top, the Crucifixion, which, however, is almost wholly a modern restoration. The tutelage with Pedro Serra and in the Sienese tradition

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[1] I, 227, and II, 495 ff.

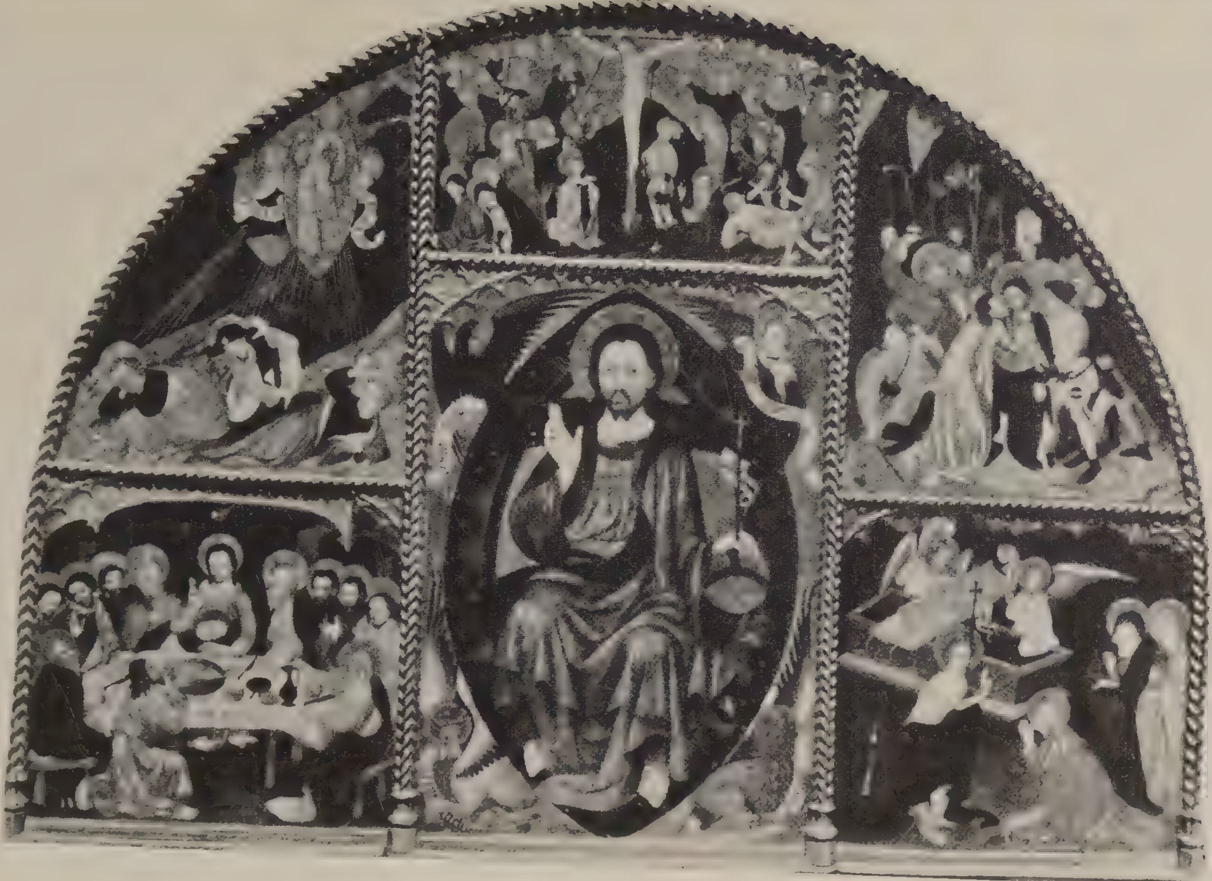

FIG. 189. BORRASSÁ. RETABLE OF GUARDIOLA. SOLER Y MARCH COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

is apparent at every point. The types are Pedro's: for instance, the head of Christ throughout the retable is a development from the precedent set by Pedro for the figure of the Saviour, and the St. John of the Transfiguration is almost a repetition, in posture as well as in features, of the St. John in Pedro's treatment of the same theme at Manresa. Yet Pedro's style is obviously modified in that the bodies, heads, and draperies are often less delicate, more broadly conceived and executed, painted with somewhat more virile feeling and with greater monumentality; and chiaroscuro is employed to a slightly greater extent in order to achieve a certain amount of sculptural relief and solidity. Borrassá's highest potentialities in this phase of his art are incorporated in the central Christ, a truly dignified and solemn form, majestically draped, and free from the lighter and more volatile traits which he inherited from the Serras and which he now and then bestowed upon other figures. The general tonality of color has become more harmonious. Our Lord is clad in a purplish red mantle, as in the works of the related Master of Albatárrech, and the whole retable exhibits the predominance of vibrations of different reds which is characteristic of Borrassá. Even more palpably than we find through the greater part of his master's career, he endeavored to improve his style by a study of Sienese models, perhaps the forms at Avignon. The types often again strangely anticipate those of Sano di Pietro. The hair of St. Matthew's angel and of St. John in the Last Supper frames their countenances in a curled row after a fashion which was an old constituent of Sienese painting, which may be found also in Pedro Serra and his *entourage*, but which assumes in Borrassá a form peculiarly like that adopted by Sano. The draperies, through either Sienese or French Gothic influence, fall into more ample undulations than with Pedro Serra.

Borrassá's dependence upon Sienese models is perhaps more intimate than he could have obtained merely through his membership in the international school; in any case, the characteristics of this school appear in him maturely developed, though less so in the Guardiola retable than when later in his life the movement had in general crystallized into a more definite expression. International *genre* puts in its appearance at Guardiola in the occasional resort to contemporary costume and in the obvious desire for unsightly caricature in the Judas of the Last Supper, who, clad in the traditional yellow of envy or avarice, is debased into an ugly exaggeration of the Hebrew type. A bit of *genre* of a local character is the representation of St. James, even in the Transfiguration, as the Spanish Santiago with pilgrim's hat accented by a shell. If the inscriptions on scrolls carried by the two angels in the Resurrection are meant to take the place of the actual words uttered by the corresponding personages in the mystery-plays, then the Guardiola retable provides another instance of the constant phenomenon of the indebtedness of international artists to the sacred drama. The compositions, however, have less of the piecemeal character of internationalism and are generally compact.

As so frequently in Catalan retables, parts of the lateral sections are somewhat less carefully executed than the central panel and justify the suspicion of the intervention of pupils. For instance, the postures of the three Apostles, prostrate with consternation, in the Transfiguration, are lamely rendered, although one should mete out praise to the mere interest in more complicated movement than is attempted by Pedro Serra in the same theme. The feet of Christ that emerge from under the table in the Last Supper are directed towards the right with an impossible parallelism. In the same scene there are faults in the perspective of the room which acts as setting and which is one of those chambers so characteristic of the backgrounds of the Serras and their followers. Likewise, according to the custom of Borrassá and his disciples, the delineation of all hands and feet is slurred over; one of the most frequent defects of the feet is that they are too large. The central Christ has been the object of much more painstaking drawing even in the depicting of the extremities and especially in the beautifully disposed and gently flowing fullness of the draperies.

The retable of St. Peter from S. Pedro, Tarrasa, the existing fragments of which are now gathered in the rector's house, has been recently documented as a work of Borrassá, probably of the year 1411.[1] The parts preserved are: a Pantocrator (Fig. 190); three of the four Evangelists (the St. John having been lost) who were perhaps grouped with the Saviour in the same way as at Guardiola; eight scenes from the life of St. Peter, including an enthronement as pope, worshipped by representatives of the ecclesiastical order on either side of him and by the spokesmen of the lay order beneath; and a Crucifixion that surely once occupied the central pinnacle of the altarpiece. Borrassá must have become an adept in representing the life of St. Peter, for the archives reveal him as often commissioned to paint this theme. Even if it were not for the documentation of the Tarrasa panels, the attribution to Borrassá would be

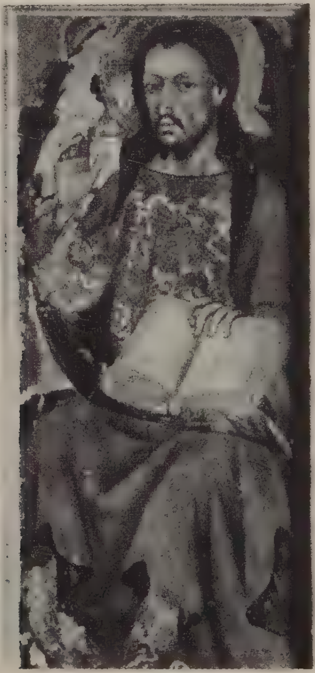

FIG. 190. BORRASSÁ. SAVIOUR, SECTION OF RETABLE OF ST. PETER. RECTOR'S HOUSE, TARRASA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

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[1] Only the report of the discovery of the document, and not the document itself, has as yet been published: see J. Gudiol, *Borrassá*, 59, note. It is Soler y March (*Gaseta de les arts*, II, 1925, no. 19, p. 3) who gives the date as communicated to him from the Archive of the Notarial Protocols of Barcelona.

absolutely certified by the identity of types, draperies, and general style with the well authenticated retables of Guardiola and of St. Clara at Vich. The analogy extends even to such details as the reddish mantle of the Pantocrator, as at Guardiola, over a brocaded tunic. Gudiol points out that the pattern of this brocade, which consists of winged dragons and occurs also on the coverlet of the bed in St. Peter's resuscitation of a dead person,[1] is repeated in the hanging behind the enthroned St. Francis at Vich. The composition, at Tarrasa, of St. Peter's miracle of resuscitation is similar to the raising of Tabitha in the Schiff Collection, Pisa, ascribed to Pedro Serra. In the delivery of St. Peter from prison, Borrassá manages to retain much of the delightfully gentle and earnest spirit with which the Serra brothers enhance sacred narrative. Yet the artist has achieved some progress within the seven years that had elapsed since the creation of the Guardiola piece, particularly in the direction of more ambitious attempts, greater freedom, further animation, and firmer characterization. The contrast in these respects is brought into clearest relief by a comparison of the Pantocrator with the same figure in the Guardiola retable. He now even turns from His frontal position to the side. The Gospels are no longer merely suggested by the signs but are represented by the Evangelists themselves seated and holding their pens, while the symbols hover in the air. They are made into three distinct personages, carefully differentiated one from the other. They are rugged Gothic figures, and the central Christ is more virile and intense than at Guardiola. In all these forms, though the extremities are still negligently drawn, light and shade are more extensively employed in modelling. According to the Spanish tendency to throw a picture into a formal design, the enthronement of St. Peter observes a rigid symmetry, and in the Crucifixion the balance, on either side of the cross, of group with group and horse with horse is continued from the Serra tradition. The martyrdom of St. Peter betrays Borrassá's frequent fault of so crowding his compositions that individual figures and actions are obscured in the throng and do not obtain sufficient relief. He and his circle seldom make anything more of the nude, as here in the Crucifixion, than a mere formal absence of clothes, and it is their wont to draw the legs of the Crucified as if they were two sticks joined and dwindling to a point. The tiling of the floor in the enthronement of St. Peter embodies an utter but perfectly frank disregard of perspective that is highly characteristic of the period and is the norm in Borrassá's production. The Tarrasa retable also reveals him growing less Sienese and more French, that is, more international in manner. The gay contemporary costumes of France loom more prominent in the compositions. The casting of lots, in the Crucifixion, has become a regular brawl from the low life of the fifteenth century, incorporating the addiction of late Gothic painting and sculpture to caricature, gauntness of physique, and exaggeration of excited movement.

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[1] Gudiol suggests that the presence of another Apostle in this scene, who looks like the customary representation of St. Paul, demonstrates the episode not to be the raising of Tabitha but of the dead man upon whom the incantations of Simon Magus had failed. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that another panel from the story of Simon Magus is preserved at Tarrasa, in the St. Peter series by Borrassá, his ineffectual attempt at flying. It is to be observed that in the Schiff picture St. Peter is accompanied by another Apostle; but since this Apostle does not resemble the effigies of St. Paul and since the resuscitated person wears a halo, the scene there is probably the raising of Tabitha.

The altarpiece of the convent of Sta. Clara at Vich, the parts of which are now in the Museum of the town, is generally accepted as the documented *magnum opus* of Borrassá, but the caution should be given at once that the documentation is not absolutely perfect, since the paper in question, his receipt of 1415 for payment for a retable done by him in the convent, does not mention the subjects of the painting and might conceivably refer to some other work than that in the Museum. The general style, however, is identical with that of the Guardiola and Tarrasa altarpieces, and the solid documentation of the former work therefore imposes the belief that the Vich retable is also an authentic production of Borrassá. The existence of the three altarpieces in a similar and a distinguished style would, of itself, create the presumption of a masterly painter living at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the cumulative evidence of the complete or partial documentation of these works confirms the attribution of all of them to the outstanding name of the period, Borrassá. Inasmuch as the honors were divided among several holy personages, the arrangement of the Sta. Clara altarpiece, which can be reconstructed in the mind from the dismantled component parts, was rather exceptional, without any large and clearly marked central panel. Some of the saints and scenes chosen for representation are likewise of rare occurrence. Of the three middle divisions, one above another,

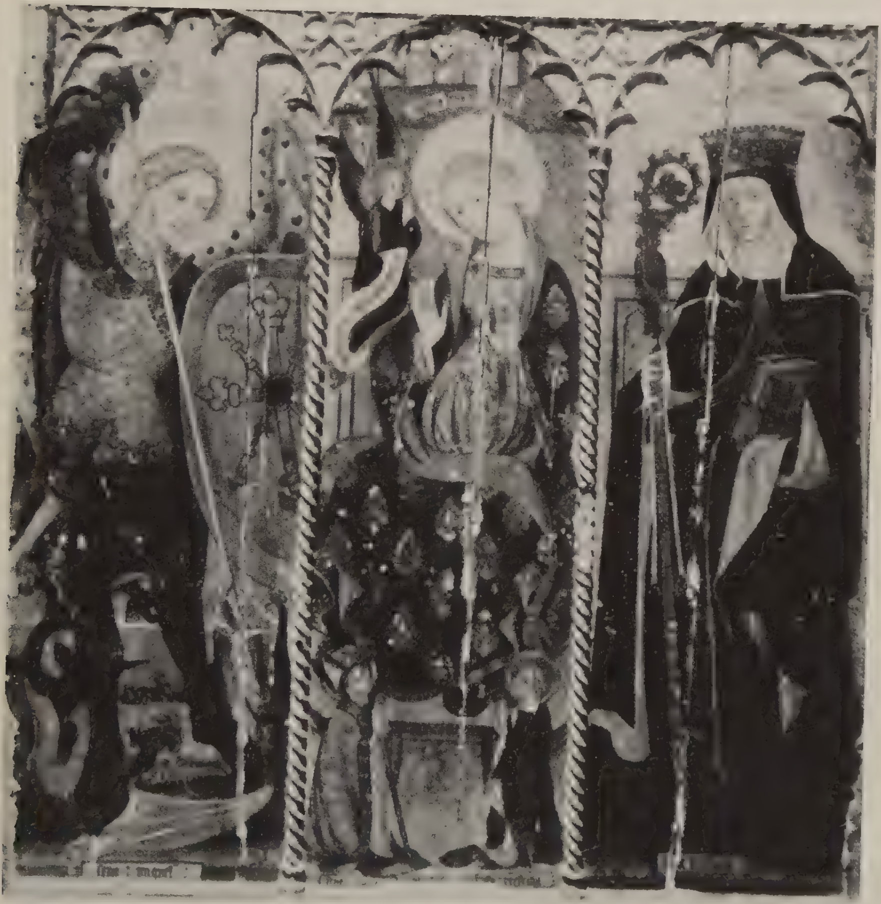

Fig. 191. BORRASSÁ. PRINCIPAL PANEL OF RETABLE OF STA. CLARA. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

the lowest, slightly bigger than any of the rest of the compartments, may be taken as the most important section and as singling out for devotion the Virgin, although she occupies only a central arch between two other arches of equal expanse, dedicated to St. Michael and St. Clara (Fig. 191). Depicted as

Our Lady of Hope, she is accompanied by a diminutive Gabriel, since the feast of her Expectation on December 18 was originally a transferred commemoration of the Annunciation. She is emphasized by the presence of Sts. Cyprian and Christina[1] at the foot of her throne, treated, with anomalous iconography, as small worshippers. This whole section was flanked by two others, somewhat lower but subdivided in the same way into three arches, each sheltering the effigy of a standing saint. The positions of prominence in these panels, at the right and left of the central section which contains the Virgin of the Annunciation, are assigned to Sts. Simon and Jude, who thus become the second objects of honor in the altarpiece. Two of the upper narrative panels, moreover, are devoted to their story: the compartment above Jude depicts their martyrdom, and in the pinnacle on the opposite side (the left) appears an unusual scene, the two Apostles presenting to Abgar, king of Edessa, the miraculous portrait of Christ and a letter from Him (Fig. 192). The third recipient of honor, as was to be expected in a Franciscan institution, is St. Francis of Assisi. In the panel which, at the centre, was above the compartment of the Virgin, he is depicted dictating his rule to representatives of the three Franciscan Orders, among whom kneels the patroness of the convent, St. Clara; and it has already been seen that she enjoys the additional distinction of a repetition beside Our Lady below. The other Mendicant Order, the Dominican, was often introduced into Franciscan pictures, and in this instance it receives particular stress through the appearance of St. Dominic in the section with St. Jude, of St. Peter Martyr in the section with St. Simon, and through the reservation of the pinnacle at the right for the miracle of St. Dominic's rescue of shipwrecked mariners on the Rhone. The other saint in the section with Jude is Perpetua, and in the section with Simon, Martha. The central pinnacle was adorned with the customary theme of the Crucifixion, so that only the compartment above the section with St.

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[1] Miss King suggests to me that these two saints are the martyred companions, Cyprian and Justina of Nicomedia. The masculine saint would thus not be the great Cyprian of Carthage, and it is perhaps possible to wrench the letters under the feminine saint to read "Iustina" instead of "Cristina." If Miss King's theory is correct, it would unite with the presence of the story of Sts. Simon and Jude to indicate oriental influence in the retable.

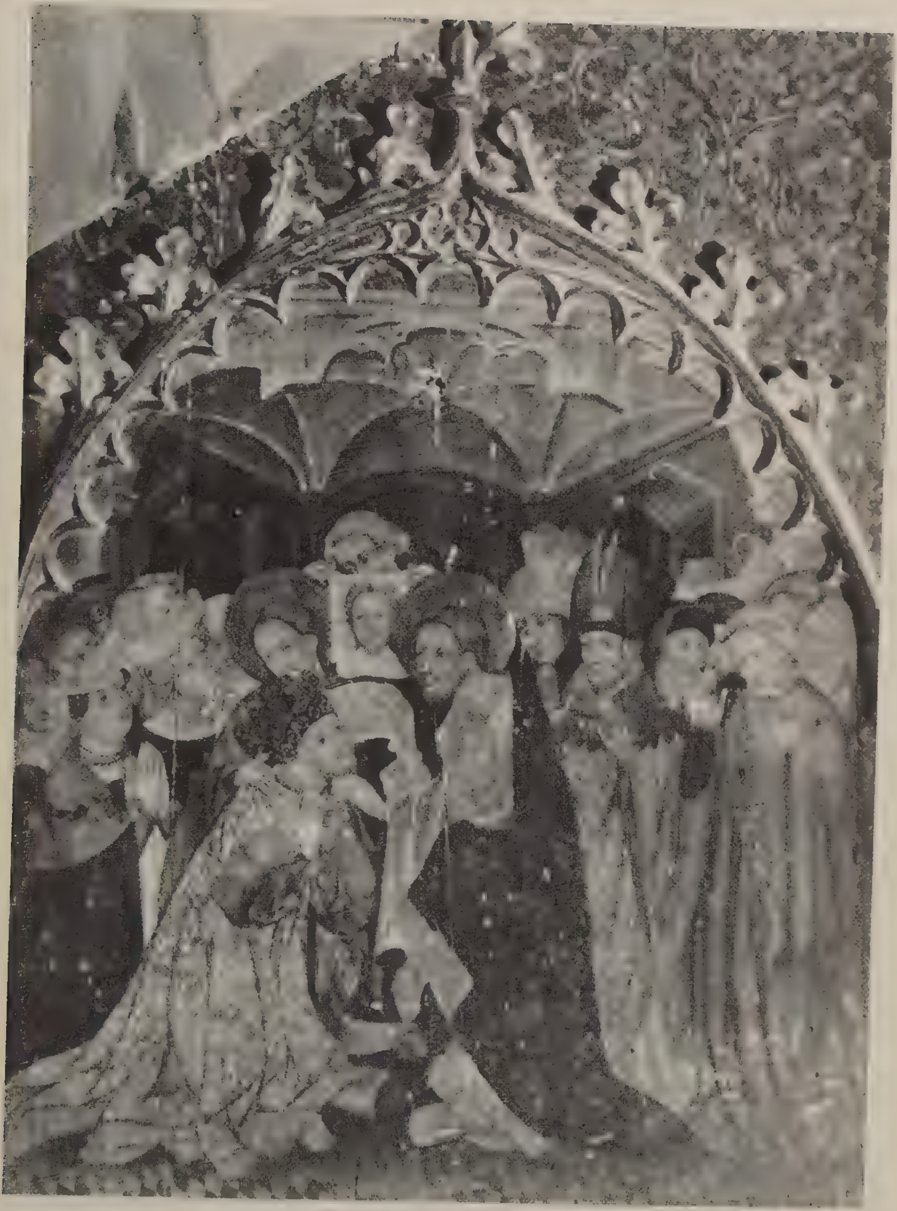

Fig. 192. BORRASSÁ. PRESENTATION OF VERONICA TO ABGAR, SECTION OF RETABLE OF STA. CLARA. MUSEUM, VICH

(*Photo. Arxiu Mas*)

Simon remains to be accounted for, and this, for some unknown reason, displays the Massacre of the Innocents. In the predella are ensconced ten half-lengths of other holy personages under as many arches, including two other Franciscan saints, Ives and Delphine of the Third Order.[1]

The traces of the tutelage with Pedro Serra are by no means as yet obliterated: for instance, the St. Jude has a kind of face that recurs again and again in the Apostles of Pedro's Pentecost at Manresa. Borrassá's broadening and strengthening of his master's manner may be illustrated by any of the standing saints in full-length, except the St. Michael, but especially by the really impressive figures of Sts. Clara, Perpetua, Simon, and Peter Martyr, whose robes exhibit some modelling in chiaroscuro and who are endowed with as much majesty as Borrassá's gentle nature was capable of achieving. The Sienese memories emerge particularly when he lapses into his phase of less round modelling, as in the St. Michael, whose coiffure is of the Sano di Pietro fashion; but on the Sts. George and Matthias of the predella the hair is thrown, over the whole head, into a mass of fluffy curls slightly conventionalized for decorative effect, according to a kind of coiffure that manifests itself most delightfully in Sienese art in Simone Martini, as in the St. Joseph and young Christ of the Holy Family at Liverpool. A weird light and shade, as in the Massacre of the Innocents, plays over the Sienese-shaped rocks in a manner that foretells Sassetta; the latter's general stylization of setting, indeed, is distinctly suggested by the river Rhone, the vessel, and the whole landscape in the panel of St. Dominic saving the shipwrecked. The somewhat greater richness of tonality of color throughout the altarpiece, as compared with the Sienese prototypes, is in harmony with Spanish taste.

Borrassá has now become more thoroughly imbued with the principles of the international movement, although not so much in its phase of gauntness and partial caricature which had interested him at Tarrasa. The cult of splendor is embodied in the picturesque wings and brilliant armor of the St. Michael, in the conspicuousness of the brocades of the Virgin's throne, tunic, and mantle, and in the richness of accoutrement in the scene of the two Apostles' visit to the king of Edessa. The brocades are now and again touched with gold. The love of the pretty and of its meticulous elaboration appears in such details as the exquisitely rendered transparent veil of the Virgin. The diminutive and delicate Gabriel, properly for the international style, suggests irresistibly the manner of French Gothic illumination. International naturalism, consisting in a resort to elements from contemporary life, declares itself in all the narrative panels, particularly in the episode of Christ's portrait, where the fashionable costumes of the women and the setting of a Gothic hall, with its scrupulously worked out detail, are peculiarly typical. The scenes are more crowded than at Tarrasa, and Miss Richert points out the resulting loss of clear definition of action in the Crucifixion. But Borrassá welds the many figures together into compact groups that constitute solid masses in the symmetrical arrangements that the Spaniards affected, and he thus achieves a monumentality of formal composition corresponding to the monumentality of his single standing saints. Good examples are the compartments depicting the Crucifixion, St. Francis delivering his rule, and the martyrdom of Sts. Simon and Jude. In the episode of the portrait, the central group is built up into a firm pyramid and surrounded by the spectators logically arranged in a semicircle.

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[1] A plan and long description of the retable will be found in Gudiol's book, 43 ff.

A few other works, though not documented, bear so strong an impress of Borrassá's style that they must have been executed by him or by close and gifted followers. The one that seems most certainly his own, in a private collection at Gerona, is a mere fragment consisting in the upper piece of a compartment and preserving little more than the heads of a scene in which St. Dominic was depicted as confuting heretics.[1] Not only are the types of the three disputants convincing examples of Borrassá's style, but so much of the St. Dominic as is extant is a literal reproduction of the same figure in the miracle of the shipwreck in the Sta. Clara altar. In regard to attributing to his own brush the piece of a predella in the Vich Museum from the church of Sta. María at Seva, south of that city, exhibiting busts of Our Lord, St. Michael, and a warrior saint, one should perhaps be slightly less dogmatic. The countenances are just a shade smoother, less incisive, and less extensively modelled. Yet the similarity to the figures of the Sta. Clara predella is very striking, and the Christ finds His well-nigh absolute analogue in the Pantocrator of Tarrasa. The painter in question may well have been an assistant of Borrassá when the latter, as head of the shop, was executing the major parts of the retable, which have now been lost, or the possibility is not to be excluded that these very figures were done by Borrassá himself. Gudiol aptly points out that the unusual insertion of the blessing Christ in the predella was duplicated in a non-extant predella of a lost altarpiece for the town of Gironella, for which the contract with Borrassá is preserved. Here, as in the fragment at Vich, there were to be two saints in two other compartments; and the word *meum* that remains on the scroll of the Saviour at Vich probably indicates that, as at Gironella, He held the inscription *Hoc est corpus meum*, and that He was conceived as bestowing His benediction upon the tabernacle of the Sacrament in the centre.

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[1] This picture, which I have not seen, is discussed and well illustrated in Gudiol's book.

The relics of a retable of St. Andrew from the church of St. Andrew at Gurb, just north of Vich, now also in the Museum of the town, cannot be ascribed to Borrassá himself with quite the same confidence as the other members of this group of pictures, and yet the parallelism to the documented works is in many respects so exact that such an attribution is by no means audacious. As corroborating evidence Gudiol brings out the fact that Gurb was the parish of the jurist, Bartolomé de Soler, who ordered the preserved retable of Sta. Clara at Vich and the lost retable of the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the new cloister of the cathedral of that city. The first panel represents the futile attempt to burn the house in which a young neophyte, against his parents' will, was being instructed by St. Andrew (Fig. 193). In the second, fragmentary panel, the saint raises to life the man slain by the seven canine devils. The man is of a type unmistakably characteristic of Borrassá; the demons are painted almost with the grotesquerie of Jerome Bosch. In the third compartment, which shows St. Andrew dragged by a horse, the universality of the international style is exhibited by the striking analogy of the mounted youth, who faces us in the red and gold finery of the latest French fashion, to the dandies who absorb far too much attention at the centre of Masolino's fresco of the raising of Tabitha. The fourth panel, which embodies the saint's crucifixion, contains a group of kneeling Christians very like the figures who fill in the composition of King Abgar with the veronica of Christ, especially in the contemporary costume of the women; the proficient drawing of Andrew's head, which Miss Richert singles out for praise, perhaps bespeaks the hand of the master. The fifth fragment, a well preserved half-length of St. Anthony Abbot very similar to the documented effigies of holy personages by Borrassá, is ingeniously supposed by Gudiol, because of the larger size of the figure, to have decorated one of the doors at the side of the altar, which were often painted in Spain by the same artist who did the retable.

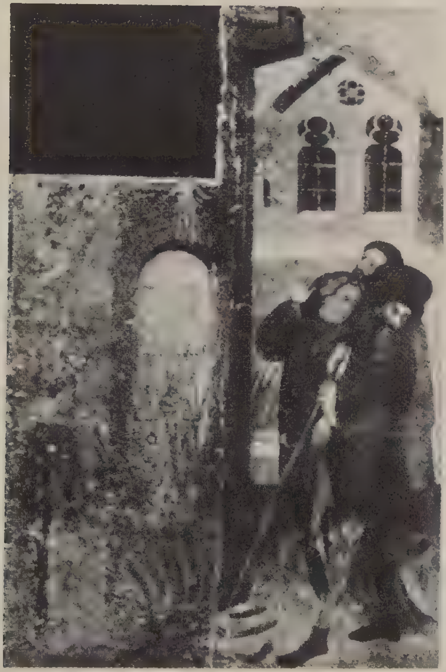

Fig. 193. BORRASSÁ (?). MIRACLE OF ST. ANDREW, SECTION OF RETABLE OF GURB. MUSEUM, VICH

(From "Lluís Borrassà" by J. Gudiol)

The members of the present group of works which have been ascribed to Borrassá by some critics and which include the pictures just discussed are arranged in order of the likelihood of correctness in the attribution. It therefore follows that I am less inclined to claim for his own hand the altarpiece of St. John Baptist in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs at Paris. The stylistic parallelism is so exact that I should not absolutely scout the possibility that the work issued from his atelier and was executed in large part by him; but it is safer to assign it to a remarkably close follower. The central effigy of the saint is flanked by six scenes from his life, is surmounted by the Crucifixion, and rests upon a predella containing, in the middle, half-lengths of the Pietà and the Virgin and St. John and at the sides four other saints. The ubiquitous gold backgrounds are incised with a foliate pattern. The analogies to the Sta. Clara altarpiece are too evident to demand a detailed discussion. The scene of the presentation of St. John's head by Salome (Fig. 194), for instance, luxuriates in all the taste for contemporary magnificence of dress that we have observed in the panel of the king of Edessa. In the delightful rendering of the Visitation, wherein the girlhood of the Virgin is more definitely differentiated from the age of St. Elizabeth than was usual in the iconography of this theme, St. Mary's head is covered with the same delicate and transparent veil as in the Annunciation of the Sta. Clara retable. The curious but accidental resemblance to the style of Don Lorenzo Monaco revealed in this compartment once again demonstrates that the manner in which the artist was working was international. The proneness of international artists to introduce the accessories of every-day life shows itself in the articles of food given to St. Elizabeth after her delivery and in the shears, inkwell, and knife on the table at which St. Zacharias writes the name of his son. A diverting bit of *genre*, which we have already observed in the retable at Sitges, is the camel's head pendant from the garment of St. John in the central panel and in the compartment of his preaching, so that the spectator may make no mistake about the animal out of the skin of which his ascetic garb is made. The hair on his head, here and in the scene of his martyrdom, projects in the rhythmic series of decorative locks that occurs in other works which came

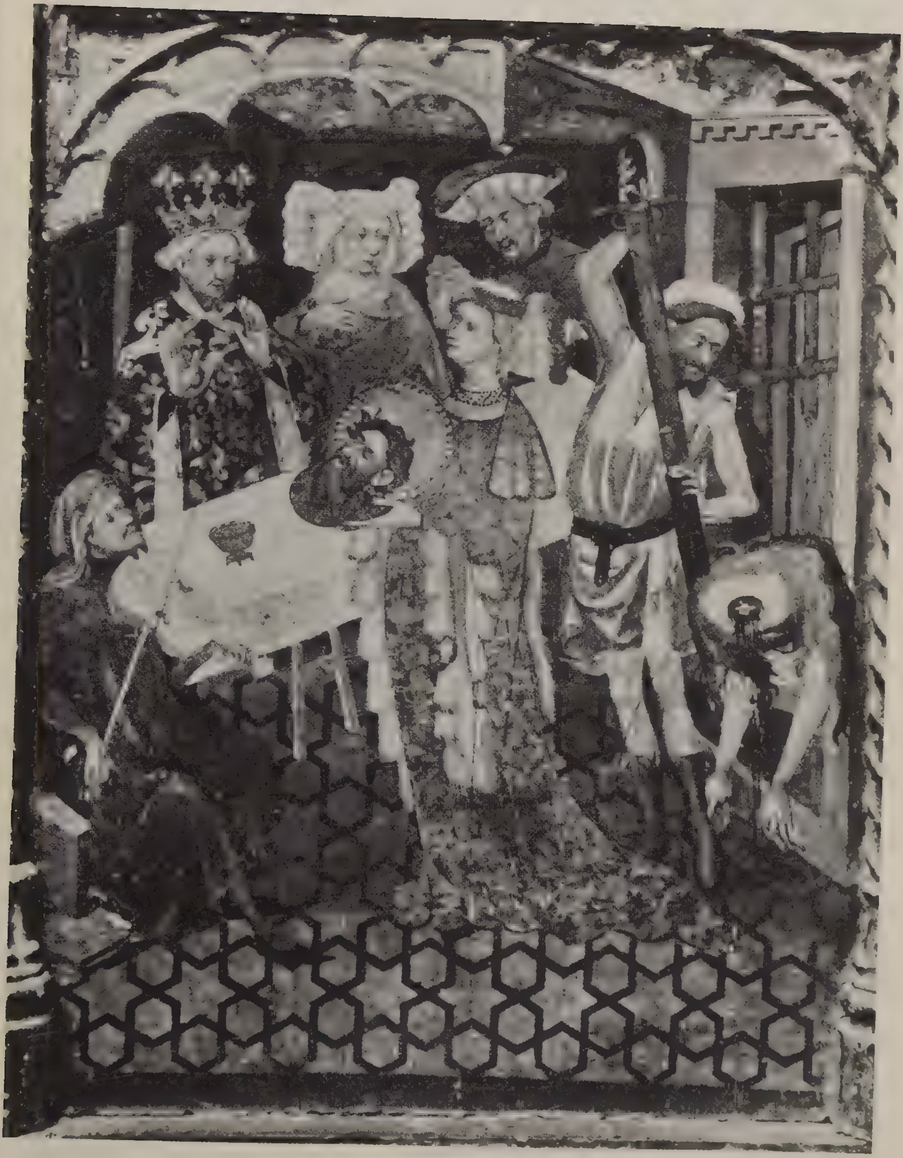

Fig. 194. BORRASSÁ (?). DECAPITATION OF BAPTIST, SECTION OF RETABLE. MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS, PARIS

(Photo. Giraudon)

out of the school of the Serras. Although light and shade are somewhat more extensively introduced for modelling and although the central figure of the gaunt Precursor is conceived with considerable virility, yet the nudes of the Baptism and Crucifixion are executed in the usual desultory fashion. The legs of these nudes, for instance, as in Borrassá's Crucifixions at Tarrasa and Vich, are merely the frailest stilts. The type of the central St. John is perhaps somewhat more strongly defined as Spanish, and the new iconographical element in the Crucifixion, the Magdalene casting herself forward in a passion of grief, may be interpreted as an expression of indigenous religious fervor. Borrassá's addiction to crowded compositions is here absent. The color shows the customary Spanish enrichment of Sienese tonality, but there is a greater preponderance of blue than Borrassá ordinarily gives us.

Of the works that belong definitely to the school of Borrassá rather than to the master himself, the retable of St. Michael in the church at Cruilles (near Gerona) is still a rather close imitation of his style (Fig. 195). The central figures of the archangel and the dragon are lifted bodily from the corresponding effigies in the Sta. Clara altarpiece; but the curls with which Borrassá frames St. Michael's face now flutter in the air, and the mantle also partakes of the general greater agitation. Even the design on the shield is the same. The Crucifixion above is hardly distinguishable from Borrassá's rendering of the subject; the six flanking scenes from the legend of St. Michael contain many types that are studied from the great master's models; and the four large half-lengths of Sts. Catherine, John the Baptist, Santiago, and Margaret that are preserved in the predella prove conclusively that the Sta. Clara retable must have been carefully examined by the painter. The gold backgrounds are diapered with a foliate pattern, except in the Crucifixion where it gives way to a *motif* of three dots. The emphasis upon blue in the tonality recalls the altar of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs at Paris. The small retable of the Baptist from Cabrera de Mataró, north of Barcelona, now in the Diocesan Museum of the city (Fig. 196), though not created so immediately in the *entourage* of Borrassá, is yet the work of a man who was thoroughly subject to his influence. The St. John in the central

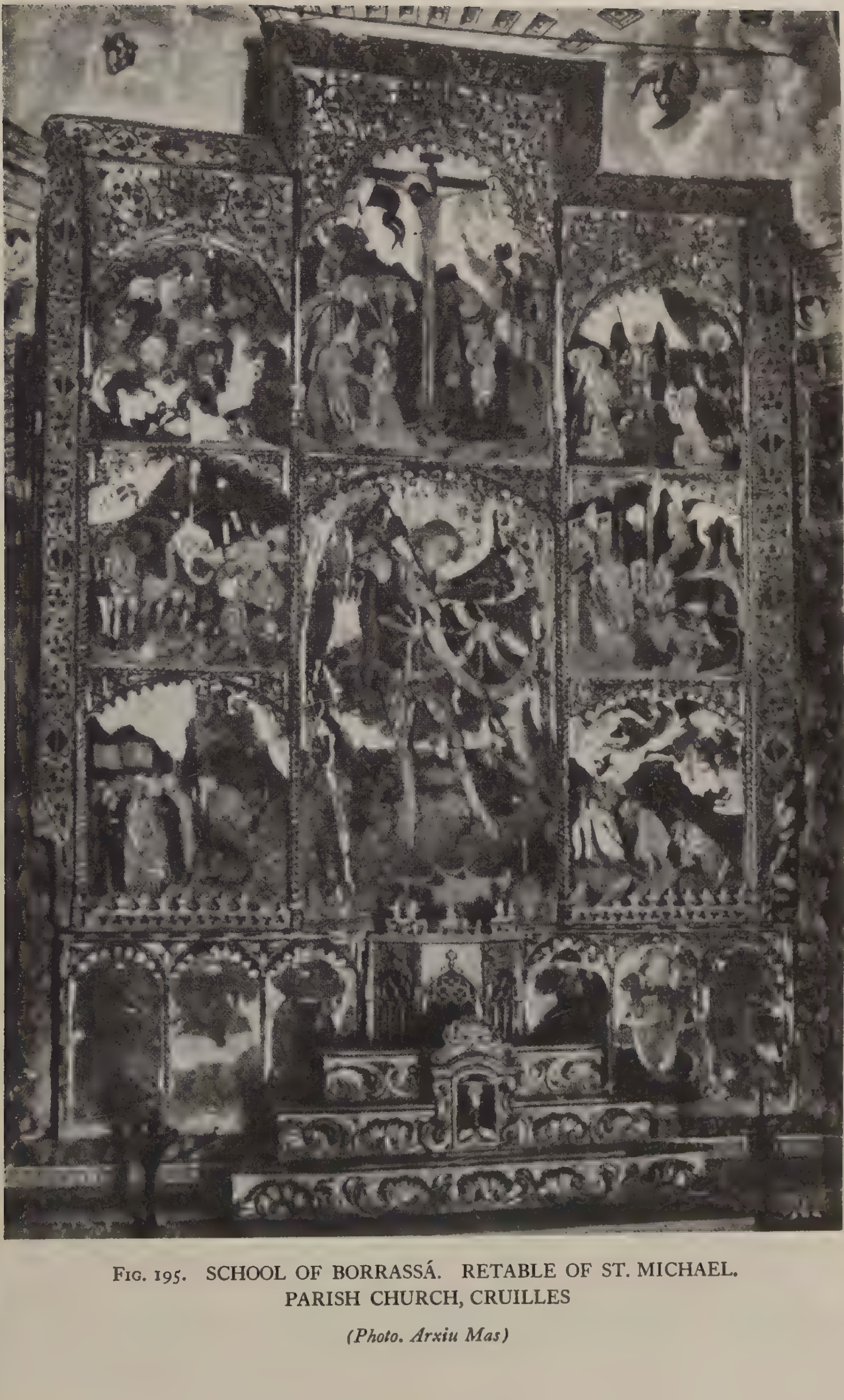

Fig. 195. SCHOOL OF BORRASSÁ. RETABLE OF ST. MICHAEL.
PARISH CHURCH, CRUILLES

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

panel, here seated in the desert, is framed at the sides by four scenes from his life and at the top by the Crucifixion. The gold of the backgrounds is again incised with a design of leaves. The compositions of St. John's birth, his baptism of Christ, and the presentation of his head by Salome are so like those of the

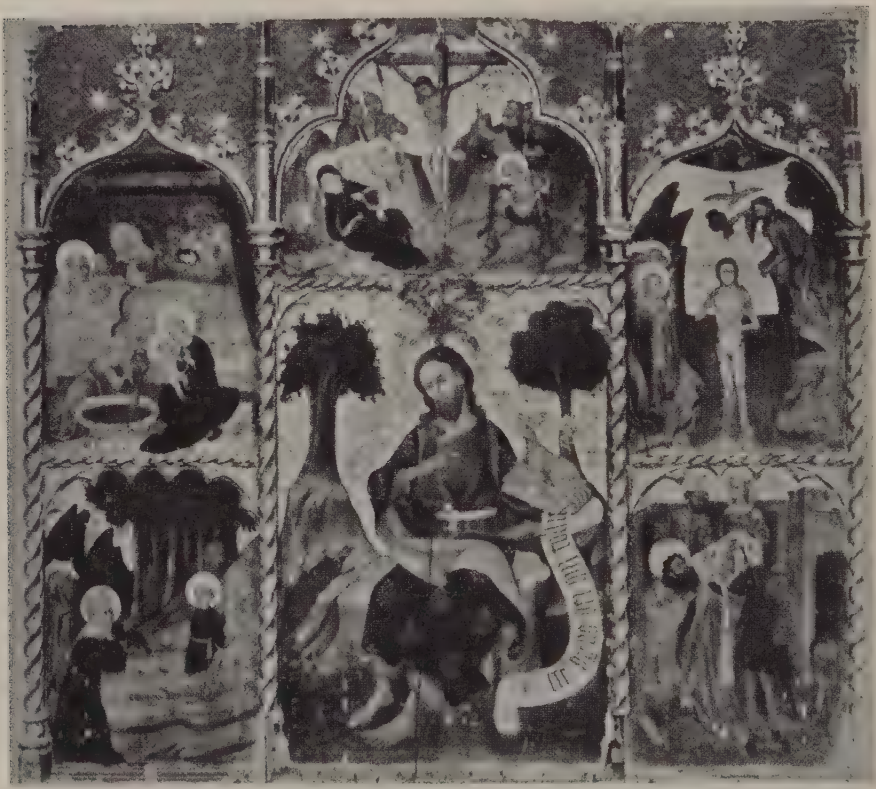

Fig. 196. SCHOOL OF BORRASSÁ. RETABLE OF BAPTIST. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Paris altarpiece that, if we refuse to ascribe the latter to Borrassá, we are bound to suppose that the authors of both pictures were working from a lost model of the master. As in the Paris picture, the compositions are limited to a few personages, but the Cabrera painter is of a blander nature than the artist of the retable in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, who here and there created rather harsh types. One needs only to compare the two central St. Johns to realize the difference. He is nicer in his drawing and in his types and closer to the manner of illumination than Borrassá himself. In accord with this exquisite technique, a spiritual delicacy pervades his forms and his compositions of the birth and of the child St. John bidding his parents farewell as he goes forth into the desert. The latter scene, indeed, has much of the gentle charm with which Andrea Pisano, on the Florentine door, invests the similar representation of the youthful prophet in the wilds. The author of the Cabrera retable was, withal, an artist of no mean parts. Certainly no rival of his ever patterned trees against the gold backgrounds more prettily.

2. The Master of the Solsona Last Supper

Certain painters developed their styles on the precedents of Pedro Serra apart from the circle of Borrassá, yet not without undergoing to a measure his influence. In this group should be included the talented master who painted the large Last Supper in the Museum of Solsona, reported to have come from the church of Sta. Cristina(?) at Linya, near Navés, just east of Solsona, but perhaps having graced, before its sojourn at Linya, some more important ecclesiastical edifice (Fig. 197). He stands at the head of a strangely grim subdivision of Catalan painting, represented by a number of extant examples in the western part of the province. Mayer ascribes the Last Supper to the Germanizing tendency in the school of Valencia, and there are certain elements that would seem at first to justify this view, such as the sternness and ruggedness of the Apostles and the lighter tonality. But it does not seem possible to explain the types of Christ and especially St. John or even of the other Apostles without the premise of an interest in the works of Borrassá, and the analogies to Valencian painting are the result of a similar but independent development. The presence of a Valencian picture in a remote part of Catalonia would itself be an anomaly. The forbidding severity of the Apostles and the breadth of their draperies may be due, not to a Teutonic strain, but to contact with Flemish or Burgundian sculpture, a dependence upon which may be discerned in Spanish carving of the period. The painter appears to be a contemporary of Borrassá trained probably under the Serras but subjected to influences somewhat different from those under which Borrassá grew up. Although, in order to obtain his gnarled types, he models his forms and draperies with more relief and with more chiaroscuro, yet he often witnesses to his admiration for Borrassá's achievement. His more forcible nature is embodied also in the large and ostentatious *motif* incised in the gold background between the Apostles. Another of his traits is his extreme naturalism, which may be denominated as Spanish and which is incorporated in the unflinchingly faithful rendering of the different phases of eating and drinking, in the evident relish with which he multiplies and scrupulously paints the plate, cutlery, and articles of food upon the table, and in the presence of two cats and a dog eagerly devouring what falls from the abundant board. The perspicuity of international realism may be measured by the care with which the bread is delineated. As if to apologize for the worldliness of his treatment, the painter has depicted dishes and bowls upon which *Ave Maria* is piously inscribed. A strange piece of iconography is the appearance, in front of the table with Judas, of the Magdalene, imported from the feast in the house of Simon.

The Christ of the Last Supper is closely similar in type and gesture to the Pantocrator of Albatárrech, and the relationship reaches almost identity in the case of the Pantocrator in the Plandiura Collection, which is probably another work of the Master of Albatárrech. The natural conclusion would be that the Masters of Albatárrech and Solsona are one, and there are indeed other analogies to the Last Supper in the productions that I have grouped around the Master of Albatárrech, such as a tendency to grimness of countenance and an indebtedness to both Pedro Serra and Borrassá. The Albatárrech group, nevertheless, embodies a somewhat earlier movement in the evolution of Catalan painting, and, if all the types of this group are compared with those of Solsona, the differences appear to be rather too great to admit of a single authorship. Yet a categorical denial of the identity is impossible, especially if one leans upon the hypothesis that the Master of Albatárrech may be an earlier aspect of the Master of Solsona. If they are sepa-

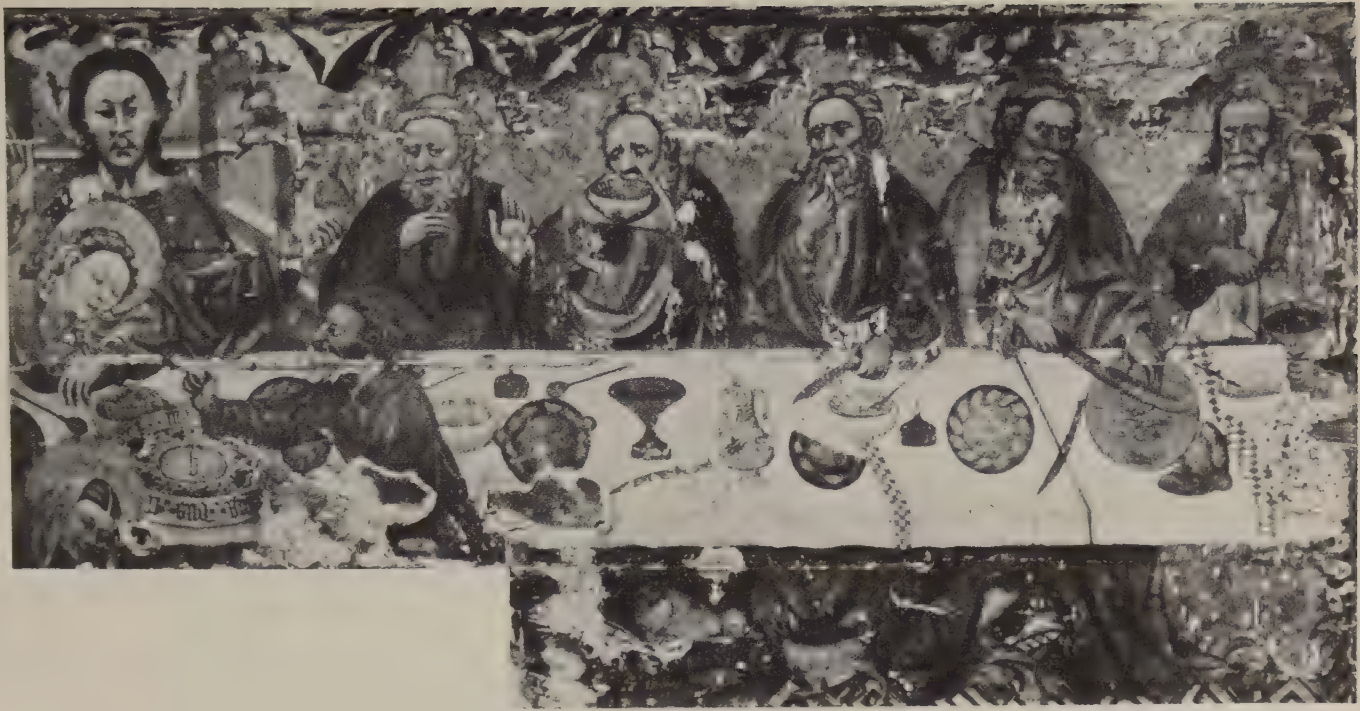

Fig. 197. MASTER OF THE SOLSONA LAST SUPPER. RIGHT HALF OF THE LAST SUPPER. MUSEUM, SOLSONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

rate, the former painter must have influenced the latter and was perhaps his teacher.

Two panels joined together under the number 66 in the Museo Diocesano, Lérida, of unknown provenience and depicting the Nativity and the Epiphany (Fig. 198), should be related to the bizarre style of Solsona. The second Wise Man, in particular, duplicates very closely the crusty Apostles of the Last Supper, and the third Magus is a twin brother of the type employed for the Saviour at Solsona, except that the beard is trimmed differently. The hair of the foremost Wise Man, however, and of St. Joseph in the Nativity is treated more smoothly than that of the Apostles in the Last Supper. The figure of the Virgin in both compartments, the St. Joseph in the Nativity, and especially the angels who in this scene spread the tapestry behind the Holy Family may witness to an acquaintance with the forms of the nascent Flemish school of Tournai, although there is as yet no understanding of the new Flemish technique; but the qualities may be interpreted quite as easily, as in the Last Supper, on the basis of a familiarity with Flemish, Burgundian, or Hispano-Flemish sculpture. In any case, the two panels appear to be works of about 1450 and so to postdate the Solsona picture. It would be gratifying indeed if we could state with any conviction that they were a later production of the hand that executed the Last Supper, for the Epiphany bears at the bottom what may be a signature, and we should thus get the name of the leader in this coterie of Catalan painters who emphasized the severity of their sacred personages. The first two words are virtually certain, IACOBUS FERRARII, that is, in Spanish, Jaime Ferrer;[1] but only the beginning of the one more word is preserved and even that is not clear. As in the triptych by Ortoneda in the Soler Collection, Barcelona, the rest of the inscription evidently ran over into another (lost)

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[1] The only bit about which there could be any doubt occurs in the letter or letters following FE and preceding A. At first sight, one might think that the characters formed an N, so that the surname would be Fenarii; but the eminent Latin palaeographer, Professor E. K. Rand, confirms me in my opinion that such can scarcely be the case and that we really have here double R. I have met in other Gothic inscriptions R's of this sort, in which Professor Rand tells me that the lower stroke to the right is the relic of a ligature. We need not be troubled by the different shape of the R before II, for in the inscriptions on the fourteenth century Spanish Franco-Gothic antependium at Brussels (see above, p. 94) much the same variations occur in the formation of the letter.

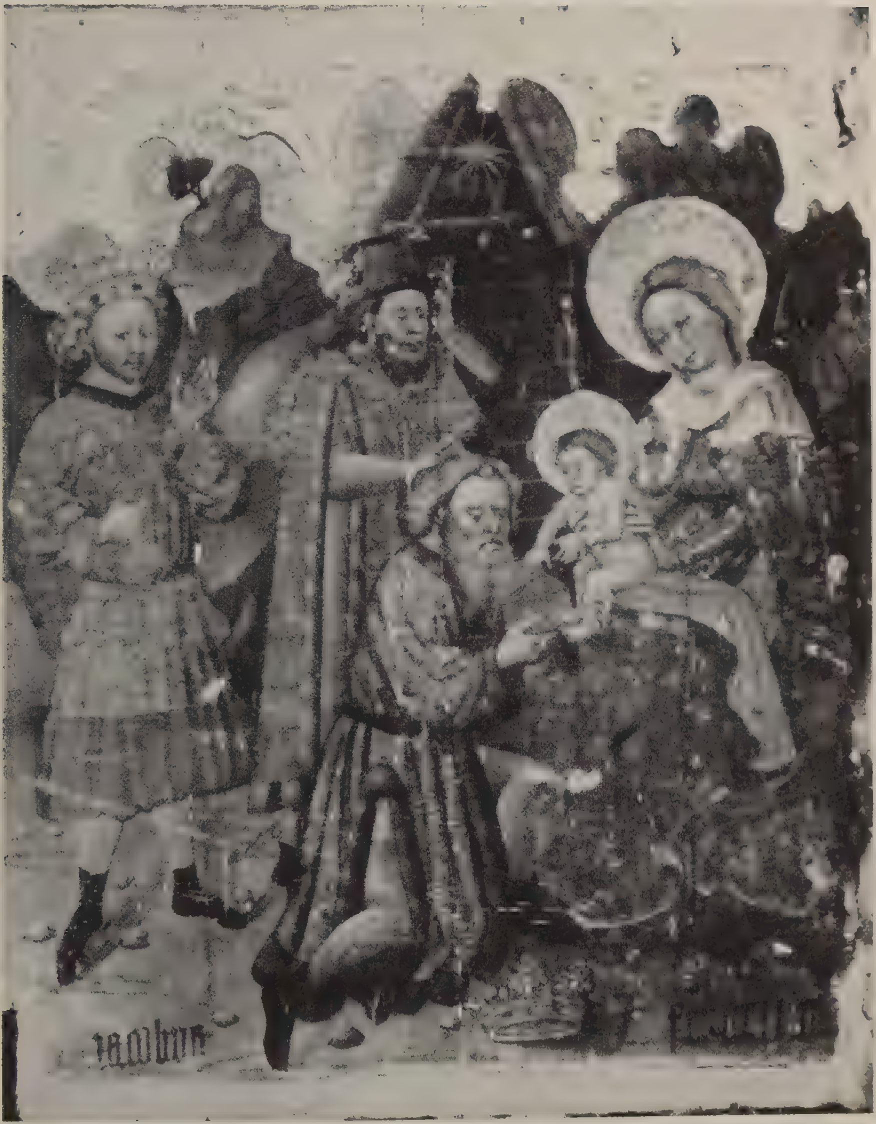

FIG. 198. MASTER OF THE SOLSONA LAST SUPPER (?). ADORATION OF THE MAGI. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, LÉRIDA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

panel; and what remains on the panel of the Epiphany may be the beginning of the word DE, so that the next word would have been a further piece of a surname, perhaps the town of the man's birth, or it might conceivably embody the M of the beginning of the phrase ME FECIT. We are thus left in a quandary as to whether the name is that of the donor or the artist. If the latter alternative be the correct one, it is not impossible, although both Jaime and Ferrer are names frequently encountered in eastern Spain, that the author is identical with the painter Jaime Ferrer who on July 6, 1436, was painting pavises at Barcelona.[1] The rather peculiar composition for the Nativity is exactly duplicated, except for the addition of God the Father in a glory of seraphim, by the panel No. 1774 of the Museum at Vich, one of a series of sections in the Museum belonging to a single retable which must be dated in the second half of the fifteenth century. The haloes throughout the series, when they are not embossed, are likely to resemble those of the Lérida panels, and there is in certain figures a partial parallelism in facial traits; but the composition for the Epiphany at Vich is utterly different, and the style and types are generally so diverse from those of Lérida as scarcely to legitimatize the hypothesis that the Vich retable was a later creation of the same hand. The Vich master merely used the cartoon of the Lérida artist, or, more probably, both painters were indebted to some great predecessor.

To a hand similar to that of Solsona, though probably not identical with it, should be ascribed fragments of a retable of St. Anthony Abbot from the parish church of Monzón (northwest of Lérida), now also in the Museo Diocesano, Lérida. Four panels represent: St. Anthony beaten by demons; two malicious sprites spreading for him, in a very graphic fashion, the snares described in the *Golden Legend* as *laqueis se invicem connectentibus*, while he is borne aloft by angels; his embrace of St. Paul the Hermit; and his burial of this hoary anchorite exactly according to the account in the *Golden Legend*, even to the presence of the assisting pair of lions and of St. Paul's palm-leaf garment hanging naïvely upon a tree (Fig. 199). Two other panels contain figures of the Apostles Sts. Peter and Paul seated in landscapes, and there remains also the central piece from the top of the retable, the Crucifixion, which, however, is dwarfed to a diminutive scale in comparison with the huge veronicas of Christ and the Virgin at either side of it in the same panel. The precedent for such veronicas at the summit of altarpieces goes back at least as far as Jaime Serra's retable of which the fragments are now in the Saragossa Museum. Both the heads of the veronicas at Lérida have, in distinction from the other figures of the altarpiece, embossed haloes; the head of the Virgin is not depicted as impressed upon a napkin as in the case of Our Lord. The parallelism of the Lérida panels to the Solsona Last Supper in grimness of type and in the Burgundian folds of drapery needs no demonstration. In the St. Paul of the burial the analogy of types reaches virtual identity. The ma-

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[1] For this reference, see Sanpere y Miquel, *Los cuatrocentistas catalanes*, II, 219.

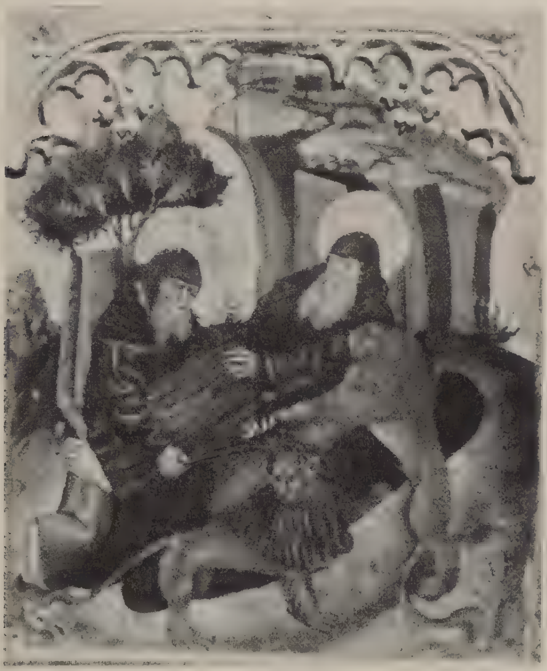

FIG. 199. CIRCLE OF THE MASTER OF THE SOLSONA LAST SUPPER. BURIAL OF ST. PAUL THE HERMIT. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, LÉRIDA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

jority of the haloes also have a florid figuration like that at Solsona. The possible distant relationship to the circle of Borrassá is made manifest by a comparison of the St. Peter with the representation of this figure in the Tarrasa altar and by a comparison of the Apostle St. Paul with the St. Luke of the same monument; but such comparisons bring into more vivid relief the Teutonic-like sullenness of the Lérida countenances. The passage in the St. Anthony altar upon which the painter has spent his greatest effort is the countenance of Christ in the veronica, modelled with an almost Flemish precision, power, and chiaroscuro. To this altar is now attached in the Museum an inferior predella of the second half of the fifteenth century.

Analogous crabbed types, again strangely foreboding the personages of German art in the second half of the fifteenth century, reappear in two panels of the Death (Fig. 200) and Burial of the Virgin in the Plandiura Collection, but the memories of Borrassá have become an even less decisive factor in the style. Their author, curiously enough, despite his membership in the same artistic coterie, does not seem to be the same as the painter either of the Solsona Last Supper, the Lérida panels of the Nativity and Epiphany, or the Lérida retable of St. Anthony. The nearest approach to identity in type exists between the Apostle at the head of the couch in the Dormition and the seated St. Peter of the St. Anthony altar. The panels come from Estopiñán and are said to be parts of a retable, the large central compartment of which is also housed in the Plandiura Collection, a Virgen de la Leche in an Aragonese style that appears to be very different from that of the two small lateral compartments (Fig. 201). Both in composition and manner it resembles very closely the series of enthroned Madonnas that we shall find to be the most essential expression of the Aragonese aesthetic temper. The architecture of the throne has the same important rôle in the composition, and seated on it two Aragonese angels, displaying crisply pointed wings, play sacred harmonies. The Virgin is almost as plain a type as that with which the Aragonese contented themselves; the Gothic swell of her garments has a like royal magnificence of spread; and the gold brocade of her tunic is analogous in pattern to the fabric worn by the Aragonese Madonna in the Städel Institute at Frankfurt. Above all, the effect of heavy splendor is accentuated in the same way by embossing of crown, haloes, and orphreys. There is so little in the central panel to connect it with the two lateral pieces that suspicion is well justified as to whether its author may not have been a different personage, an Aragonese collaborating with the Catalan master of the rest of the retable. Indeed, the tradition that unites them to the Madonna may be wrong, or sections of two retables may have been jumbled together in the church. Nevertheless, the second

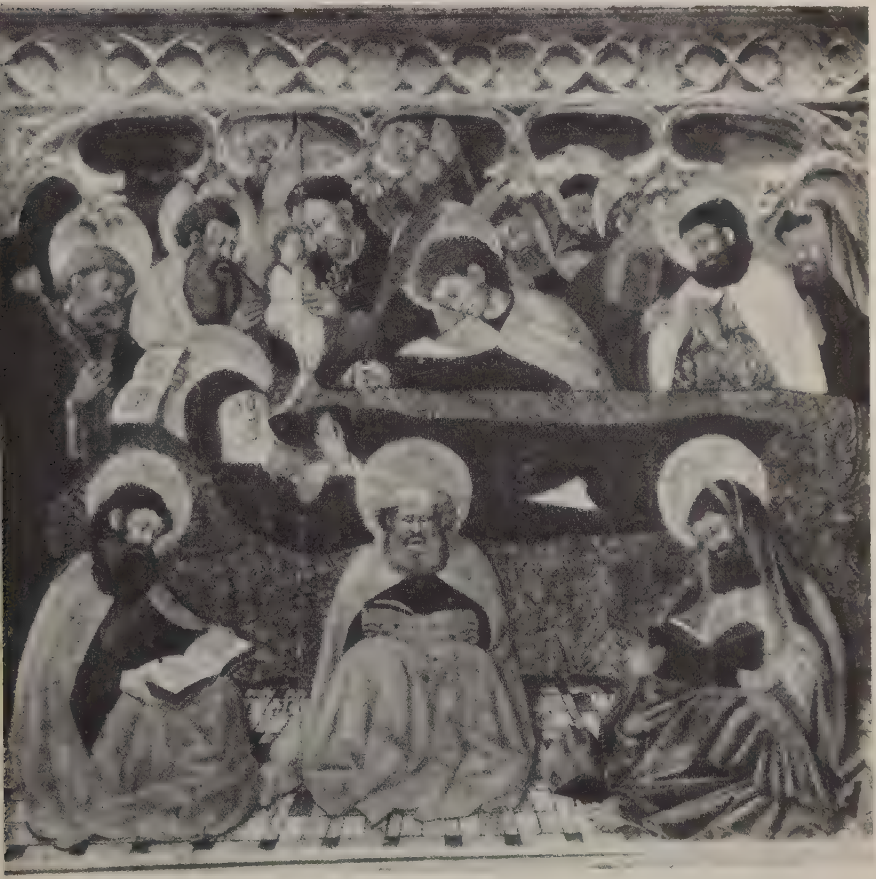

FIG. 200. CIRCLE OF THE MASTER OF THE SOLSONA LAST SUPPER. DEATH OF THE VIRGIN. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

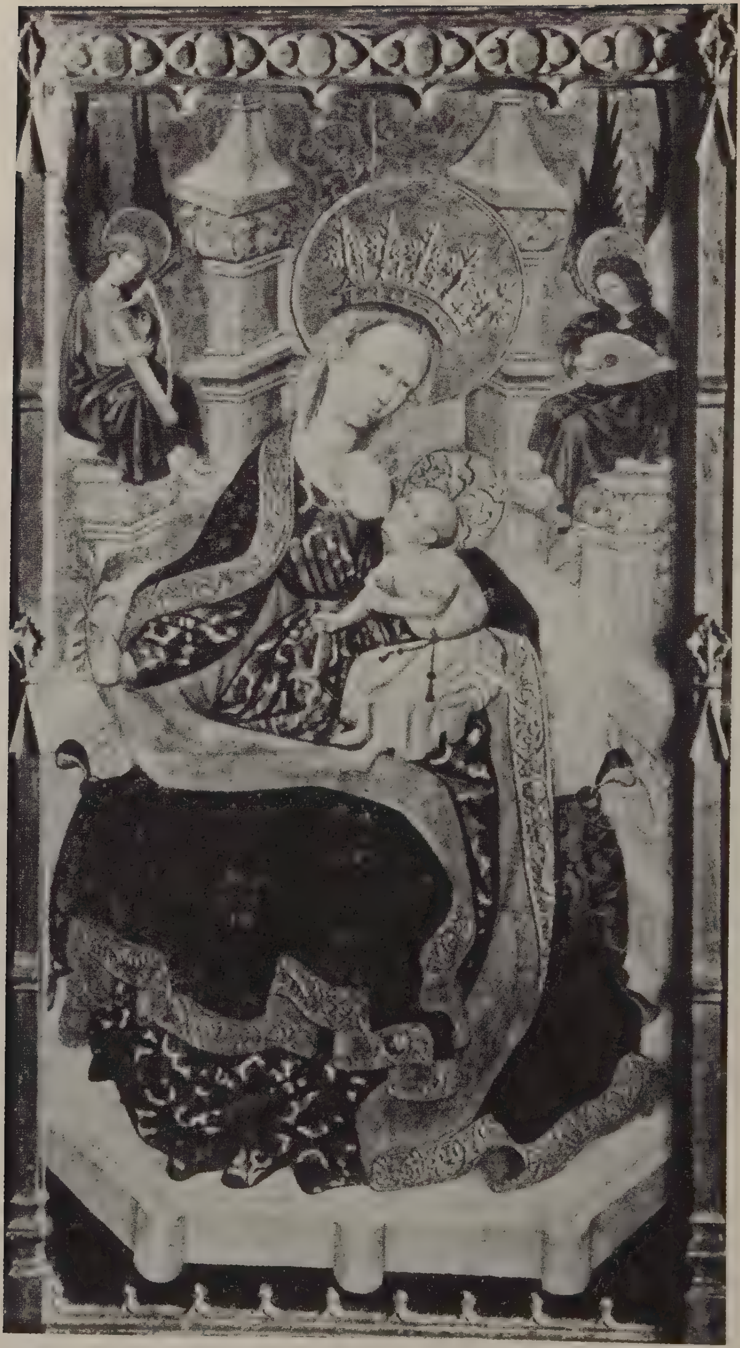

Fig. 201. CIRCLE OF THE MASTER OF THE SOLSONA LAST SUPPER (?). VIRGEN DE LA LECHE. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

Apostle from the right above the bier in the Dormition is clad in a tunic like that of the central Virgin, and the design of the Child's halo resembles the analogously embossed specimen in the veronica of Our Lord beside the Crucifixion of the St. Anthony altarpiece at Lérida. Is there, after all, but a single author, strongly influenced, in his central panel, as was to be expected at Estopiñán on the border between the two provinces, by the strikingly peculiar Aragonese renderings of the theme that he was called upon to represent? Can it be that the severity of type in the side panels and in the other works of the coterie now under consideration also emanated from an Aragonese influence that had drifted across the boundary? The difference in subject will account partially for the stylistic variance between central panel and lateral compartments. The date of these compartments, as revealed by their style, is certainly late enough to have permitted the Madonna of the principal panel, if painted by the same hand, to have felt the effects of the manner embodied in the Aragonese series of Virgins, which belong in the chronological vicinity of 1440.

3. Other Works of Borrassá's Circle

Two or three anonymous fragments may be assigned to the group of works produced under some influence of Borrassá. The most interesting of these is a long, horizontal, and partially cut panel in the Archives of Sta. María at Manresa representing the holy women, Sts. John, and Nicodemus (or St. Joseph of Arimathaea?) grieving over the dead body of Christ (Fig. 202),[1] an adaptation of a composition for the Entombment or Lamentation that must have belonged to the workshop of the Serras, since it was often used by artists who had had their beginnings in this *milieu*. A rather close relationship to Borrassá is exhibited in the types of the agonized women (the models for whom are afforded in his Crucifixions), in the Nicodemus, who has an aged, bearded face often employed by Borrassá for his old men, and, above all, in the head of St. John. Another fragment that, in its original condition, may not have been far removed from Borrassá is the repainted panel in the Bosch Collection of the Prado depicting (?) St. Cosmas or St. Damian replacing the cancerous leg of their votary (Fig. 203). Four very much injured scenes from the life of St. Peter[1] in the Museum of Vich, representing the Apostle called, tried, imprisoned, and crucified, are the work of a mediocre painter who was at least touched by the achievements of Borrassá. Contemporary international costume is much used, for instance on St. Peter's judge in the trial. The predella with episodes from the Passion, Nos. 849 and 850 of the same Museum, is so lamentably restored that stylistic judgment is a rather desperate task, but the author again may have been stimulated by Borrassá.

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[1] Not, of course, the rendering of the same theme in the same place by Cabrera.

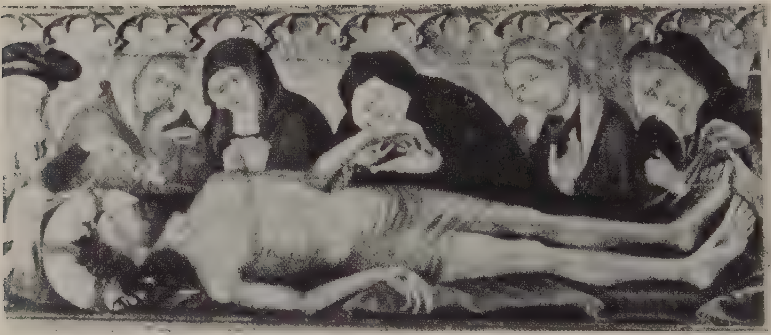

Fig. 202. SCHOOL OF BORRASSÁ. ENTOMBMENT. STA. MARÍA, MANRESA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

The panel of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Boston Museum, which was formerly attributed to Borrassá, reveals, in its present condition, no connection whatsoever with his style, except that the drapery of Christ is drawn and disposed in his manner and the picture seems to be a Spanish work of the general international school to which he belonged. If the Boston panel be in truth an ancient production, I confess myself baffled as to where to place it. The types are not only absolutely diverse from those of Borrassá but they are not even Catalan. There is much about the panel that is queer. The huge pattern of the Virgin's frontally presented brocade would be hard to duplicate in the first half of the fifteenth century, to which the other elements would plainly assign the work; and the chiaroscuro of Christ's red mantle is prematurely Flemish. I once thought of the picture as perhaps Andalusian, but I have abandoned that theory; and in any case the heads, if not wholly modern, may be entirely repainted. I should not mention the panel at all, if there were not another Coronation in what remained, in 1926, of the Traumann Collection at Madrid, very much like it and yet exhibiting some real affiliation with the style of Borrassá. The Christ of the Traumann picture, for instance, is not far removed from the type that he employs for the Saviour. The Traumann picture, moreover, is distinguished by a masterly delicacy of execution, embodied especially in the angels, and is, as far as I could determine in my short visit to the Collection, an authentic work of the first half of the fifteenth century. The general parallelism in the Boston picture extends

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[1] Not the three panels by Cirera in this Museum.

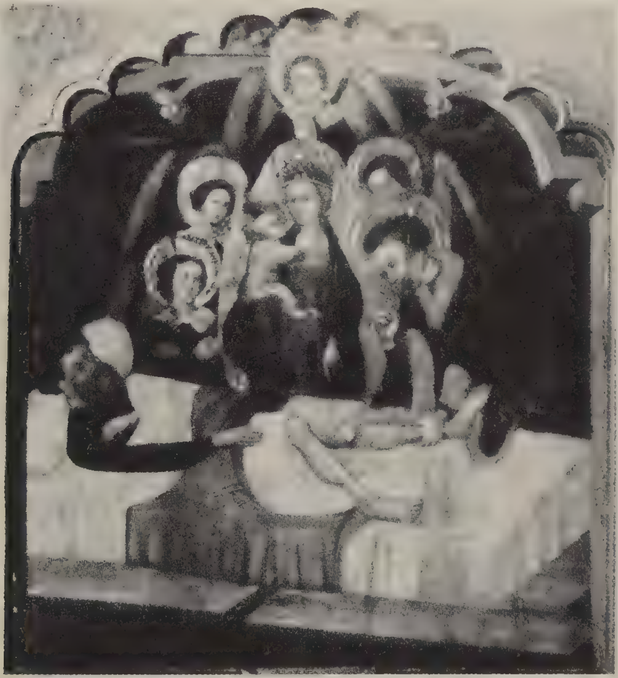

Fig. 203. SCHOOL OF BORRASSÁ (?). MIRACLE OF ST. COSMAS OR ST. DAMIAN (?). BOSCH COLLECTION, PRADO, MADRID

(Photo. Ruiz Vernacci)

even to the red of Our Lord's mantle. If it were cleaned, would the wreck that might be uncovered display an even closer relationship to the Traumann piece and therefore to Borrassá? Or, after all, is it a forgery upon the model of the Traumann piece or upon some common original? I am familiar with no Spanish composition for the theme quite similar. Christ and the Virgin are seated on flamboyant Gothic benches facing each other, and at their backs are two symmetrical groups of angels.

4. CIRERA

No very high seat in the court of art can be allowed to a named painter of Borrassá's circle who has recently been discovered to have been the creator of three panels from the life of St. Peter in the Museum of Vich — Jaime Cirera. His activity can be definitely traced from 1425 to 1452,[1] but it is possible that a man of identical name mentioned in 1459 is the same person. He is first spoken of as a painter of Solsona, but by 1431 he is described as of Barcelona. The panels in question, representing St. Peter's encounter with Our Lord on the Sea of Tiberias after the Resurrection, the "Quo Vadis" episode, and the Apostle enthroned as pope (Fig. 204), are now known to have been sections of a retable in the church of S. Pedro at Ferrerons, near Moyá, southwest of Vich, for which Cirera acknowledges partial payment in a document of March 7, 1431. In this receipt of 1431 and again in a receipt of 1426 his agent is another painter of Barcelona, Bernardo Puig, who, since he signs also in his own name, probably was an assistant of Cirera on the altarpieces. The types and general style are only somewhat remotely derived from Borrassá, and although the gentle mode of conceiving sacred themes and the feeling are analogous, Cirera is not a very close pupil. His personages are weaklings with attenuated, substanceless bodies, with thin, long necks, and with frail spirits. The types suggest that he was familiar also with that other phase of contemporary Catalan painting which was likewise influenced by Borrassá, the manner of Guimerá. The compositions are not based upon Borrassá's cycle from the life of St. Peter at Tarrasa, although the very identity of the themes provokes a certain similarity. The figuration of the gold backgrounds, in the one or two small patches in which they are preserved, exhibits the free foliate pattern employed by Borrassá, and Cirera has a like passion for reds, clothing St. Peter in the two narrative panels with a bright orange red and in the enthronement with a cope of a more crimson hue.

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[1] The latter date, the year when he was paid for working upon the retable of the church of S. Miguel at Manresa originally ordered from Ortoneda, is communicated to me by Don Alejandro Soler y March: see below, p. 355, n. 1. The latest date that Sanpere knew for Cirera's activity was 1431.

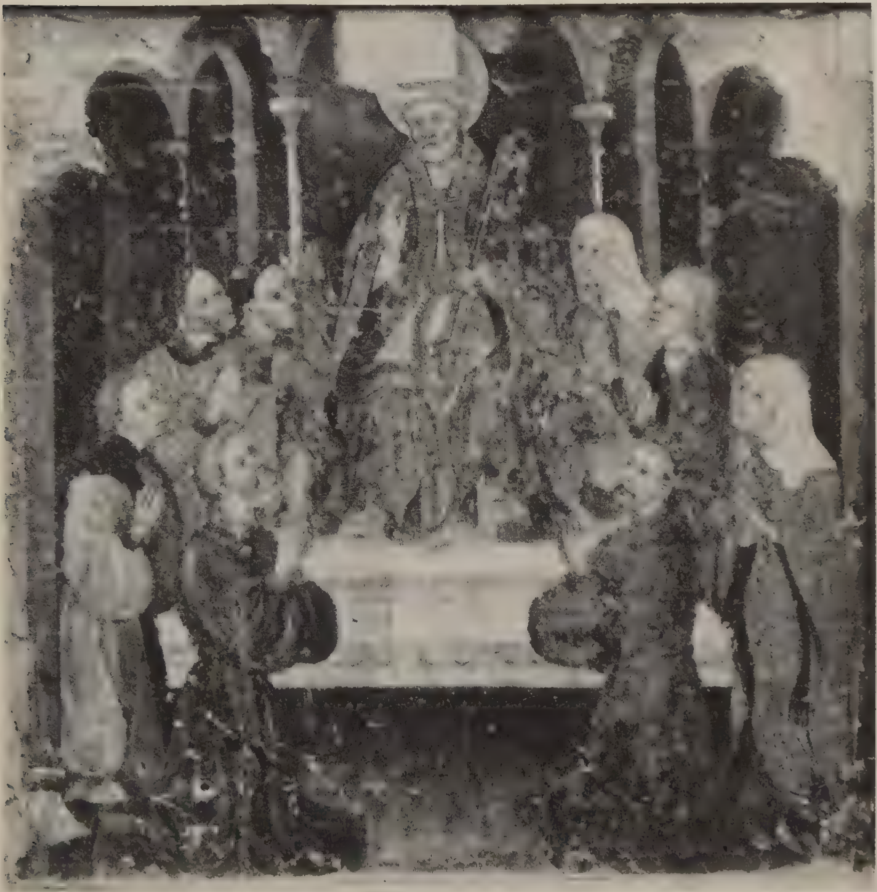

FIG. 204. CIRERA. ST. PETER ENTHRONED. MUSEUM, VICH
(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

I am morally convinced that Cirera, perhaps again with Bernardo Puig in partnership, produced the undocumented retable of Sts. Michael and John the Baptist over an altar in the north aisle of the parochial church at San Lorenzo de Morúnys. The central panel of the two standing effigies is flanked by three scenes from the life of each, capped by the Crucifixion, and raised upon a predella containing in separate compartments large half-lengths of the Virgin, St. John, and four other saints ranged about the figure of the dead Christ. Even the most casual observer would sense at first sight the close analogy in general style to the panels by Cirera in the Vich Museum, but a more careful study brings out also numerous instances of those similar mannerisms in exact detail which Morelli championed as the instruments for the science of attribution. The elongated, unsubstantial, delicate-necked canon for the human form is the same, and there is a like fusion of Borrassá and Guimerá tendencies. The heads of the angels in the Baptism and of the horsemen at the left in the Crucifixion are tilted back and have the same bland stare as in the worshippers of the enthroned St. Peter at Vich. Luckily the Morúnys picture provides us, for comparison, with a figure of St. Peter seated at the gate of heaven receiving the souls that St. Michael weighs, and he turns out to be virtually identical, in head, costume, and even in Gothic undulation of the edge of the mantle, with the Apostle who at Vich encounters Our Lord in the "Quo Vadis" episode. But the proof becomes well-nigh incontrovertible when the man shot by the deflected arrow in the Monte Gargano compartment (Fig. 205) is set side by side with that kneeling masculine devotee of the enthroned St. Peter who is second from the top of the picture: they are counterparts in countenance, in poise of the head, and — still more convincing — in the pattern of their brocaded coats, a design containing, as with Borrassá, the wing of a bird or dragon as an important element but with the peculiar modification of the repeated *motif* of a sunburst of concentric circles. It is true that the same two elements of a bird or dragon and concentric circles occur in Valencian pictures — on a vestment of St. Clement in a panel in the cathedral of Valencia and on the tiling of the St. Martin triptych of the Valencian Provincial Museum; and it is likewise to be remembered that not too much stress in the matter of attribution is to be laid upon identity of pattern in stuffs, for pieces of the same bale of fabric might be sold to widely separated purchasers and might attract the eyes of artists who had no connection with one another. But the Valencian design is slightly different, particularly in its greater regularity, whereas the Morúnys *motif* and even the character of the fabric are so nearly exact duplicates of the Vich specimen as, taken together with the other analogies, to constitute cogent cumulative proof. At San Lorenzo de Morúnys the angels in the Baptism and the St.

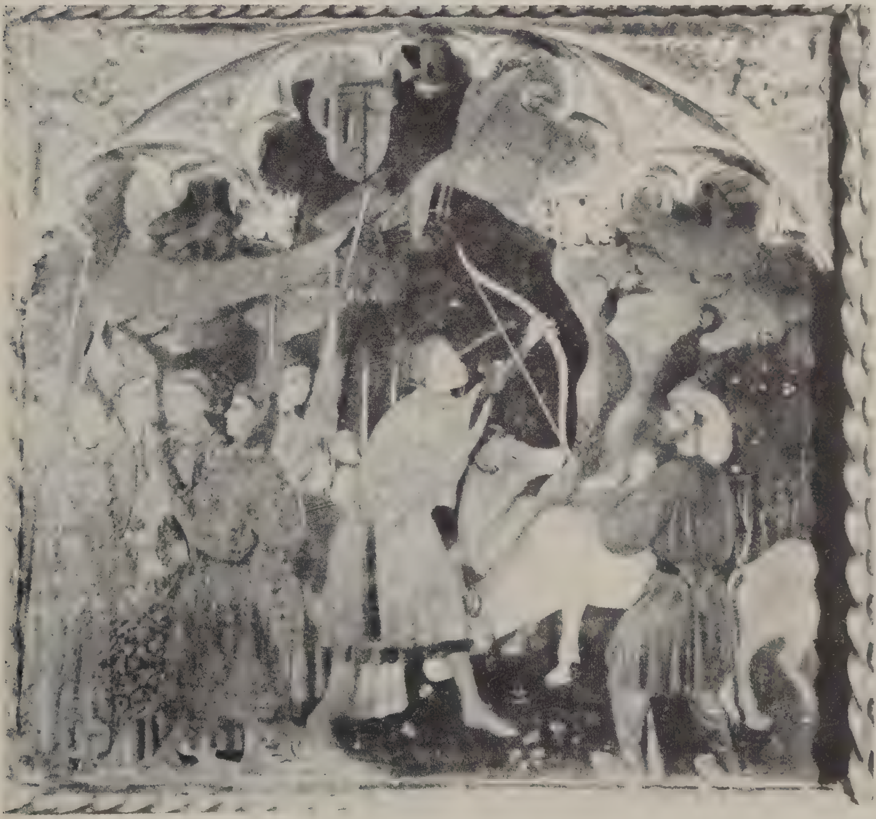

FIG. 205. CIRERA (?). MONTE GARGANO EPISODE, SECTION OF RETABLE OF STS. MICHAEL AND JOHN BAPTIST. PARISH CHURCH, SAN LORENZO DE MORÚNYS

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Catherine of the predella are clad in the same stuff. The women in the birth of the Baptist should also be confronted with the feminine devotees of St. Peter. The gold backgrounds are decorated with the foliate design that appears in the Vich panels and was a part of the Borrassá tradition. In the altarpiece of San Lorenzo de Morúnys the dependence upon Borrassá is more tangible, for the large half-lengths of the predella are countrified editions of the forms (although the faces are diverse) that Borrassá and his assistants employ at this spot in a retable, as, for instance, in the picture of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs at Paris. The large effigy of St. John Baptist in the principal compartment of the retable, however, is different from the severe ascetic of the Paris altar and is conceived, instead, like a suave Apostle. Now and then the painter stops to indulge himself in a bit of international *genre.* The herdsman who is an ordinary constituent of the iconography of the Monte Gargano episode is more than ordinarily naturalistic; and St. Elizabeth, in the birth of her son, is represented, contrary to the iconographic custom, as manifestly uncomfortable. Golden garments are profusely introduced, now much darkened like the rest of the retable.

Somewhat in the same manner, though questionably by the same hand, is a panel of the dead Christ amidst the instruments of the Passion and between the Virgin and St. John which hangs on a pier in the same parochial church of San Lorenzo de Morúnys. Underneath, a Gothic inscription in Catalan, perhaps contemporary with the panel, describes the subject as a Mass of St. Gregory, i.e., the vision of the Crucified enjoyed by St. Gregory at a mass, although this pope is not represented; and the writing goes on to recount the privileges accruing to those who pray before the picture. The craftsmanship is somewhat superior to that of the retable.

A certain stylistic parallelism to the Morúnys altarpiece and the Vich panels is undoubtedly revealed by the retable of Sts. Michael and Peter that has entered the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, from the old cathedral of La Seo de Urgel, a church that was under the invocation of both the Archangel and the Apostle as early as the second half of the fourteenth century;[1]

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[1] See vol. I, p. 105.

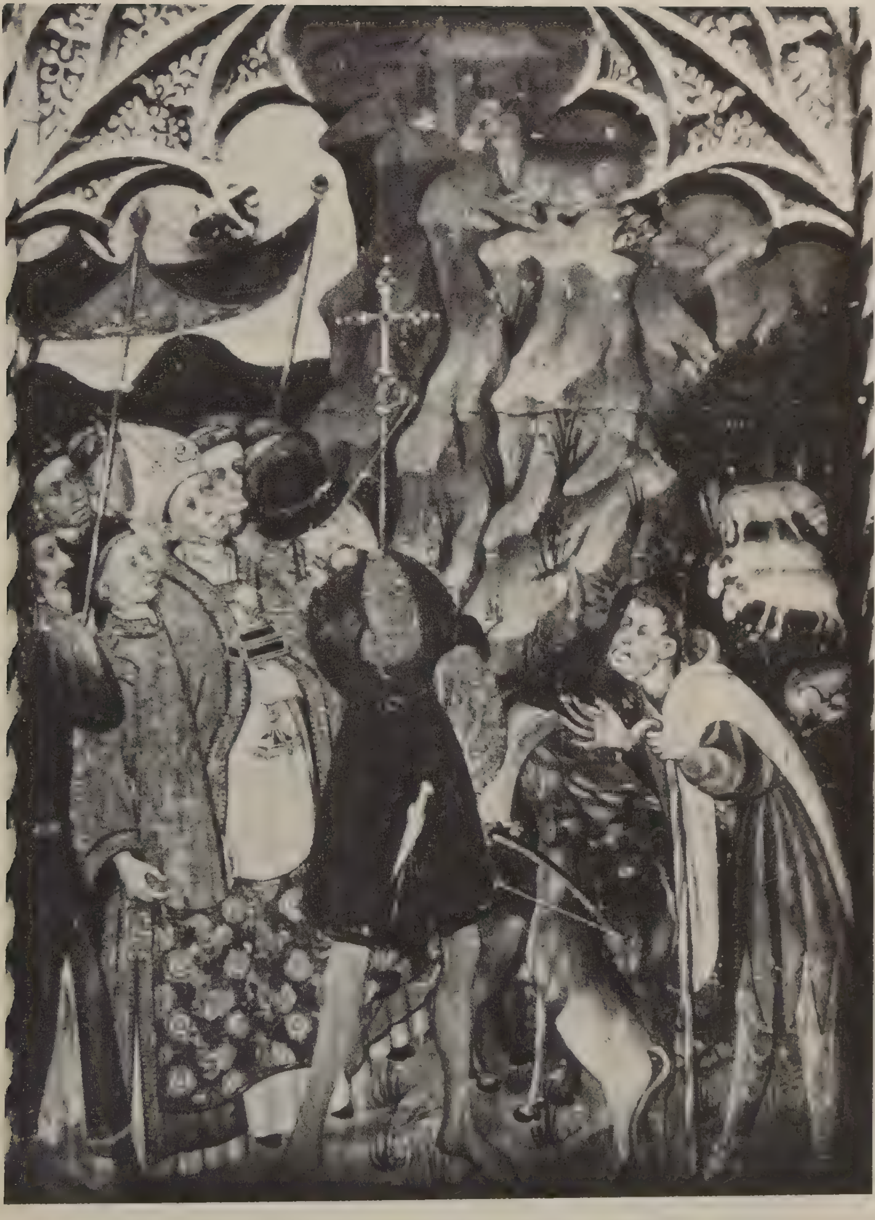

Fig. 206. CIRCLE OF CIRERA (?). MONTE GARGANO EPISODE, SECTION OF RETABLE OF LA SEO DE URGEL. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

but, in view of the free interchange of influences between separate workshops in Catalonia at this period, it is a question whether the parallelism is sufficiently exact to establish a relationship, and there are, moreover, a number of troublesome divergences in manner. My ultimate feeling is that the hand of La Seo de Urgel can scarcely be that of Cirera; was it perchance that of his partner, Bernardo Puig? Of the retable there remain only the two large central effigies and four lateral compartments, containing the deliverance of St. Peter from prison and his crucifixion, and the two scenes so habitual in altarpieces of St. Michael, the Monte Gargano episode (Fig. 206) and angels freeing souls from Purgatory while a requiem mass is said. The types exhibit a partial similarity to those of the Vich Museum and of Morúnys, and the glance of the eyes is much the same; but the bodies are even further elongated, the visages tend to narrow more to a point at the chin, and despite one or two realistic touches at Morúnys, the heads of the Urgel piece are somewhat less generalized, more naturalistic, and Iberian. The congregation at the requiem and the bishop and his cortège in the Monte Gargano scene recall the worshippers of St. Peter at Vich. The somewhat different costume of the central St. Michael makes him seem less analogous to the corresponding figure of Morúnys than he actually is, but the resemblance is more apparent in the lateral compartment at Morúnys where the Archangel is depicted as weighing souls. If other instances could be found of the same close parallelism as between the bending pose, attenuation, and costume of St. Peter in the episode of his delivery from prison in the Urgel retable and these details in the Apostle at the gate of heaven in the Morúnys picture, one would not so far hesitate to proclaim a unity of authorship. Yet the types in general in the Urgel piece, particularly in the crucifixion of St. Peter, appear to be a development directly from the models of Pedro Serra, whereas those of San Lorenzo de Morúnys betray more largely an interest in Borrassá's modification of the inheritance from this source. The standing effigies at the centre of the retable are garbed in draperies that have more of the Gothic curvature and nervousness attaching to the Guimerá manner, and they display a leaning toward this other style even in the character of the heads. The relationship of the compositions for the Monte Gargano episode in the two retables does not go beyond the general similarity of all renderings of this theme. The way in which the critic is carried to and fro in the question of a connection of the Urgel picture with the works of Cirera is well illustrated in the case of the fabric held in front of the bishop in the Monte Gargano scene: the bird and circle pattern occurs in this brocade but it occurs in the more formal arrangement of the Valencian examples with which the Catalan retable has no possible stylistic affiliation.

Gudiol further attributes to Cirera, on stylistic evidence, a miniature on the first page of one of the manuscripts of the *Llibre dels Angels*, a work written by the Catalan man of letters of the fourteenth century, the Franciscan friar, Francisco Eximenis. The manuscript in question, which was finished in 1418 and would thus bring back Cirera's first date to an earlier moment, is now in the possession of Professor Hermann Suchier at Halle. The illumination represents the Madonna and Child surrounded by adoring angels and worshipped by Eximenis. An isolated panel in the Barcelona Museum which depicts the death of a youthful masculine saint (Vincent?) and has been ascribed to Cirera is in reality a Valencian work of the circle of Andrés Marzal.

5. ORTONEDA

An unmistakable dependence upon Borrassá is exhibited by the larger part of at least one of the two signed works of another painter, Mateo Ortoneda — an altarpiece of the Virgin which has made a double peregrination from the castle-chapel at Solivella (just north of Montblanch) to the church of that town and thence into the Museo Diocesano of Tarragona. His activity may be traced from 1417 to 1425,[1] and, although he was born at Riudecañas near Reus in the province of Tarragona, he is always mentioned in the documents as a painter of Tarragona itself, so that he may be taken as another proof of a local school in that city, which reflected the inspiration of Barcelona and Valencia. He has signed only the central panel, representing the Virgin and Child enthroned between two adoring angels (Fig. 207), and the unfortunate thing is that the reminiscences of Borrassá appear rather in the lateral compartments, which seem to be in a slightly different style and have even been thought the work of another hand. The consequence would be that, if Ortoneda were the author only of the central panel, it would be impossible to state so emphatically that he was a follower of Borrassá, although even the central panel reveals at least some slight leaning in this direction. But the evidence provided by the second signed work, a triptych of St. Catherine in the Soler y March Collection, Barcelona, enables us to reject at once the theory of a different hand or at least of a different atelier in the lateral compartments. The whole of this triptych, surely by a single hand, resembles rather the lateral compartments than the central panel of the Solivella retable and is signed across all three sections as the production of Ortoneda. In the St. Catherine picture, therefore, Ortoneda acknowledges the style of the lateral compartments of the Solivella altarpiece as his own. In the Solivella altarpiece he acknowledges the style of the central panel as his own; but the divergences between this and the lateral compartments are more superficial than real. The greatest point of difference is in the somewhat ugly Child of the central panel as compared with the Baby of the lateral Nativity and Epiphany. The type of the Madonna is not quite the same as in the figures of her in the lateral compartments, although in the central effigy also there is a tendency to the characteristic narrowing of the face at the chin. Her hair, however, has the same coiffure as in the subordinate panels, and it is of the same curious thickness and color. Even the type of the angels is closely paralleled by that of the Virgin in the lateral Annunciation and Pentecost. The haloes have the figuration that is used for them in the other sections of the retable. The gold backgrounds, so far as there are any in the lateral compartments, are undiapered; but in the predella they

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[1] I owe these dates to the distinguished architect and historian of Catalan art, Don Alejandro Soler y March of Barcelona, who is soon to publish a definitive article upon Ortoneda and with most generous courtesy has communicated to me, prior to this publication, the list of dates of Ortoneda's activity that he has been able to gather. (This article has appeared while the present book is in press: see the Bibliography.) All of Ortoneda's works to which he has found documentary reference have perished; but I will not intrude upon his article except in so far as to cull from it the dates 1417–1425, and to name Ortoneda's birthplace. Miss Richert wrongly states that the Solivella retable contains not only the signature but also the date, 1433. Puiggarí (*Noticia de algunos artistas catalanes inéditos*, 102) and Sanpere (*Los cuatrocentistas*, I, 11) are proved to be incorrect in giving the date for Ortoneda's lost altarpiece for S. Pedro at Reus as 1433, for 1423 is the year in the contract published by Soler.

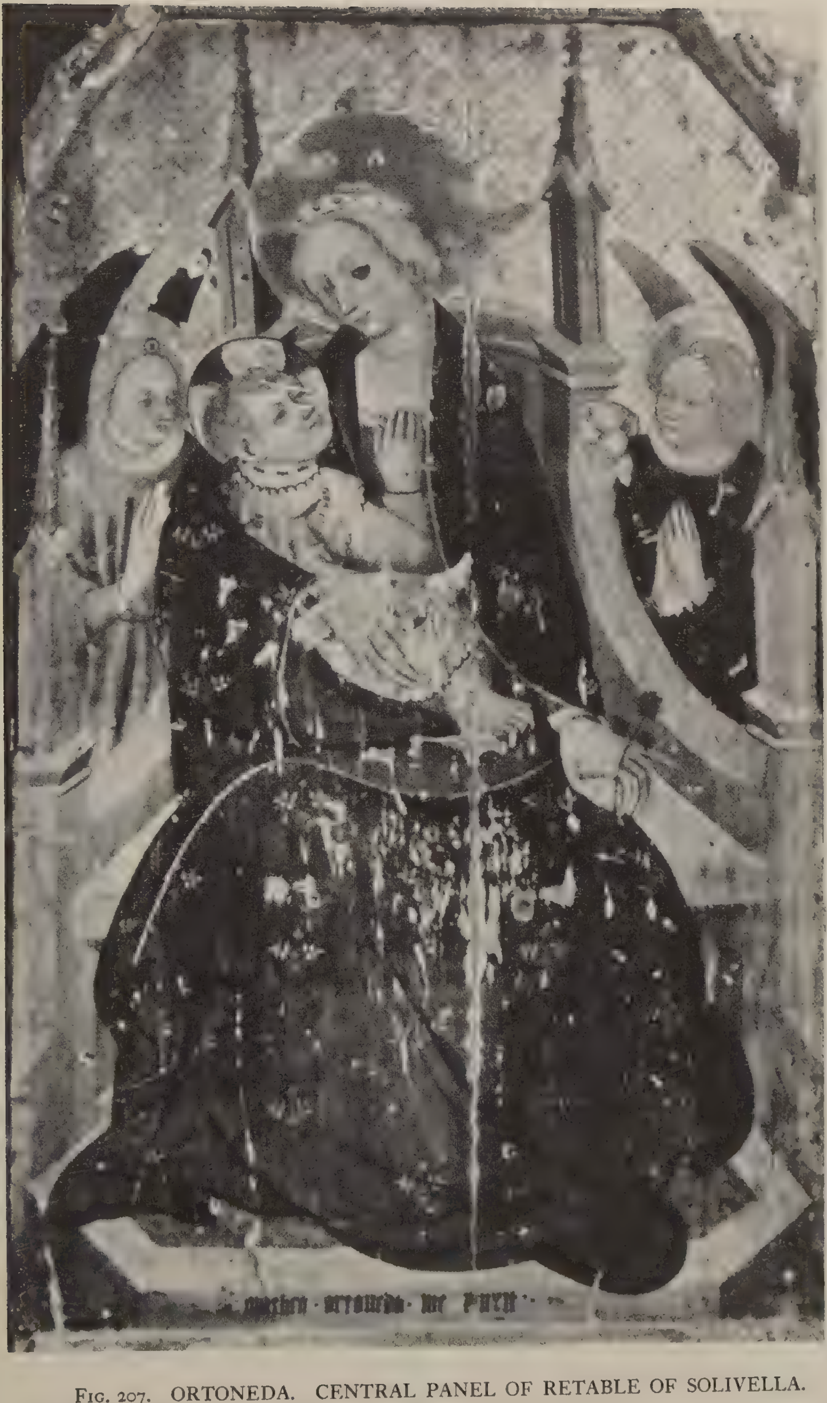

Fig. 207. ORTONEDA. CENTRAL PANEL OF RETABLE OF SOLIVELLA.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

are patterned with a *motif* like that of Pedro Serra, except that just the contour of the quatrefoil, instead of the four leaves, is stamped, and almost this same design is repeated on a larger scale in the central panel. The opinion of the present writer is that Ortoneda was responsible for the whole retable, the lateral panels as well as the central Virgin, in the sense that any Spanish painter of the fourteenth or fifteenth century could be called the author of an altarpiece. It is a well-known fact that the master of a mediaeval shop, particularly in Spain, was himself accustomed to execute especially the important central panel and to leave the rest more or less to his assistants. The whole retable could be considered his work only in so far as his personality usually dominated his apprentices. That Ortoneda did the central panel, is indicated by the general custom of master-painters, by the signature, and by the fact that the differences from the lateral compartments are only apparent and not real; that he at least controlled the execution of the lateral compartments, is demonstrated by the analogies to the triptych of St. Catherine.

The lateral compartments embody twelve scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin, compositions derived from the Serra tradition (as, for instance, in the peculiar Serra iconography of the Resurrection, with the presence of Our Lady) but filled with forms and draperies strongly influenced by the creations of Borrassá; and there is a predella consisting of abnormally large busts of saints. The tonality is also that of Borrassá. Nevertheless, the manner of Borrassá is somewhat modified. His countenances are here narrowed down to almost a point at the chin, one of the peculiarities by which Ortoneda may be recognized. But Borrassá's style is principally modified in the direction of decided inferiority. Even in the central panel and in the triptych of St. Catherine Ortoneda emerges as a lesser artistic personality, but the still lower grade of craft betrayed in the lateral sections of the Solivella retable almost certainly denotes the participation of a pupil or pupils. The figures are too big for the spaces so that they have to be made stubby and crowded into the compartments. The heads are also disproportionately large for the bodies. Outstanding instances of overcrowded compositions are the Last Supper and the Betrayal.

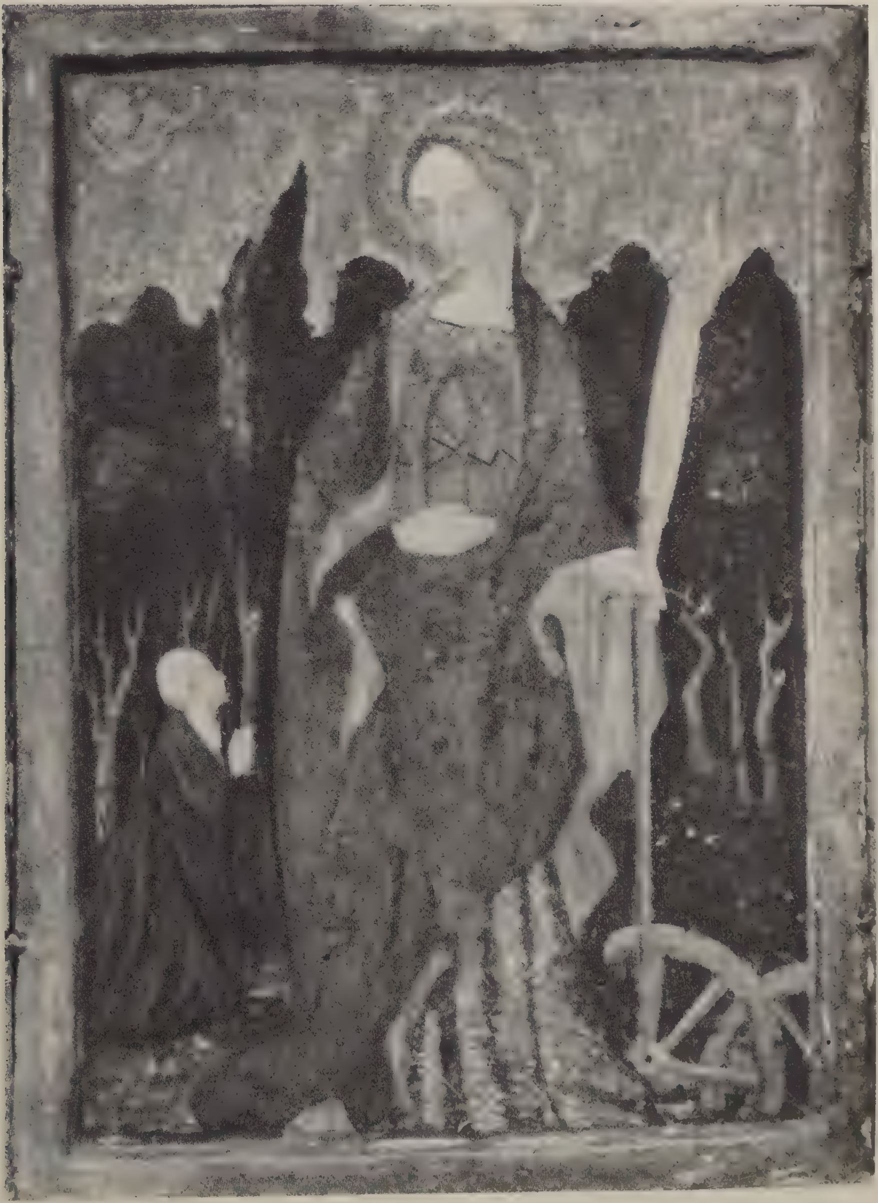

FIG. 208. ORTONEDA. CENTRAL SECTION OF TRIPTYCH OF ST. CATHERINE. SOLER Y MARCH COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

In the Entry into Jerusalem there is an endeavor to obviate the difficulty of the small space by strangely reducing the number of actors. The general slovenliness is specifically exemplified in the Annunciation by the more than ordinarily inaccurate perspective relation beween the figures and the absurdly small two-storied Gothic edifice in the background.

The triptych of St. Catherine appears to represent an earlier stage in Ortoneda's career when he was still profiting by the more delicate lessons of Pedro Serra. In the central panel (Fig. 208), St. Catherine stands, worshipped by a smaller feminine donor, against the background of a grove, which in turn is relieved against the gold in the pretty fashion so frequently encountered in Spanish international painting. To make her identification doubly sure, the master has curiously multiplied her attribute, the wheel, placing one in her hand and two at her feet. Although the creation of a man who was far from a great master, she is so thoroughly permeated by the Catalan aesthetic spirit of the moment that her frail and almost mystic charm continues to haunt the memory. The four scenes in the leaves of the triptych do not follow exactly any version of her story with which I am familiar. Three of them, the mystical marriage, her instruction and baptism by the hermit, are commonplaces of mediaeval tradition, but the stories are not usually told in just this way. The marriage, for instance, is not a pompous court ceremony or a nightly vision, nor does it conform to the customary iconography for the theme, in which the saint receives the ring kneeling at the Madonna's feet. The Virgin and Child here merely stand beside the reverent maiden. Since the scene occurs in a narrative series, it can scarcely be conceived as only a devotional symbol of the occurrence. The meagre representation of the theme may be due to the fact that, in this earlier and simpler period of Ortoneda, a tendency is clearly perceptible to reduce the actors in each compartment to the lowest possible number in contrast to the crowding characteristic of the Solivella retable. More pretentious compositions, indeed, would not be in keeping with a small triptych. The episodes of the instruction and baptism, however, also vary from at least one of the texts of the *Golden Legend*, for the former does not take place in St. Catherine's urban palace nor the latter in the visionary monastery, but both are depicted as happening in the desert. The fourth episode, in the upper left hand corner, St. Catherine spinning with two of her ladies in waiting, is something of an enigma. I am as loath to recognize here a mere episode of *genre* as in the representation of the Virgin in the Temple in the altarpiece of Villafranca del Panadés, for artists of the Middle Ages have a disagreeable habit of proving eventually to mean something very definite by what seems vague or obscure to our unillumined modern sight. Research might well some day turn up a mediaeval Catalan life of St. Catherine in prose or verse which would explain this pleasantly domestic scene as a significant event in her pious career.[1] The points of stylistic contact with the Solivella retable, particularly with the lateral compartments, are enough to have confirmed the attribution to Ortoneda even without the signature. There is the same rather "peaked" quality of the faces and the same pointed chin, here most marked in the central effigy, whereas it is in the lateral compartments of the Solivella altar that these traits most visibly manifest themselves. They create a probably accidental resemblance to the types of Sassetta, if one may compare so small a personage as Ortoneda with so great an artist. The figure of Solivella that is closest to the central St. Catherine is the Virgin of the Epiphany. The handmaid who accompanies St. Catherine in the baptism has the hair and headdress so characteristic of Ortoneda's women, and St. Catherine might interchange mantles with the Virgin of the Solivella lateral compartments without anyone noticing the transaction. Nevertheless, although the workmanship in the narrative scenes of the Soler triptych is somewhat inferior to that of the central panel, it does not sink to the rustic level of the corresponding Solivella pieces. Instead of the dumpy, ill-proportioned shapes, jammed into the spaces, the forms are dainty and attenuated. One of the reasons doubtless is that Ortoneda was still subject to the refining influence of Pedro Serra, and indeed there is little here to reveal as yet an admiration for Borrassá, except perhaps the type of the hermit and the grander sinuosities of Gothic drapery on the central St. Catherine.

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[1] Soler interprets the scene as Catherine's mother endeavoring to persuade her to accept Christianity, but I can find no trace of this story in the legend.

CHAPTER XXV

JAIME CABRERA

ANOTHER artist who, like Borrassá, grew out of the school of the Serras was Jaime Cabrera of Barcelona; but he did not undergo Borrassá's influence to any perceptible degree. He has been hitherto only a name, although we can glean from contemporary notices, where he is first mentioned in 1399, that he was a popular artist at the beginning of the fifteenth century; but two documents of the same day, June 28, 1406, alluding to payments to him for the retable of the chapel of St. Nicholas in Sta. María at Manresa, justify us in ascribing to him the few extant panels of this altarpiece now in the Archives of the church and in assigning the work to this date.[1] The sections preserved consist of: two upright panels, one depicting in two compartments the tale of the three murdered children resuscitated by St. Nicholas, and above, in what was one of the pinnacles of the retable, the Monte Gargano episode in the legend of St. Michael, and the other representing in two compartments another miracle of resurrection performed by St. Nicholas, that of the drowned boy with his father's golden cup, and again above, in the pinnacle, St. Michael weighing souls; the centre of the predella, displaying the Entombment of Christ; and two sections of the left half of the predella, showing the emperor finding the grain kept intact in quantity by St. Nicholas and the saint causing to be hewn down the tree consecrated to Diana (Fig. 209). The gold backgrounds are delicately incised with a foliate pattern. The dependence upon the Serra tradition is witnessed not only by the types but by the absolute compositional identity of the two scenes of the story of the murdered boys with the corresponding sections in the retable of the Amatller Collection, probably executed by Jaime and Pedro Serra in collaboration. The style is similar to Borrassá's interpretation of the international manner, but the drawing is looser and ruder. The forms are also notably shorter and stubbier. Cabrera's mind, however, is quite as piquantly alert to the life about him. In addition to the ubiquitous presence of contemporary costume, the international habit of introducing homely bits from every-day life is illustrated, in the scene of the arrival of the wheat, by the gangplank of the ship and by the document with the invoice of the quantity, and, in the scene of the

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[1] J. Sarret, *Art i artistes manresans*, 22–23, and Gudiol, *Els trescentistes*, 155–156.

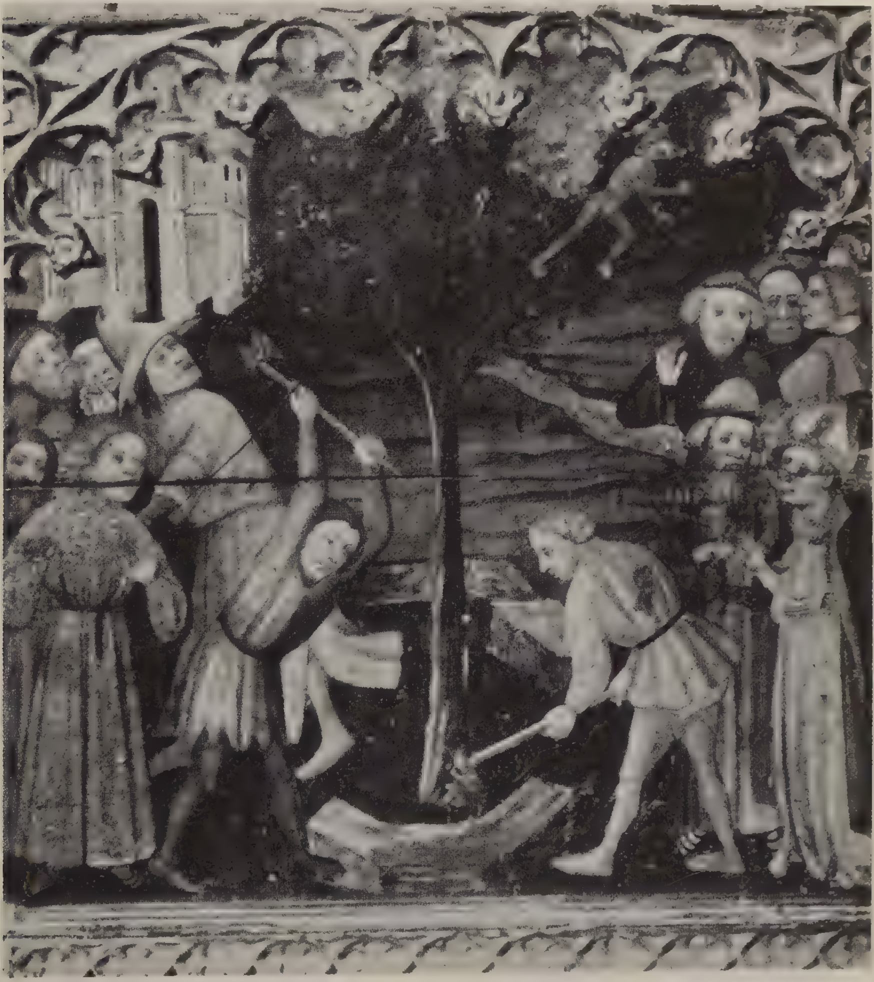

FIG. 209. JAIME CABRERA. ST. NICHOLAS DIRECTING THE DESTRUCTION OF DIANA'S TREE. STA. MARÍA, MANRESA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

youths' murder, by the lamp which is held by the assassin's wife and is of exactly the same curious shape as in the representation of the episode in the Amatller Collection. The Entombment of the predella, over which hover five of Cabrera's characteristic angels with instruments of the Passion, illustrates a somewhat more solemn and monumental phase of his achievement. The monumentality, however, may be due to dependence upon the composition of the Serras that we have seen to have been employed by the follower of Borrassá who did the Lamentation now also in the Archives of the church of Sta. María at Manresa. The other adaptations of this composition are not by Cabrera, as has sometimes been thought. One of them will be discussed in connection with Martorell, but the version in the chapter-rooms of the cathedral of Gerona (Fig. 210) may as well be dismissed at once. By a later but still "international" hand, the composition, even in the costumes,

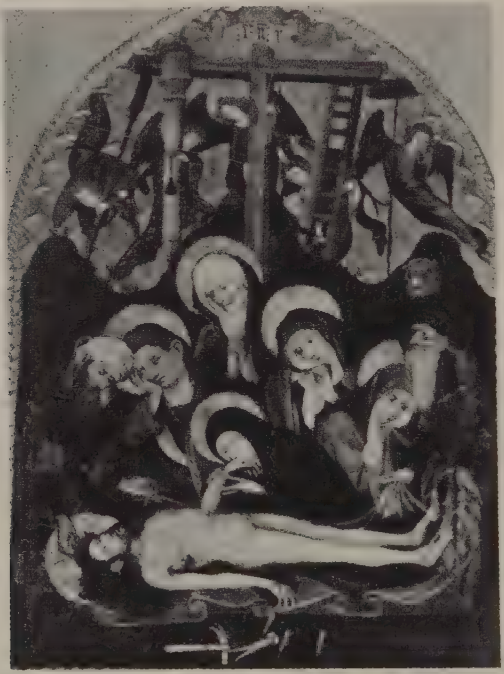

FIG. 210. ENTOMBMENT. CATHEDRAL, GERONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

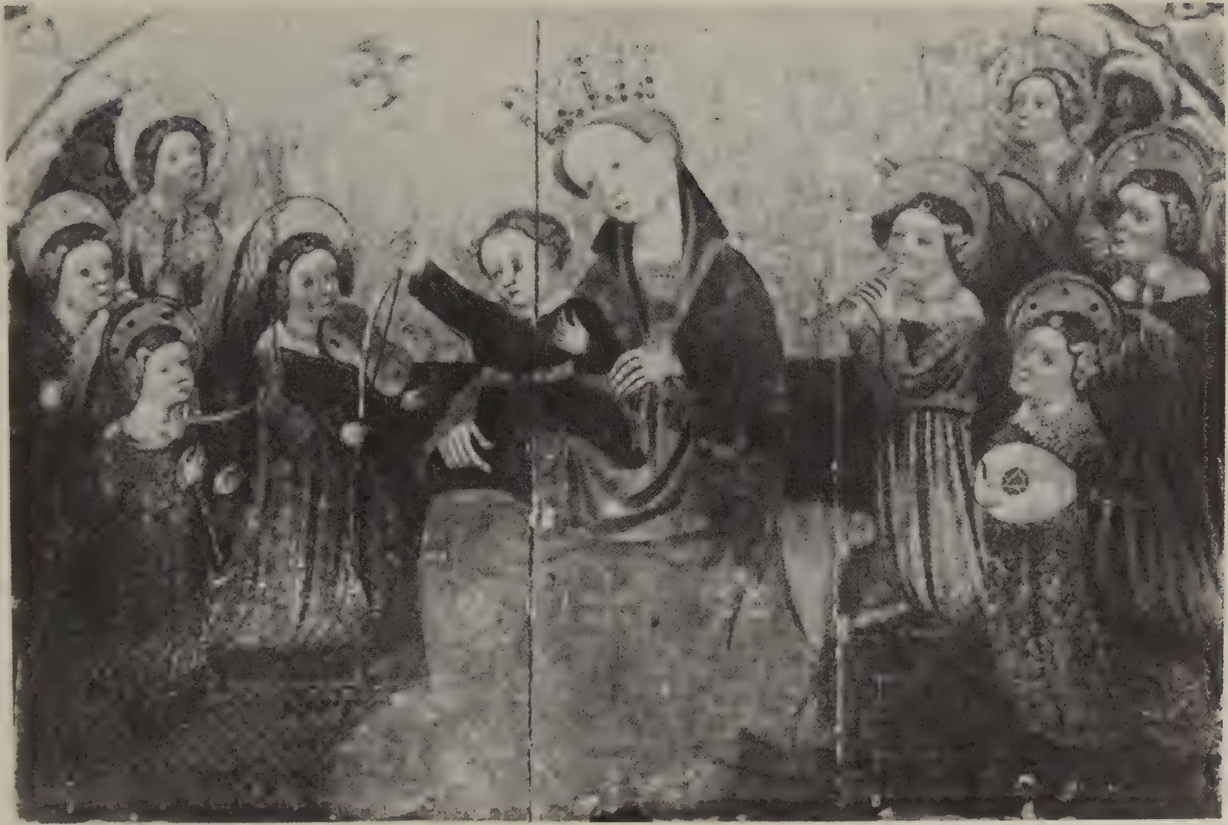

Fig. 211. JAIME CABRERA (?). MADONNA AND ANGELS. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

is virtually identical with the representation in the Cabrera predella, except that it is accommodated to the vertical space of the upper compartment of an altarpiece. Among many differences from Cabrera's manner, there may be noted especially the highly individual type of the angels against the gold background and the peculiar way in which the master arranges the hair in rope-like strands. The color has a Spanish richness.

Very convincing is Alejandro Soler's and Gudiol's attribution to Cabrera of a part of a predella, No. 1948 of the Museum at Vich, representing the Virgin seated on a cushion while the Child whom she holds plays with a bird on a string and groups of kneeling angels celebrate the sacred pair with musical instruments on either side (Fig. 211). This charming picture has hitherto sometimes been conjecturally ascribed to a Nicolás Verdera on the slim evidence that an artist of the name in 1406 received an order for two retables for the cathedral of Vich, which were to have as the central theme of the predella a Madonna and six musical angels (in the painting in question there are eight angels); but it is known that Cabrera in 1400 undertook to execute an altarpiece for the cathedral of Vich, and the panel in the Museum possesses many almost conclusive similarities to the retable of Manresa. Such are the very pronounced and peculiar undulations of the locks of hair about the faces of the angels, the pattern on their robes, the figuration of the haloes, and the incised design of foliage in the gold background. The frontal conventionalization of the brocade of the Virgin's mantle is inherited from Pedro Serra. The picture is another among several Catalan examples that suggest a parallelism to German painting. Mayer alludes to the analogy to Stephan Lochner, thinking, I presume, of such a work of Lochner as the subsequently executed Madonna of the Roses. Even the types here might dimly reflect acquaintance with a Teutonic master, but all the resemblances may be due only to the general participation of all countries in the common stock of the international movement. The same sort of German composition occurs slightly later in the school of Verona in the production of Stefano da Zevio, in whose case a direct connection with the north is more likely.

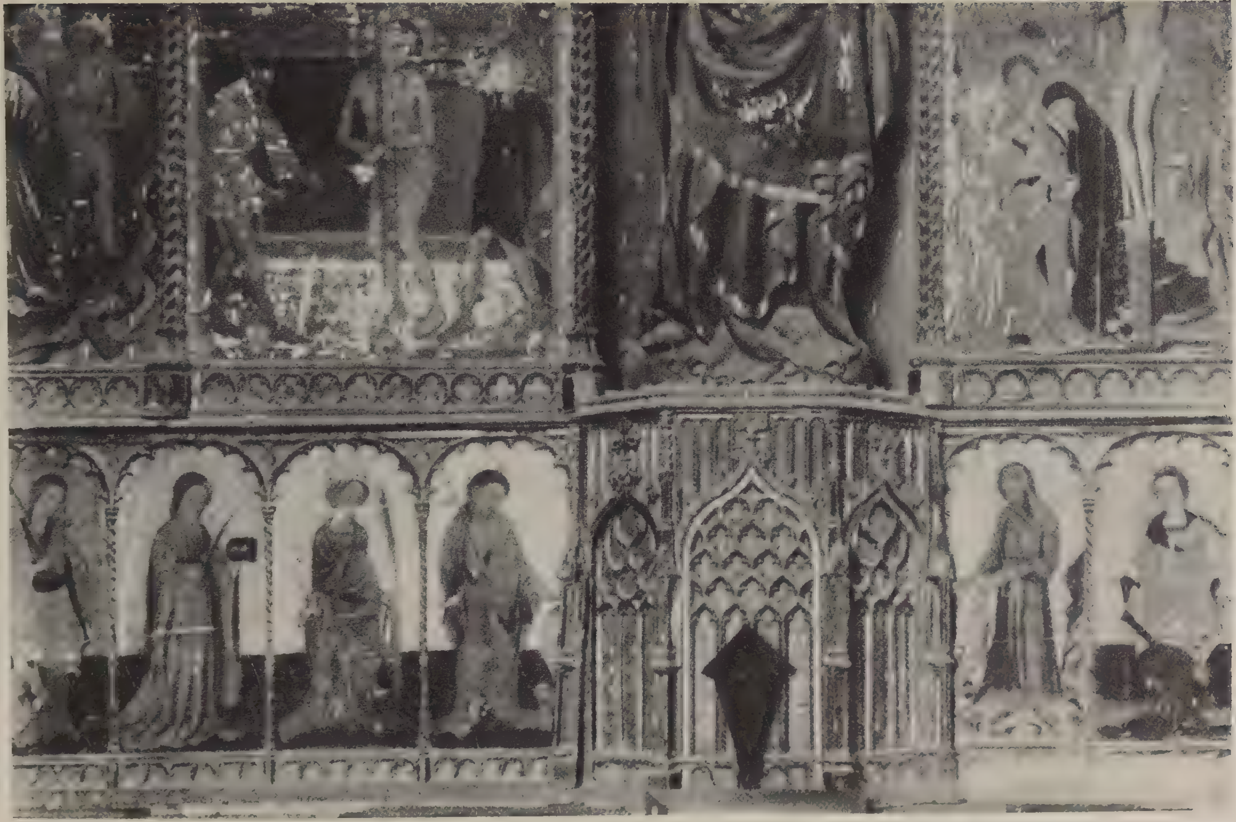

Fig. 212. SCHOOL OF JAIME CABRERA. SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, SAN MARTÍN SARROCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Among the paintings of the Serra circle, the huge retable now in the south transept but probably once over the high altar of the church of San Martín Sarroca (west of Villafranca del Panadés) stands out as decidedly similar in style to the works of Cabrera.[1] It is not absolutely impossible that it is actually a product of his brush; but the craftsmanship lies somewhat below the level of his attainment, and it is wiser to assign the picture to some painter under his influence. A statue of the Madonna and Child at the centre is surrounded by twelve painted scenes from their lives; to the left of the tabernacle in the predella (Fig. 212) are depicted small standing effigies of Sts. Eulalia (?), Agatha, Catherine, and Christ of the Resurrection with a scroll bearing the inscription *Corpus* (*meum?*), and to the right, the Baptist carrying another scroll on which is written *Agnus dei qui tollis*, an unidentified feminine saint, Sts. Lucy, and (?) Ursula; and the two doors at the sides of the altar are also a part of the pictorial *ensemble*, containing large and badly impaired figures of Sts. Peter and Paul. The Virgin in many of the scenes wears a blue mantle figured with a gold Greek cross. The gold backgrounds are incised with a delicate foliate design like that seen in Cabrera's works. Not only is the stubby canon of the human form much the same as with that master, but there are close parallelisms in type, for instance, between the soldiers of the Betrayal, clad in contemporary dress, and some of the actors in the St. Nicholas and St. Michael stories at Manresa or between the St. Catherine of the predella at San Martín Sarroca and the Virgin of the Vich panel. Particularly reminiscent of Cabrera are the Magi in the Epiphany and the figure behind St. John in the Crucifixion. The tiny, floating angels in the Coronation would provide no evidence for the defence of an attribution to the circle of Cabrera, but on the other hand they are not discordant with such a theory. The ceiling in the Pentecost is panelled after the same fashion as in the episode of St. Nicholas's resuscitation of the children. Sanpere was struck by the analogies of the figures in the predella to the saints of the retable of San Cugat del Vallés, but the documented works of Cabrera at Manresa and the Vich panel seem also to derive from this gentler phase of Pedro Serra (if the San Cugat picture is by Pedro). We have, furthermore, already noted a resemblance to the San Cugat retable in the Pentecost altarpiece of San Lorenzo de Morúnys, in which Cabrera may have collaborated with Pedro Serra. The compositions at San Martín Sarroca for the sacred story, for instance the Resurrection in the presence of the kneeling Virgin, belong to the Serra iconographical tradition.

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[1] I am glad once more to be afterward supported in a tentative attribution by the enlightened study of the question that Mrs. Delphine Fitz Darby has made at my request.

CHAPTER XXVI

MARTORELL

If Bernardo Martorell,[1] the endeavor to recover whose artistic personality has resulted in much ingenious speculation, was the author of the retable of St. Mark in the Archives of Sta. María at Manresa, then he was another perpetuator of the Serra manner in the first half of the fifteenth century, although somewhat more gifted than Cabrera. The documentary mention of Martorell, whom contemporary records show to have been a highly valued artist, begins in 1433 and continues until his death, which probably occurred in 1453 or 1454. He was active not only as a painter but also as a designer of stained glass and as an illuminator. Critics have sought from three different standpoints to discover what his style was. The first attempt may be dismissed as flimsy and in any case negligible. It consisted in the desire to identify, as a part of his lost retable for the Deputies of Catalonia, a small fragment representing the left end of an Entombment, now in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona (Fig. 213). The only ground for believing that the fragment belonged to this retable is that it was found in the Audiencia of Barcelona, which adjoins the palace of the Deputies and which probably received the treasures of art belonging to that palace; nor can we be positive that Martorell was indeed the author of the Deputies' retable. Sanpere ascribes it to him because the shoemakers' guild of Barcelona, in making a contract with him in 1437 for an altarpiece, specified that it should resemble the retable of the Deputies; but we shall discover cases in which painters were requested to imitate work not their own, as when Martín Bernat and Miguel Ximénez were asked to have in mind Huguet's altar of St. Augustine. The web of proof is too full of holes made by conditional clauses to extract the personality of Martorell from the Lethean depths, and in any case the fragment, including only the head and chest of Christ with St. John and Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathaea above it, would not constitute sufficient material for rearing an opinion of his attainments. It is the end of another Entombment based, like that of Cabrera and the other two examples which we have noted, upon a cartoon of the Serras; but it is certainly not the work of Cabrera,[1] nor does it appear to have been painted either by the hand that did the other horizontal adaptation at Manresa or the hand that did the vertical version at Gerona. The manner, however, is contemporary with these last two examples and somewhat more mature than that of

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[1] His Christian name was probably Bernardo, in Catalan Bernat (Bernard), not Benito, in Catalan Benet (Benedict), as it has hitherto been written; see A. Durán y Sanpere, *En Bernat Martorell*, *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*, IV (1917), 68 ff.

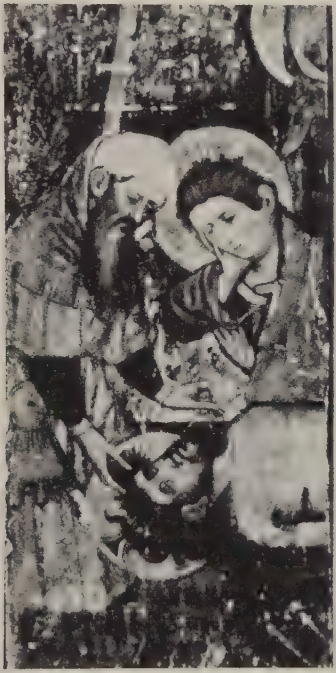

Fig. 213. FRAGMENT OF ENTOMBMENT, ASCRIBED TO BERNARDO MARTORELL. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

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[1] Yet, before the St. Nicholas retable was documented as a work of Cabrera, this retable was attributed to Martorell on the ground of the correspondence of the figures in the Entombment of the predella to those that were left in the Entombment of the Barcelona Museum, itself assigned to Martorell on such feeble evidence!

Cabrera. Moreover, as far as so slight a fragment permits judgment, the style does not correspond with either of the other works that have been connected with the name of Martorell.

One of these, providing the second standpoint from which the restoration of his personality has been attempted, comes nearest to a documented work, a miniature of 1448 in Jaime Marquilles's *Comentaris sobre els usatges de Barcelona* (a manuscript in the Municipal Archives of Barcelona), depicting the presentation of the volume to the five Councillors of the city in the presence of the Queen, the wife of Alfonso V (Fig. 214). Two documents incorporate the fact of payment to Martorell for painting "a beginning of a capital letter" in this manuscript. The difficulties in the way of attributing to Martorell the scene of the presentation on the first page above the first capital are that the miniature in question is not strictly a capital, that an illuminator, Bernardo Raurich, is mentioned as receiving remuneration together with Martorell or in his place as his agent, and that there was a younger Bernardo Martorell also a painter, perhaps his son, who may have been producing as early as 1448. But it hardly seems likely that a famous painter like the older Martorell would have been called in to do anything else but this, the only large scene in the book including a number of figures; the phrase, "beginning of a capital letter," might very well be used loosely to comprise the whole page (which actually displays a capital made of a little Crucifix below); Raurich is entered in another document as especially an executer merely of capital letters; and the date does not correspond so well with the *floruit* of the younger Martorell, which began in 1459. The miniature is a composition, crowded with rather expressive little figures, by an internationalist of moderate talent. Its chief significance for us of the present day is the painstaking reproduction of contemporary life characteristic of the style. The stature of the author, as he presents his volume, is curiously dwarfed, perhaps in order to emphasize the importance of the Councillors and the Queen. It is interesting to compare the petty and indecisive portraiture of the international style in the Councillors with the powerful Flemish realism that the more progressive Luis Dalmau three years before, in his celebrated altarpiece, had applied to five earlier

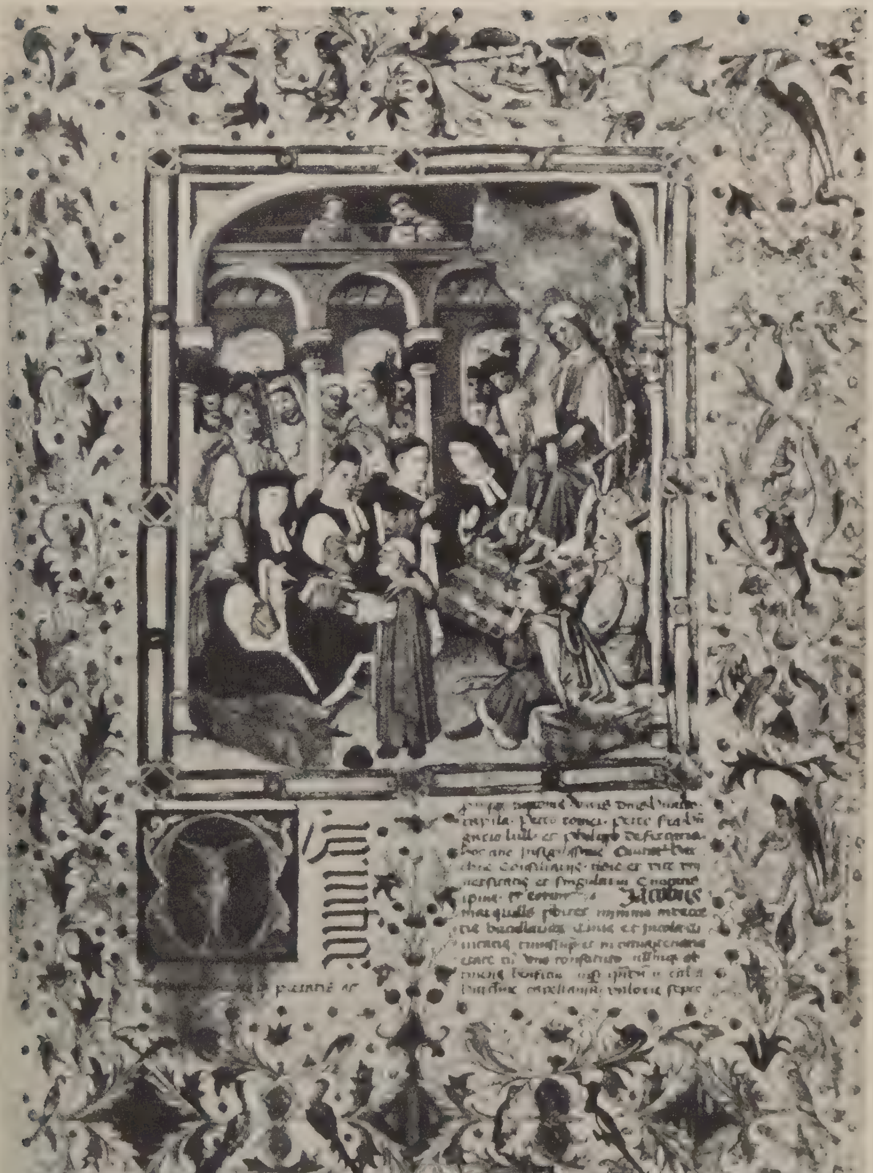

FIG. 214. BERNARDO MARTORELL (?). MINIATURE.
MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES, BARCELONA

(From "En Bernat Martorell" by A. Durán)

holders of the same office. The miniature contains no real points of stylistic contact with the retable of St. Mark at Manresa such as to prove that both are by the same artist; but, on the other hand, there is nothing that is absolutely at variance with the idea of a common authorship, if the different manner required for illumination as compared to monumental panel painting is taken into account, and if the altarpiece may be conceived to have belonged to the master's early period and the miniature to have been a late production.[1]

The retable of St. Mark at Manresa (Fig. 215) has been attributed to Martorell also on circumstantial evidence, which has constituted the third means of approach to his enigmatical artistic personality. By a contract of 1437 the shoemakers' guild of Barcelona ordered from Martorell a (non-extant) altarpiece dedicated to St. Mark for one of the chapels of the cathedral in that city, specifying the subjects. Inasmuch as these subjects are repeated point by point in the retable of Manresa, except that there do not appear at Manresa the sacred ministers who in the Barcelona altarpiece surrounded St. Mark in the central subject of his consecration of St. Anianus as bishop of Alexandria, it might be considered a logical inference that the Manresa picture was executed by Martorell. It is significant, too, that the Barcelona retable was ordered by the cobblers and the Manresa retable by the tanners or shoemakers; had Martorell come to be an artist favored by workers of skins, or did one of these guilds commission him merely because he had already done for the other a good painting of the story of St. Mark, who was chosen a patron of shoemakers and tanners through his cure and conversion of the cobbler, Anianus? The proof is far from conclusive, and the achievement of Martorell is still buried in obscurity, except for the dim and not very helpful light shed by the miniature, which in all likelihood is his handicraft. In any case, the retable of St. Mark at Manresa, whoever its author, must find its place in the history of Catalan art as one of the primal pieces illustrating the persistence of the Serra tradition among followers in the first half of the fifteenth century. The large central panel of the consecration of St. Anianus is capped by the usual Crucifixion. In the lateral compartments are scenes from St. Mark's life: his composition of the Gospel from the preaching of St. Peter and the Apostle sending him to Aquileja or Alexandria; the accident to Anianus's hand from the shoemaker's awl at Alexandria and the healing by St. Mark; the Evangelist's sermon to the household of

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[1] I cannot follow Miss Richert in attributing to the author of the miniature the retable of St. Michael in Sta. María at Tarrasa. The style seems to me, on the whole, very different, and I shall consider the picture under another heading (see below, p. 456). The only actual parallelism is between the type of the woman who issues from the grave in the Last Judgment and the type of the foremost seated male spectator on the right in the miniature, both of whom also have open mouths. But this parallelism is probably fortuitous, and a few other remote resemblances are due to the fact that the altarpiece and miniature were contemporaneous or that their authors at some moment in their careers had come into contact with the same influences. The predella, which, I agree with Miss Richert, is possibly by a hand different from that of the rest of the retable, contains another Entombment based on the Serra cartoon, separate in style not only from the fragment dubiously ascribed to Martorell but from the other repetitions that we have considered.

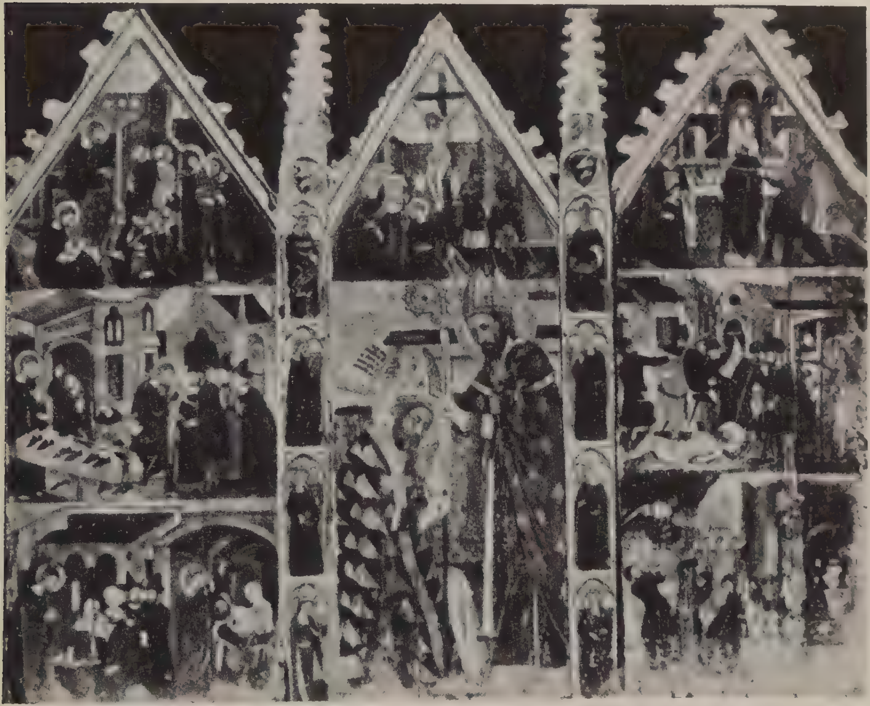

FIG. 215. RETABLE OF ST. MARK, ASCRIBED TO BERNARDO MARTORELL. STA. MARÍA, MANRESA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Anianus and their baptism; the arrest of St. Mark while he is singing mass; his martyrdom by being dragged through the streets and his vision of Our Lord; the prevention of cremation of his body by a miraculous storm and his ensuing burial. The uprights dividing the three sections of the retable are adorned with small effigies of holy personages and, at the top, with the escutcheons of the shoemakers' guild displaying on their fields two boots. By a very strange piece of symbolism, which might strike some modern pious minds as blasphemous but which reveals the directness of mediaeval thought, the connection of the picture with the trade is still further emphasized by the use of a shoe for the *motif* in the pattern of the brocade on St. Anianus's chasuble in the central panel. The style is closer to that of the Serras than is either Borrassá's or Cabrera's. This fact is made patent not only by the composition of the Crucifixion but by the types throughout, especially by the oft repeated figure of St. Mark in the narrative panels, the Christ on the cross, and the saints on the frame. The painter, however, renders action somewhat more stiffly than the Serras or Borrassá; but in the Crucifixion he exhibits a greater nicety of draughtsmanship than Cabrera attained. He tells his stories with rather marked religious sobriety, not admitting much international *genre*. The only real example is the quaint row of shoes displayed on a table in front of the shop of Anianus in the compartment representing his accident and his cure. In the large central panel of the consecration of Anianus the master has attained something of that tranquil monumentality which is a distinguishing trait of Catalan painting in the second half of the fifteenth century. Scenes of episcopal consecration were to become a favorite subject in the later Spanish Quattrocento because of the opportunities that they offered for formal, monumental compositions and, in the ecclesiastical vestments, for splendor. The bishops' robes are already magnificent in the panel at Manresa; the groups of other officiants that usually render more elaborate the similar pictures in the second half of the century are absent, but it must be remembered that they are mentioned as a constituent of Martorell's lost retable of St. Mark for Barcelona.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE MANNER OF GUIMERÁ

BORRASSÁ, Cabrera, and Martorell had their roots in the kind of painting established by the Serra brothers. Contemporary with Pedro Serra and these followers of his are a group of pictures in a more temperamental and at the same time more grandiose style proceeding from a somewhat different tendency in the art of eastern Spain that is more strongly affected by the French aspects of internationalism. Since the works in this manner have not yet with certainty been related by document to any name, it will be safest to classify them under the title of the provenience of the chief example exhibiting the typical characteristics (now in the Museum of Vich) as belonging to the "Guimerá style." Various attempts, however, have been made to discover for the group a definite parentage. Mayer has tentatively proposed to connect it with the painter whom the records show to have vied with the Serras in popularity, Lorenzo Zaragoza or de Zaragoza. He is not even known, however, to have been trained in the Catalan pictorial tradition, and no documented productions of his are preserved (except the insignificant keys of the vault of the Royal Weigh House at Valencia, now in the Provincial Museum of that city, which he was paid in 1391 for gilding and painting but which are valueless for obtaining any conception of his manner). The attribution, therefore, must be regarded as the merest guess and as no more than a working hypothesis. In view of the possibility, however, that his style may some day be revealed to us through the discovery of a signed or documented work, it will not be amiss to summarize the events of his life, the course of which is fairly clear from the many contemporary references. At the end of 1364 or beginning of 1365 he left Valencia by reason of "certain adversities of war," that is, the war that was then raging in the region because Peter IV of Aragon had espoused the side of Henry of Trastamara against Peter the Cruel of Castile.[1] He soon made his way to Barcelona, and in a record of payments to him in 1366 for retables ordered by Queen Eleanor he is called a painter of that city. In 1367 he was named painter to the Queen. In a document of 1373 Peter IV dubs him the best painter in Barcelona. In 1374 the authorities of Valencia were already seeking to lure him back with financial promises, but apparently he did not definitely reëstablish himself there until 1377. The last allusion to him is a contract signed by him at Valencia in 1402. From the historical data at hand, it is a question to which of the three interrelated eastern schools of Barcelona, Valencia, and Aragon, Lorenzo Zaragoza should be assigned. He was born at Cariñena,[1] on the road between Saragossa and Daroca, and he is sometimes entered in the Catalan or Latin documents not simply as Lorenzo Zaragoza but as Lorenzo of Zaragoza (Saragossa), a phrase that could be used loosely to express the fact that he was a native of a town near the capital of Aragon. The evidence, then, seems to be conclusive that he was an Aragonese by birth, but it is not by birthplace that one's artistic affiliations are defined but by the school of one's training. The considerations that he is first heard of at Valencia and that subsequently the burghers made earnest efforts to ensure his return would indicate that his artistic activity had come to be identified with that city, but Valencia does not appear to have possessed, in the first half of the fourteenth century, any significant school of painting where he could have received his artistic upbringing. If his authorship of the Guimerá retable could be proved, his connection with Valencian painting would become more plausible, since its style is more like that of Valencia in the second half of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century than like the production of the Serras. The converse is also true: if his style could be proved to have been Valencian, the attribution to him of the Guimerá retable and of other paintings in this manner would in so far be corroborated. We flounder, however, in the purest conjecture; and an additional difficulty in the attribution to him of the Guimerá retable is that this fresh and lively work would have to be the creation of at least a septuagenarian, if, as may scarcely be doubted, it is the picture that in 1412 is reported as having been recently made for the high altar of the church.[1] The phrase "painter of Barcelona" that is at times applied to him in the documents may be taken to mean no more than that he lived and worked there for a period, and he is also denominated as belonging to Valencia in the documents of that more southerly capital; but as the most vigorous focus of painting in eastern Spain during the fourteenth century, Barcelona would be the most probable resort of an aspiring young student of the arts.

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[1] A. Ballesteros, *Historia de España*, III, 68–69.

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[1] El Conde de la Viñaza, *Adiciones*, etc.

With somewhat greater credibility, Durán y Sanpere[2] has endeavored to come to the aid of these pictures "in search of an author." He selects as a name on which to hang them an artist who has often provided connoisseurs with the amusement of ascribing to him various anonymous productions and of thus trying to resurrect him into a definite personality — Lucas, the Tartar slave of Luis Borrassá and a practiser of his master's craft. The first extant mention of Lucas is of the year 1415, when he made a merely temporary escape from his bondage to the great painter; the last, if it really refers to the Lucas Borrassá in question, now manumitted and having adopted his master's name, records the fact that in 1434 he was already dead in the town of Sóller on the island of Majorca, where he had been exercising his profession. The reasons for Durán's assumption are the following. A panel of the nursing Madonna and fluttering, music-making angels from the parish church of Cervera, now in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona (Fig. 216), he ascribes, with much justice, to the author of the retable of Guimerá, which lies near to Cervera; and he supposes it to be the remaining section of an altarpiece done for a chapel of the confraternity of St. Nicholas in the church of Cervera, which Luis Borrassá and his slave Lucas are recorded by document to have painted between 1417 and 1419.[3] Inasmuch as the style of the Cervera and Guimerá pictures is not exactly that of Luis Borrassá, Durán further surmises that the master in both cases must have left the execution chiefly to his assistant, Lucas. The flaw in the fabric of argument is that there is nothing to prove that the retable made by the two collaborators was the one of which the Madonna of the Milk was a part instead of any of the other Gothic retables that may have decorated the church; and a willingness to accept Durán's belief in the same authorship for the Guimerá and Cervera pictures is a different matter from following him in the next step of connecting the extant Cervera panel with the work mentioned in the documents. Yet Durán, in contrast to Mayer, has at least some slight circumstantial evidence out of which to spin his theory. Certain aspects of the Cervera piece, moreover, such as the types of the angels and the small effigies of saints on the frame, suggest to a greater degree than the Guimerá retable that similarity to the achievement of Luis Borrassá which we should expect to discover in the production of his slave. On the whole, however, the evidence is not sufficiently cogent to justify us in substituting "Lucas Borrassá" for the term "Guimerá manner."

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[1] A. Durán y Sanpere, *L'art antic a Cervera*, *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya*, XXXII (1922), 309.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 306 ff.

[3] Durán, *op. cit.*, 309, and Gudiol, *Borrassá*, 36–37.

The Guimerá retable, the sections of which are now in the Museum of Vich (Nos. 853, 854, 870, 876–878, 880–884, 888), consists of a whole cycle of scenes from the Old and New Testaments. The style of which it is the outstanding representative is here and there inevitably touched by the fashions disseminated by the Serras and Borrassá, but yet it is fundamentally different from the placid tradition of their painting. Certain of the compositions, as notably that for the Resurrection, would indicate that the master had seen the productions of the Serra brothers; and the types sometimes recall those of Borrassá and his pupils, especially the angels. It is conceivable that the painter learned his rudiments at Barcelona and even in the school of the Serras, a possibility that would assist in the support of Durán's attribution to Lucas Borrassá; but in any case he has significantly modified what Barcelona may have taught him. In the first place he has turned his eyes further away from Siena, and he has reasserted the French strain, which was never completely submerged in mediaeval Spain. He has, to be sure, a bowing acquaintance with Sienese prototypes, as, to take one concrete example, in the mode of conventionalization for the rocks of the landscape; but this acquaintance he may have made only at Avignon. The types, although they have the attenuation common to all manifestations of the international style,

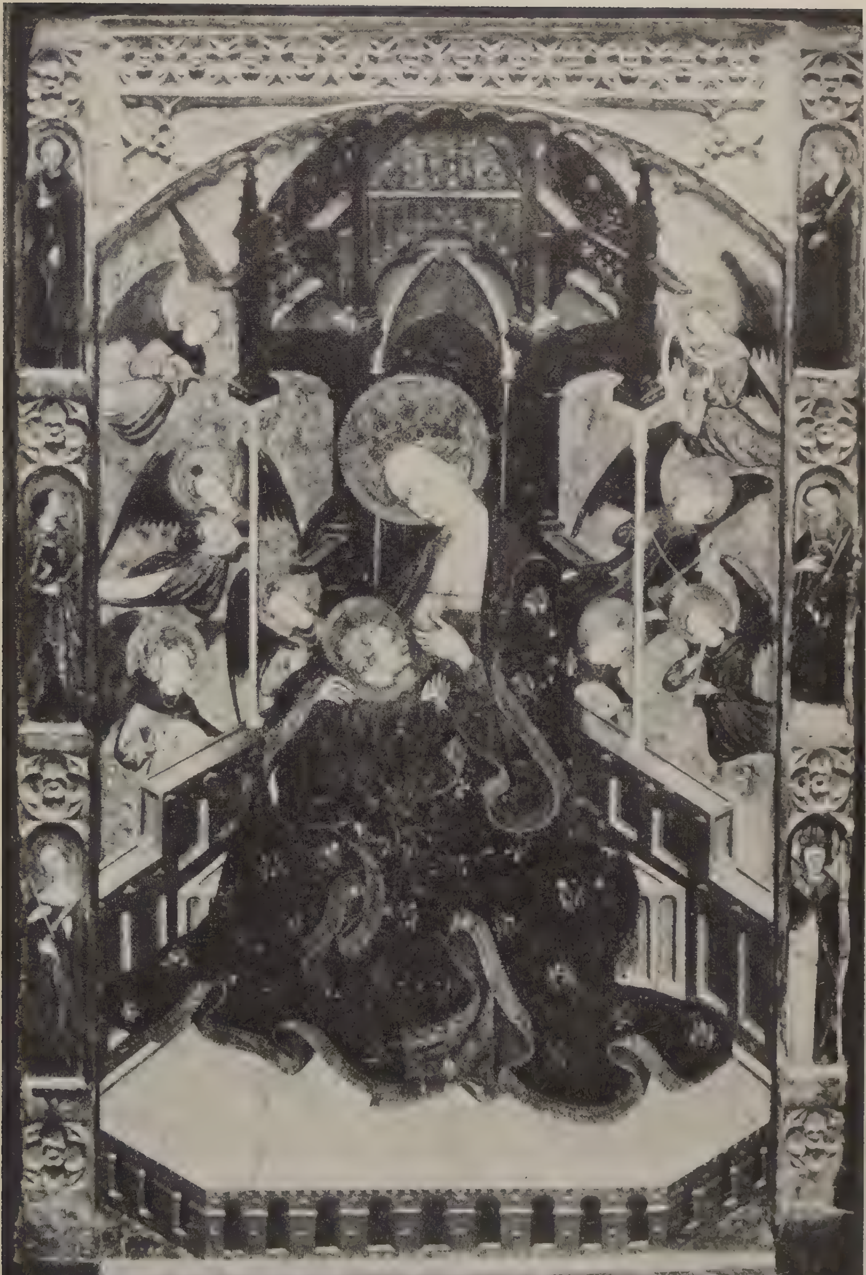

Fig. 216. MADONNA OF CERVERA. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

are really more like those of French Gothic painting; and, although *genre* is only sparingly admitted,[1] the altarpiece unmistakably reflects familiarity with the bright and elegant French aspects of internationalism. One of the few pieces of *genre* is the whole panel that represents Cain and Abel as Catalan rustics and lays stress upon Eve spinning at the door of her house like any matron of the time and Adam working his field within a wattled fence. The draperies are in every way reminiscent of French sculpture of the epoch: they flow more amply, the wave-lengths of the undulations are greater, the expanses have a Burgundian breadth, and their edges show a sculptural sharpness and cleanness. The result is a larger and grander manner than the simpler Serra brothers attained. From constantly recurring examples of such folds, those on the following figures may be singled out for special mention: the angels of the Baptism and the Annunciation of the Birth, the Virgin of the latter compartment, and, above all, the Deity in the impressive representation of the Creation (Fig. 217). The color has a French brightness and is more vivid than that of the Serras or Borrassá, becoming in places almost gaudy and exhibiting a predilection for an orange red. The general mood is somewhat more intense and nervous. In the first kneeling Magus of the Epiphany, this quality declares itself in a greater devotional ardor. The formality of Spanish design may be found in the curious treatment of the sin of Adam and Eve, where the garden of Eden is surrounded by symmetrically arranged pieces of castle-like walls, and in the highly and delightfully stylized pattern of the clouds and wings of the angels in the Creation. The schematization of the clouds in scallops appears as early in Spanish monumental painting as the Romanesque period. The same queer architecture as in the fall of our first parents is used in the expulsion from Paradise. Although the master of Guimerá is more slovenly in his drawing than one would guess from photographic reproductions, as especially in the Last Judgment, yet such an original composition as the Creation reveals him as a person of high imagination, invention, and religious sensibility. A further strange bit of iconography is the

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[1] I cannot follow Miss Richert in discovering in the hell of the Last Judgment any more elements of *genre* than were usual in mediaeval renderings of this theme.

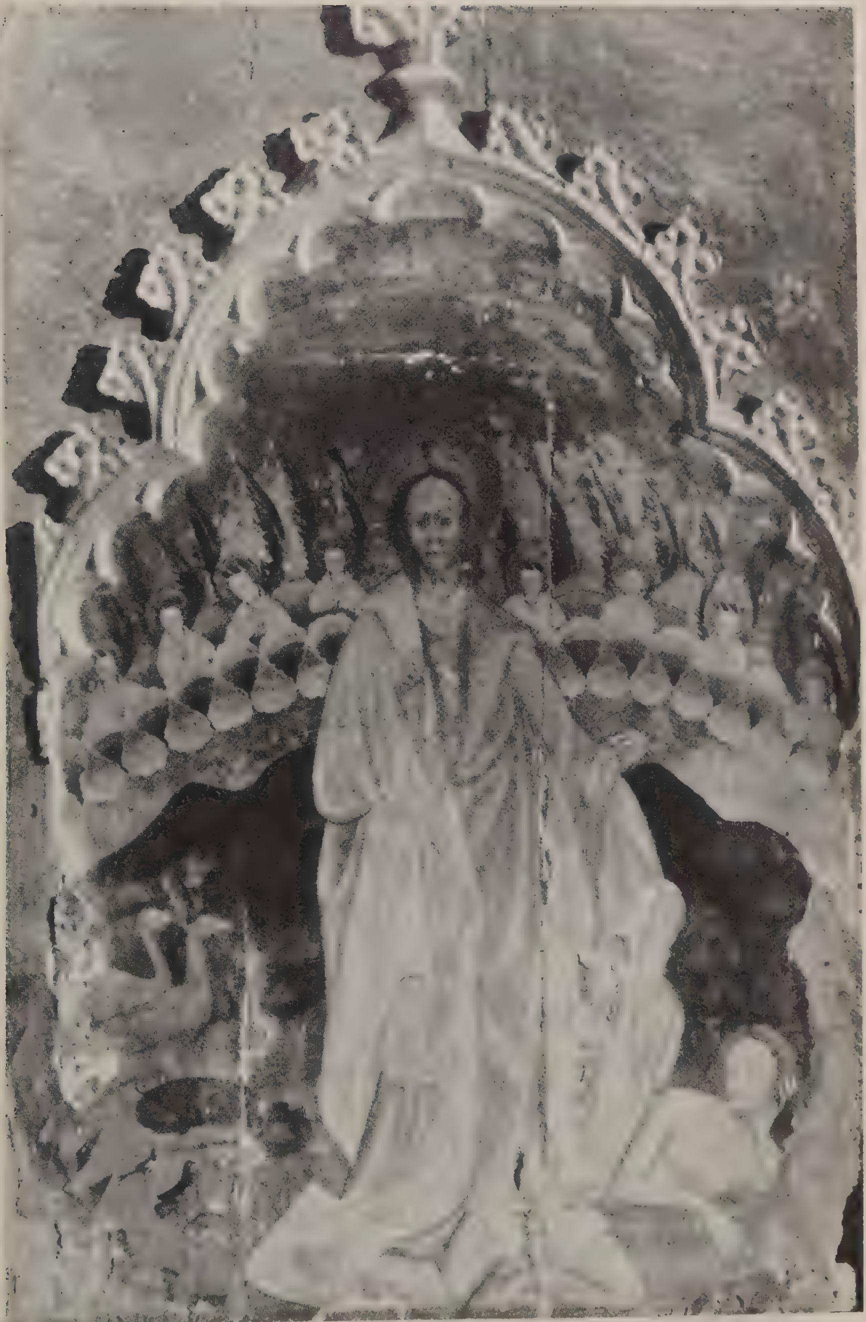

FIG. 217. CREATION, SECTION OF RETABLE OF GUIMERÁ. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Thomas)

introduction of the Virgin and at least one other of the holy women into the Last Supper.[1] Despite his occasional sketchy draughtsmanship, he labors the foreshortening of the ceiling in the Last Supper and the Annunciation of the Birth as obviously, though not so successfully, as Paolo Uccello.

Durán's ascription of the lovely Madonna of Cervera to the same hand may be set down as virtually demonstrated. Perhaps the principal reason for inserting the timid adverb "virtually" is the technical superiority of this panel. It is not only the geographical propinquity of Cervera to Guimerá that bolsters up the attribution, but also parallelisms in style and accessories, some of which Durán enumerates. The patent analogies are found in the type of the Virgin and in the nervously elaborate undulation of her copious draperies. The edge of her mantle is trimmed with the pearls that so frequently accent the outlines of the costumes in the Guimerá retable. The angels of Cervera resemble those of the scene from Guimerá depicting the gift of the girdle to St. Thomas. In search of proof, one can find satisfaction even in such small details as the very similar Gothic figuration of the frames or as the little diamond-shaped knobs that deck the base of the throne and also often spot the Guimerá architectural settings. If the author is the master of Guimerá, he has the distinction, in addition to the imaginative originality exhibited at Guimerá, of having created a work that possesses in a superlative degree the intangible flavor of mystic beauty of person which is characteristic of Catalan painting at this period.

To the same or to a very closely related hand should be ascribed a panel of the enthroned Virgin and Child, serenaded by two angels, in the Georg Hartmann Collection at Frankfurt am Main (Fig. 218). The most persuasive analogy to the retable of Guimerá is found in the type of the angel at the left. I am familiar with no work that incarnates more delightfully the peculiarly guileless and wistful appeal of Catalan Gothic art.

There may be next catalogued a series of works in styles more or less similar to the manner of Guimerá. First in order naturally come several panels, representing, like that of Cervera, the Madonna and angels. In one of them, from Cornellá (really a

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[1] A similar phenomenon occurs in the Solsona Last Supper.

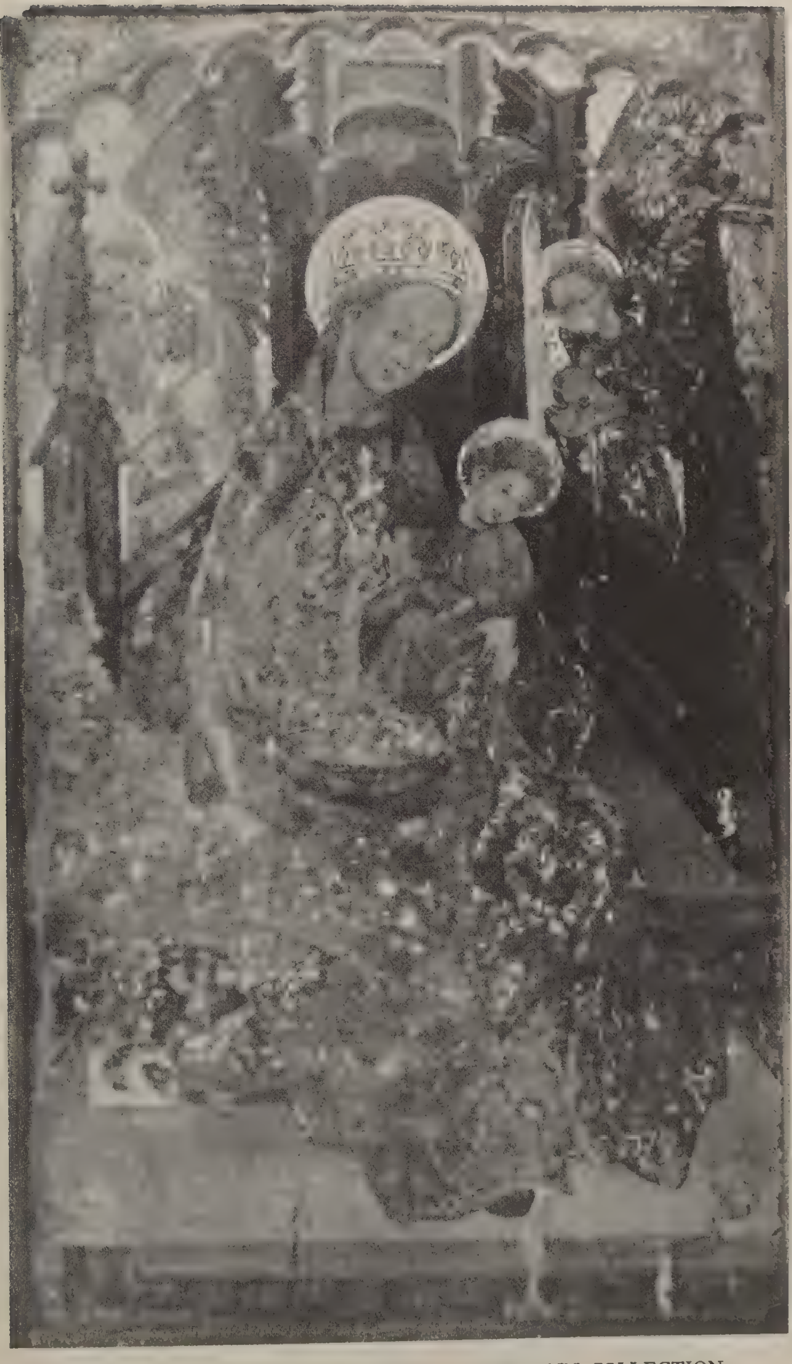

FIG. 218. MADONNA AND ANGELS. HARTMANN COLLECTION, FRANKFURT AM MAIN

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

suburb of Barcelona) and now in the Diocesan Museum of Barcelona, the Virgin, with the Child, is curiously seated, not on the throne itself, but on its base, while three angels play upon musical instruments at the right and three others sing from a book at the left (Fig. 219). Were it not that the provenience of the panel is known, it might easily have been mistaken for an Aragonese work, since the angels' wings have the bristling feathers so common in the international style of that province, and since the color is darker than the Catalonians liked (unless this trait be due wholly to the effect of time). It is the draperies rather than the types that suggest the Guimerá manner, and in any case there are other elements besides the types which demand that the panel be reckoned as one of the latest manifestations of the style. A date before 1430, indeed, scarcely seems possible. For instance, the rather extensive introduction of embossings, as upon the Virgin's halo and orphreys, points us onward in the fifteenth century. The lower section of the Child's tunic illustrates the persistent practice of treating patterns in brocades, without regard to foreshortening, as splendid decorative expanses. Earlier and closer to the manner of Guimerá, yet not by the hand which painted that altarpiece, is a panel in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, evidently once the crown of a retable and said to have come from Villafranca del Panadés, representing the Madonna seated on the pavement amidst music-making angels, while other celestial spirits hold behind and above them a canopy of magnificent brocade (Fig. 220). Technically, the fragment has no great merit, but iconographically it possesses some interest, for the smallness of the Child, corresponding to a trait of the international style of Germany, is one of those elements in Catalan painting of the period that gives us pause before making an unqualified denial of a direct and specific relationship with Teutonic art. The same subject, although with the Madonna now enthroned, is treated, still with dependence upon the Guimerá tradition, in a panel of the Salas Capitulares of the cathedral, Barcelona, on the frame of which six small effigies of feminine saints continue to witness to familiarity with Sienese models. The number of the musical angels, in the lower part of the picture, is also six, and the throne is depicted as adorned with

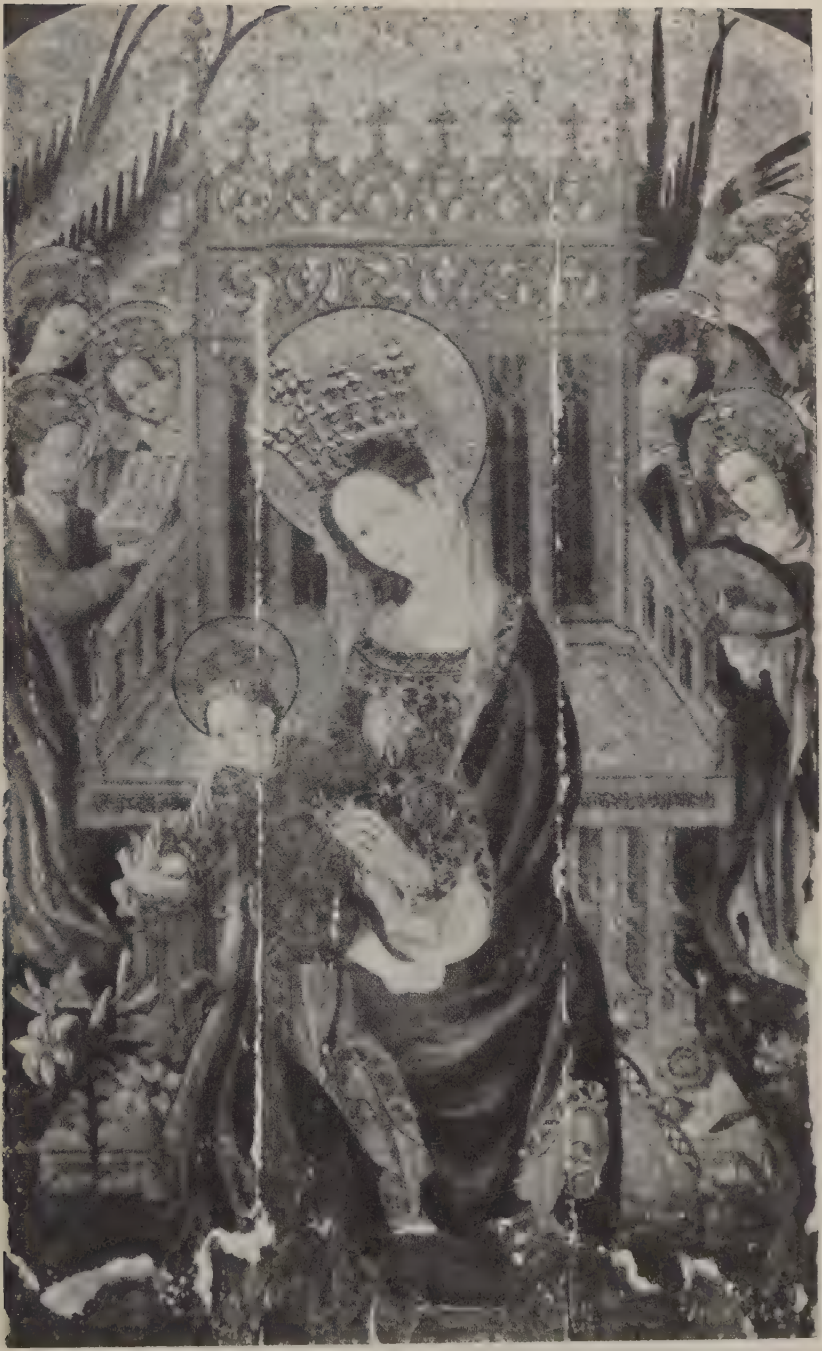

Fig. 219. MADONNA AND ANGELS. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

little sculptured figures. The closest approximation to the manner of Guimerá is found in the angularities of the long, flowing Gothic draperies. At the bottom of the panel are two escutcheons containing each a pair of shoes, so that the work may be surmised to have been executed for the shoemakers' guild; but it cannot be supposed a section of Martorell's lost retable in the cathedral for this guild and so be used to reconstruct his personality, for the subject of the Madonna and Child is not recorded as having been included among the themes of that painting. Two other versions of the subject, both mentioned by Miss Richert and both from the tops of retables, deserve a passing word chiefly because they might be taken as proof that the Gothic tendency to naturalism was more pronounced in Spain than elsewhere. One of them, again in the Salas Capitulares of the Barcelona cathedral and revealing a later aspect of a style more or less like that of Guimerá, depicts the Virgin as cutting a shirt for her Son, while an angel holds for her the fabric, and the Child himself as trying to walk with a go-cart, supported by

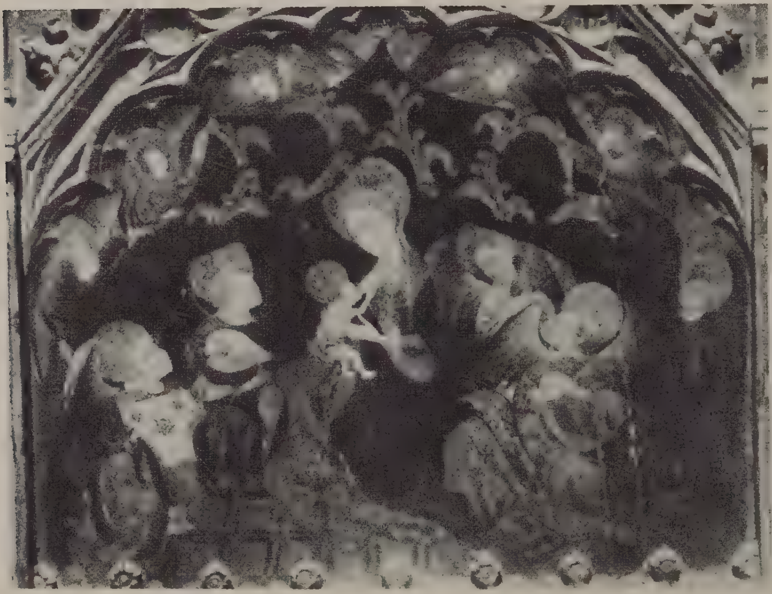

Fig. 220. MADONNA AND ANGELS. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

one angel and lured on to His first steps by another with a bird. The other version, from Encamp in Andorra and now in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, far below the aesthetic standard of pictures ordinarily admitted to this book, shows the Child held by His Mother and learning the notes from a sheet of music. In this instance, the naturalism may be simply the expression of the baldly peasant mind of the man who executed the picture and who, never having been trained in a great school, was troubled by no aesthetic preconceptions in regard to idealism. Because of the countrified character of the art, it is impossible to tell at what time in the fifteenth century the panel was painted or what were the stylistic affiliations of the craftsman.

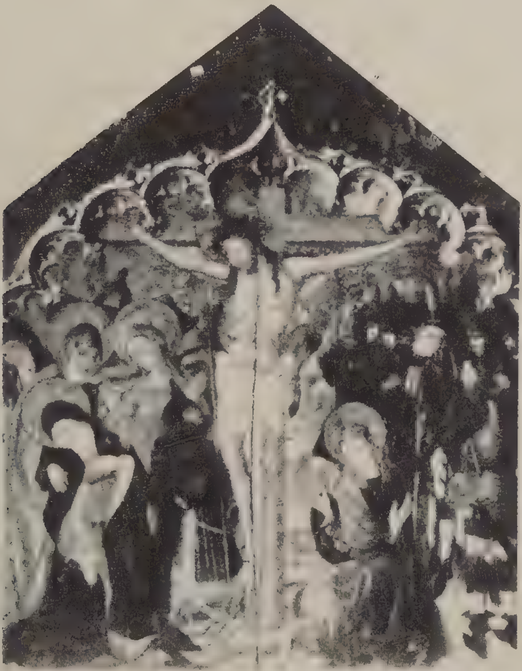

Fig. 221. CRUCIFIXION. ROMÁN VICENTE COLLECTION, SARAGOSSA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Intimately related to the manner of Guimerá, but of the early fifteenth rather than of the fourteenth century, is an isolated pinnacle of a retable representing the Crucifixion in the Román Vicente Collection at Saragossa, which is ascribed by Mayer to the Valencian school but which appears to me Catalan (Fig. 221). The Valencian phase of the Guimerá manner is similar to the Catalan, but a Catalan origin for this picture is implied not only by the types but also by such accessories as the character of the frame and of the haloes and the diapering of the whole gold background instead of, as habitually at Valencia, merely the borders. The work is an example of that haggard quality of late Gothic art which often manifests itself in the manner of Guimerá, in this instance embodied in the worn faces and the languid curves of the draperies.

About half-way between the manner of Guimerá and the Franco-Flemish aspects of the international style exemplified by the Master of St. George lie two fragments both dealing with the Passion but not by the same hand. The first is one of three Gothic panels of the Crucifixion in the Salas Capitulares of the cathedral, Barcelona, and is earlier than the other two, one of which is a part of the great retable of the Transfiguration. It may be distinguished from the other two by the fact that it is illustrated by Bertaux.[1] The passage that most preserves the manner of Guimerá is the group of the Virgin swooning in the arms of the holy women and St. John. The rest already has the lavish contemporary costumes and much of the spirit of the fully developed Franco-Flemish style, so that it should be dated in the first quarter of the fifteenth century rather than, with Bertaux, at the end of the fourteenth. The crowded space of the panel throbs with the agitation and bodily contortions of flamboyant Gothic. The other fragment,[2] which has entered the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, from a private collection, consists of two small compartments, enshrining the Deposition and the Pietà (Fig. 222). The angels and draperies continue the Guimerá manner; but here and there, in the midst of the ruins that time has made of the panel, one can discern bits of extremely delicate painting, as in the heads of Christ in the Deposition and of the crucified thief at the left, which, in their manifest dependence upon the technique of

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[1] *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, 1907, II, 121.

[2] I should not exclude the possibility that this fragment is Valencian.

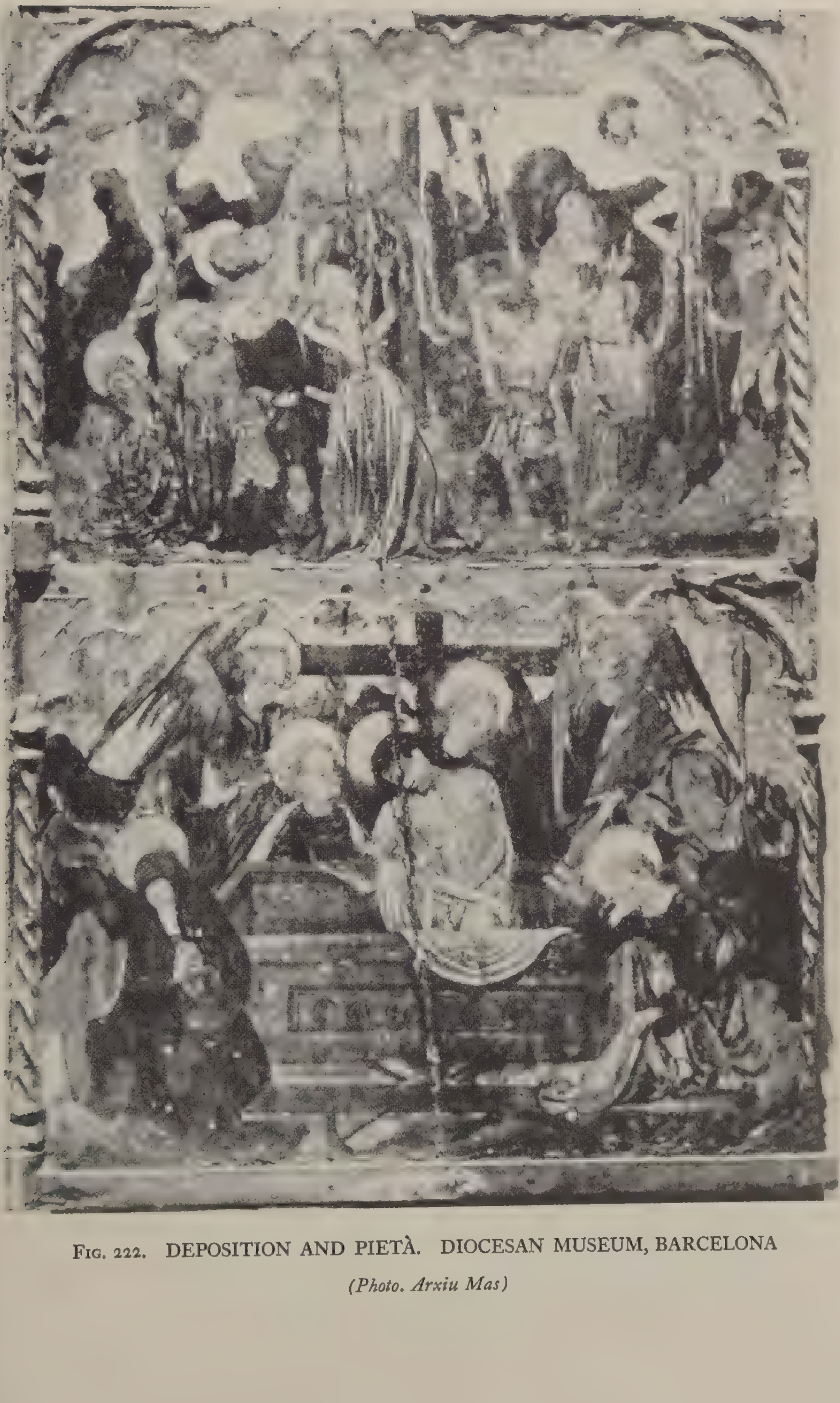

FIG. 222. DEPOSITION AND PIETÀ. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

illumination, reveal how such a work as this was transitional to the production of the Master of St. George. The composition of the central group of the Pietà, indeed, resembles that of the Passion predella of the Barcelona cathedral, which in all probability was painted by the Master of St. George himself. With these two fragments of the Crucifixion and of the Deposition and Pietà may be classified also the remains of a retable of the Passion, which has a predella of figures of saints and of the weeping Virgin, Nos. 1024, 1025, 1027, and 1029 of the Museum at Vich.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE MASTER OF ST. GEORGE AND HIS SCHOOL

In the attempt to introduce some order and classification into the large number of works that the international movement has left us from Catalonia, we may form another group of paintings around the personality of the artist whom we are still unable to denominate more definitely than the Master of St. George. The title comes to him from the picture that may be taken as the capital revelation of this phase of Catalan internationalism, the panel of St. George and the dragon (Fig. 223), another of the landmarks in the history of Spanish art which America is fortunate enough to possess, now anonymously loaned to the Art Institute, Chicago. The style of this group is more closely related to the Guimerá manner than to the tradition of the Serras and Borrassá, but its monuments are, in general, a little subsequent in date to both of these aspects of Catalan painting, carrying us into the later manifestations of internationalism during the thirties and even the forties of the Quattrocento. Not only, therefore, are its achievements somewhat less primitive, but they exhibit, as one of their definitive characteristics, an analogy to those examples of the international movement in northern Europe in which the precedents that led into the great Flemish school of the fifteenth century have modified the tone of the French expressions of the style. Or, if we wish to say that the international movement was born of the mating of French and Flemish aesthetic traditions, then we can describe this Catalan group as allied to the northern examples in which the Flemish strain has asserted itself more decidedly in the midst of the still persistent French elements. After so many undeniably mediocre paintings with which we have been obliged to deal in the study of Catalan art, it is pleasant in the panel of St. George to light once more upon a masterpiece. The distinguished technique, indeed, is one of the principal reasons for rejecting Sanpere's conjectural identification of the artist with Martorell, whom he conceived as the author of the retable of St. Mark at Manresa. This first attribution of his was nearer the truth than his second guess of Huguet. The date would correspond with the career of Martorell, for Bertaux's proposal of about 1430 is not far wrong. The types are not absolutely different from certain of those in the retable of St. Mark, and yet they vary widely from the majority of the figures in this altarpiece, which are closely related to the norms established by the Serras. The whole spirit and fresh vigor of the St. George panel constitute a decided break with the tranquil art of the Serras and the author of the St. Mark retable; and the Franco-Flemish aspect that the international style here assumes is quite diverse from the manifestations that the school of the Serras gives to the manner. Nor does there appear to be any real stylistic relation with Martorell as he has been more recently and certainly revealed to us in the miniature of the Municipal Archives of Barcelona, a work that Sanpere did not know. It is necessary, then, to continue to satisfy ourselves with the appellation, Master of St. George. The place for which the picture was originally painted is also unknown, since Sanpere was forced to recede from his pristine theory that it was the work which Martorell in 1439 painted for the convent of Pedralbes.[1]

In the case of this panel, what seem to be Flemish elements might be taken as indicating some acquaintance with the early achievements of the Van Eycks and of the great school of painting already beginning to be evolved in the Low Countries. Oil varnishes are applied to the fundamental process of *tempera;* the character of the princess's rose mantle, lined and trimmed with fur, and the manner in which it spreads forth on the ground may be paralleled in the art of Belgium; and, in particular, her crown, flowering into lilies, is strikingly similar to that of the Virgin in the great Ghent altarpiece made by the Van Eycks in 1432. If we believe that the Master of St. George thus exhibits knowledge of the Ghent retable before Dalmau in 1445 imitated it with more conviction, we should have to shove the date of the panel further along in the thirties; but there was

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[1] Sanpere, *Los cuatrocentistas,* I, 193–194, and II, 276.

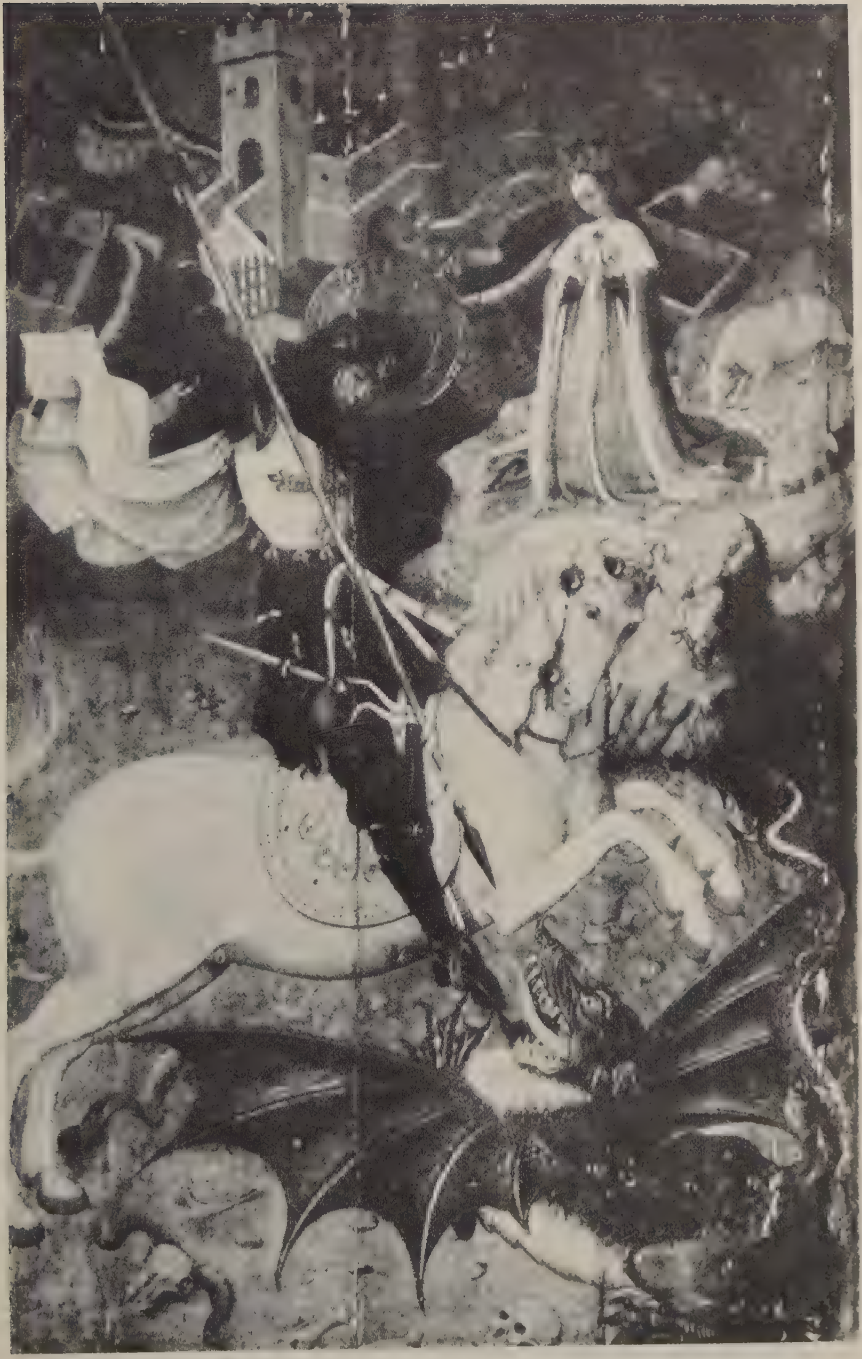

Fig. 223. MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON. ART INSTITUTE, CHICAGO

(Courtesy of the Art Institute)

precedent in miniatures for such a crown, to which both the Master of St. George and the Van Eycks may have resorted. In general, the analogies in the picture to developed Flemish painting may be explained by the common indebtedness both of this school of painting and of the Master of St. George to the Franco-Flemish international style, especially as it had declared itself in illumination. The membership of the panel in the international movement is apparent at every point. The composition is one that was common property of the whole international school, appearing, for instance, in the *Heures du maréchal de Boucicaut.* Although, as in painting in general before the Renaissance, there is no real effect of distance because the landscape rises to a horizon-line at the top of the picture, and although the perspective is still incorrect, yet the international joy in nature has made the landscape more extensive and significant than was the Spanish wont at the period, so that the figures are beginning to become, as not infrequently in the international art of France and Italy, a part of the landscape instead of absorbing the whole attention and reducing the setting to a mere background. For once the influence of the French phase of internationalism has been powerful enough to oust the gold that in Spain takes the place of the sky and to introduce bits of blue at either side of the castle on the horizon. Gold indeed is only very chastely used for accents. In the international mood, furthermore, the painter multiplies and dwells upon pretty and piquant detail in the landscape. The walls, towers, and apertures of the castle that is the chief object in the vista are crammed with spectators, among them the royal parents of the princess ensconced in a balcony which is hung with a gold-brocaded red tapestry and is protected by a *baldacchino* of the same stuff. The gate of the flight of steps leading to the castle is carefully and delightfully worked out in the international way, and in the moat beautifully defined ducks and swans disport themselves. The rolling country in which the castle stands is laid out in charming little walled or hedged gardens, one of which, at the extreme left, is surmounted by an arbor of vine. In a hedge-enclosed field a man is descried at work. To the left of the rather scrupulously rendered tree that fills in the space at the upper right a flight of birds is patterned against the blue of the sky.

The foreground is also littered with the naturalistic detail in which the exponents of this movement revelled, the bones of victims bestrewing the dragon's lair, two excellently drawn lizards to the right of the horse's head, and even a fly crawling on a bone of a shoulder-blade near the ram's skull in the lower left corner. The brilliancy of the international style is embodied not only in such elements as the peacock-eyes in each cartilage of the dragon's wings but also in a very extensive accentuation through embossing even when the raised parts are not gilded. The rarity of embossing in Spanish painting before about 1450 is perhaps another reason for dating the panel late rather than early in the thirties. Not only are the princess's crown, St. George's halo, spear, many sections of his armor, and numerous pieces of the horse's harness executed in relief, but the dragon is emphasized by this treatment of almost all parts of his body — the schematized figuration of the scales of his back, the heavy quills that divide his wings, the loins, claws, skin, teeth, corrugations, and even the eyes.

However primitive, the drawing is that of a master, and the carefully calculated and not too obvious design of the broad compositional outlines is not in this case destroyed by the international laboring of the detail. Nevertheless, in the international mode, the painter likes to exert his finest draughtsmanship upon small objects, such as the bits of skeletons left by the monster's depredations, especially the ram's head. The eyes of horse and dragon he has made very vivid, distinguishing, however, the fierce leer of the latter from the scared glance of the former. In general, the feeling of fright in the horse is imparted with surprising success. The vigor that differentiates the panel from the Serra tradition is incorporated in this prancing steed, in the lunging knight, and in the *verve* with which his white scarf flies out behind him, continuing in calligraphic, international lines the white mass of his cuirass as an effective block in the composition. As so much else in the picture denotes an advance towards a more mature art, so there is an increase of chiaroscuro in the modelling, possibly another Flemish trait, appearing particularly in the countenances, the saint's armor, the rocks, and the city wall.

There seems to be no reason for doubting the evidence brought forward by Sanpere to prove that the four smaller panels depicting the various tortures of St. George, now in the Louvre, were parts of the retable of which the central panel is this representation of the fight with the dragon. The evidence is the fact, which he discovered, that this panel used to be united, in the collection of the Catalan family, Rocabruna, to the pieces possessed by the Louvre. The only escape from the evidence for a critic like Mayer,[1] who once refused to believe that the Louvre panels were by the same hand as the Chicago picture, would appear to be the supposition that because of the similarity of theme they were at some time arbitrarily attached to a work by another painter, namely the representation of St. George and the dragon. But no one would deny that the style is at least similar, and it would be a surprising coincidence that any collector, in a desire to find pieces to match a central panel, should have chanced upon lateral panels of the same legend in so parallel a pictorial manner. The internal evidence, moreover, may be said to clinch the external proof, for the style is not merely similar but virtually identical. The figure-drawing, for instance, is the same. The spectators viewing St. George's struggle from the castle in the Chicago picture belong to the race that watch his sufferings in the Louvre panels. The tall, red, oriental hat worn by one of the onlookers in the castle has several analogues in the lateral compartments, and behind the princess's father looms a turban like those that crowd the backgrounds in these other sections of the altarpiece. There are one or two obvious but not inexplicable differences between the central and lateral panels, such as the gold backgrounds, patterned with a foliate *motif*, in the smaller pictures. The woodenness of the horse of the potentate who supervises St. George's dragging is merely an accident, for the charger that rears in the scene of the actual execution as he seems to descry the soul of the martyr ascending to heaven is a worthy companion of St. George's steed in the central panel. If keener eyes than mine discern more significant variations, my answer would be that the divergence is not more decided than in the undoubted unity of the parts of the altarpiece of St. Lucy in the Martin le Roy Collection or than in many another Catalan retable. The

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[1] He has now retracted this opinion.

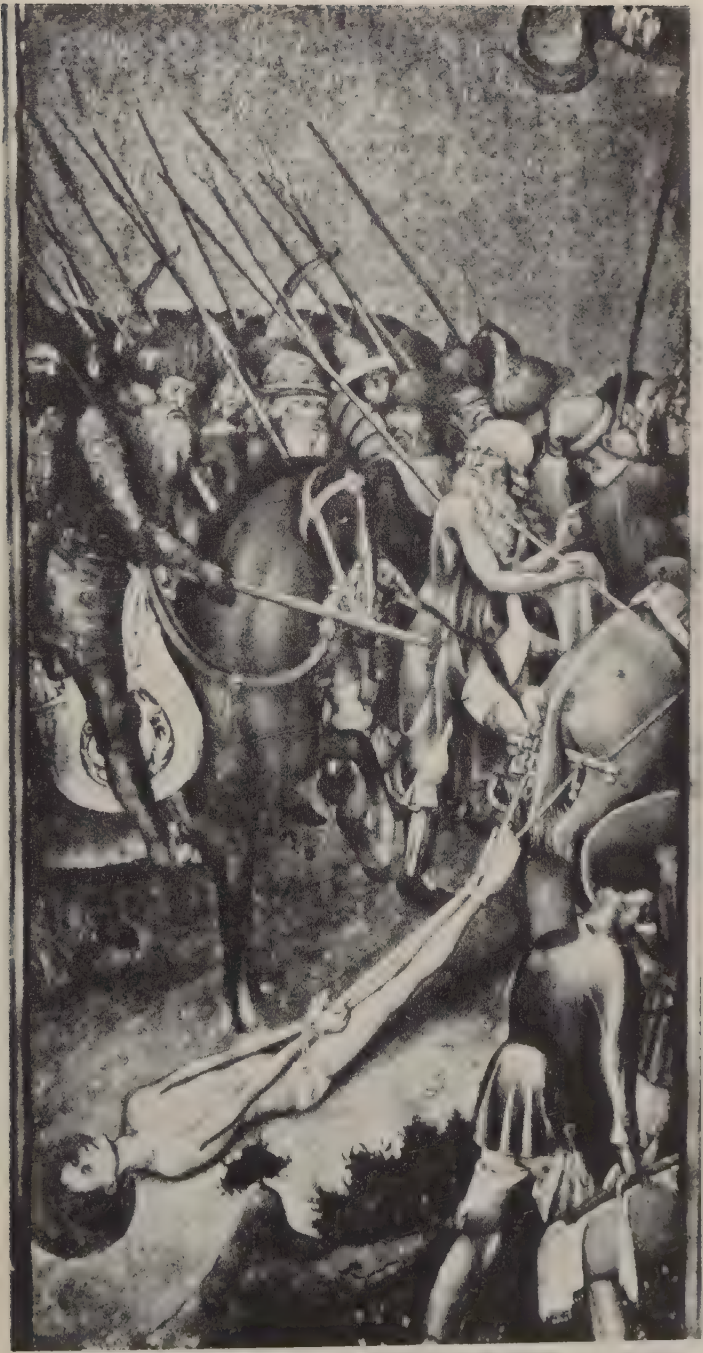

Fig. 224. MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. TORTURE OF ST. GEORGE. LOUVRE, PARIS

(Photo. Bruckmann)

collaboration of assistants is usually to be taken into account, although in such cases the whole work can be called the creation of the master of the shop as issuing from his invention, direction, and constant participation. The final corroboration of a single authorship, in the present instance, as so often in life, is provided by a very small thing, a fly upon the crupper of the horse or ass that drags the martyr (Fig. 224) and another upon the shield at the extreme left in the decapitation, to match their comrade upon the bone in the haunt of the dragon. The fact that Mayer formerly agreed with earlier critics, who did not know that the lateral panels had once been joined to the picture of the fight with the dragon, in considering them the production of a southern French artist only demonstrates how closely this aspect of the international movement in Spain was related to that of France. The panels are full of the meticulous naturalism of the style — gaunt tatterdemalions of executioners, the successful delineation of a malicious Jew as the councillor of Dacian who presides over the torture of scourging, the dog that lies at Dacian's feet at the trial (Fig. 225), and the influence of the mystery plays, so often visible in the international school and in this instance declaring itself in the high-pointed hats, turbans, and gorgeous robes of the saint's Anatolian persecutors by which the stage sought to create the atmosphere of the Orient. The general tonality of color has the ruddy richness of such Italian internationalists as Gentile da Fabriano. In the flagellation and the execution, the white headdresses are effectively accented with bits of the red hair that they cover. The frequent tendency of late Gothic to exaggerated posture and expression and even to caricature, which appears in these panels and is perhaps of Flemish origin, leads Bertaux to point out analogies in the sculptured retable by Pedro Juan de Vallfogona at Tarragona. The similarities in costume, in an occasional scrawny figure, and in the presence of another fly, here on one of the bulls who will drag St. Thecla, are perhaps not sufficient to prove that one artist knew the work of the other. The relationship is rather one of general mood. Certainly it is not possible to assert which artist learned from the other or that Pedro Juan was influenced by the Master of St. George and that therefore the painting must have been executed before

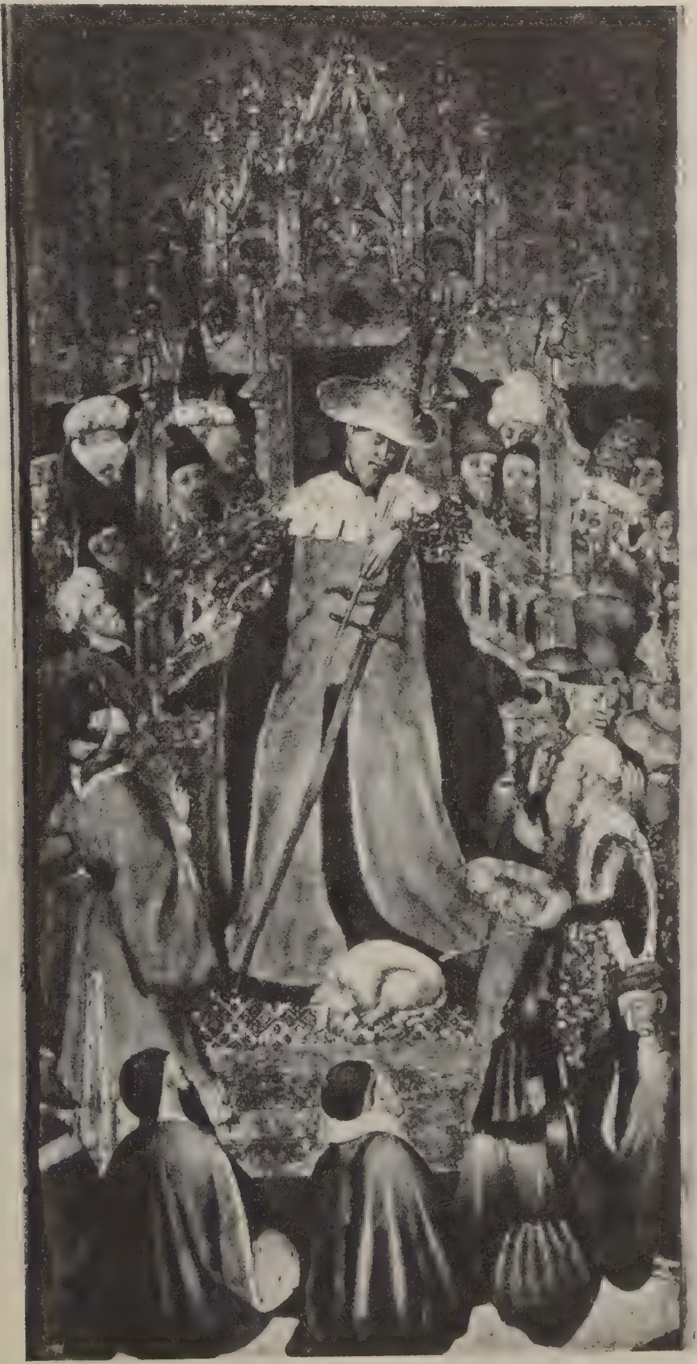

Fig. 225. MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. TRIAL OF ST. GEORGE. LOUVRE, PARIS

(Photo. Bruckmann)

1426, the date of the commission for the sculpture. The backgrounds of the St. George panels teem with the crowds which were soon to become a peculiarity of Catalan painting and of which we have already found a premonition in Pedro Serra; in the scenes of the scourging and death the aggregation of turbans and other headdresses, forming a curve that ends off the tops of the compositions by a convention, implies the unseen bodies below in the same manner as in the many examples in later Catalan art. The nimble mind of the Master of St. George is full of pretty bits of invention, such as the old courtier who respectfully removes his turban as he makes his accusation of the young martyr in the presence of the proconsul Dacian, or the clever idea of closing in this composition at the bottom by a line of seated councillors facing Dacian but with their backs to the spectator. In the scene of the decapitation his alertness of intellect is incorporated in his attempts at a number of difficult foreshortenings. He anticipates Velázquez's Surrender of Breda in the telling way in which he uses the lances of the soldiers as elements of the compositions. In the flagellation and execution they break the monotony of the rounding mass of onlookers who fill in the background, and they are intelligently varied in direction and height. In the episode of the dragging their decided slant accentuates the feeling of the onward march. More than in the central panel we see in the lateral compartments the delightful delicacy of draughtsmanship that emanates from his indebtedness to the Franco-Flemish miniaturists. But it must have had a source also in a delicacy of temperament, for he treats certain figures, as always St. George, with a Sassetta-like tenderness. The brutality of many of his other personages is, after all, a brutality that exists only in a world of fancy where even roughness has a kind of exquisiteness about it.

Bertaux's penetrating eye discerned a similarity to the style of the Master of St. George in the retable of St. Lucy in the Martin le Roy Collection at Paris (Fig. 226). He holds to the safer opinion that the hand in the altarpiece of St. Lucy is very close to, instead of identical with, that revealed in the retable of St. George; but Leprieur's[1] contention that both altarpieces

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[1] *Catalogue Raisonné de la Collection Martin le Roy*, V, 49 ff.

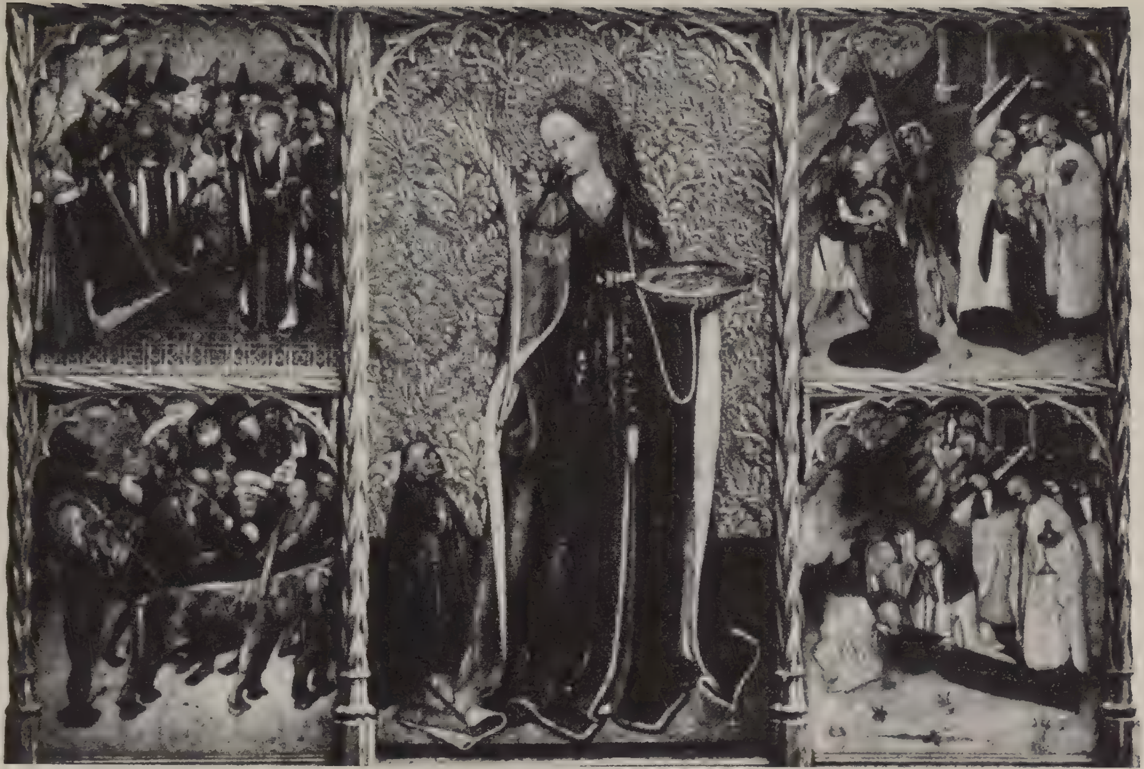

Fig. 226. MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. RETABLE OF ST. LUCY. MARTIN LE ROY COLLECTION, PARIS

(From the "Catalogue Raisonné" of the Collection)

were painted by the same artist is very convincing. It is the four lateral panels, concerned with the martyrdom of St. Lucy, that exhibit the most persuasive parallelisms in the elongated and emaciated Gothic international types, in the oriental costumes of the mysteries, in the heads that crowd the background of the episode of the trial, in the use, for the scenes of the stabbing and burial, of a background of a high-perched castle with an entrance like that of the château in the representation of St. George and the dragon, and especially, in the episode of the stabbing (with which is combined the last Communion), the striking analogy of the executioners to those who flog St. George.[1] The tender delicacy of the painter's temperament has a better opportunity to express itself in the life of the feminine saint than in that of St. George, above all in the episodes of the Communion and burial. The gold backgrounds of the lateral compartments in both retables are lightly incised with an analogous foliate design. The similarities, however, extend also to the central panel, with its large effigy of St. Lucy clad in a fur-lined and fur-trimmed mantle of undulating Gothic contour like that of the princess who watches St. George, and with a dwarfed clerical donor quite in the manner of the internationalists. The tonality of both the princess's and St. Lucy's costumes consists in a vibration of different reds. The practice of embossing certain parts that we have observed in the large panel of St. George is repeated in the halo, fillet, belt, and palm-branch of the central St. Lucy and on the ring for hanging up the plate that holds the attribute of her eyes. She is so much more grandiose and painted in so much more masterly a manner that, if chance had separated this panel from the others, scepticism would have arisen in assigning the lateral sections to the same author, as in the case of the retable of St. George. Yet the rendering of the St. Lucy is only a broadening and exaltation of the style of the side sections, and the fight of St. George with the dragon is merely an amelioration and invigoration of the qualities exhibited in the scenes from his martyrdom. The large pattern of the design in the central gold background, perhaps suggested by Gothic velvets, and the raised character of this design would tend to push forward the

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[1] Other analogies in detail are enumerated by Leprieur.

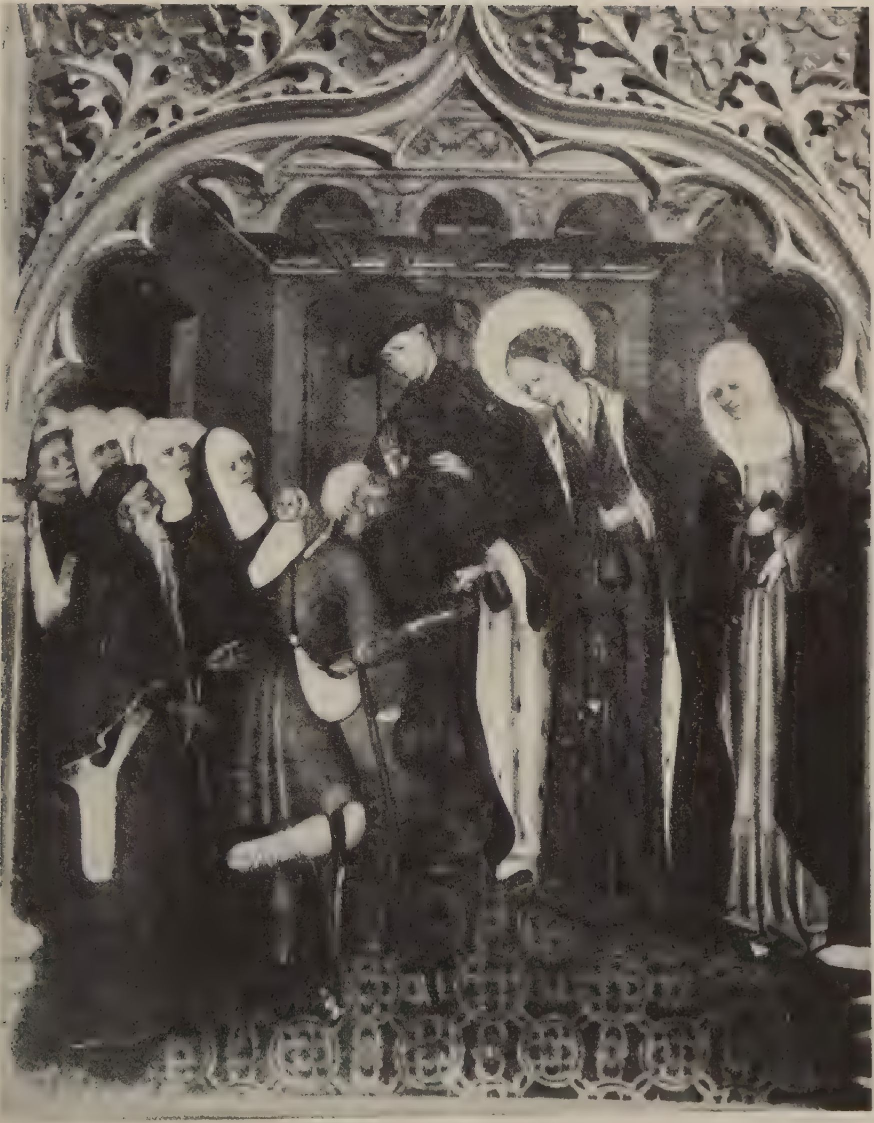

Fig. 227. MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. ST. LUCY'S DISTRIBUTION OF HER DOWRY. BARNOLA COLLECTION, BARCELONA (?)

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

date of the St. Lucy retable to about 1440, so that it was probably painted after the altarpiece of St. George.

I have little hesitation in claiming as pinnacles of the Martin le Roy altarpiece two further panels from St. Lucy's life which, at my last knowledge, were in the Barnola Collection, Barcelona. Although I have not had the opportunity to compare their dimensions with those of the lateral sections of the Martin le Roy retable, the rest of the evidence is virtually sufficient for making this addition to Bertaux's attributions and for believing that they were once parts of the retable. In the first place, they are episodes from St. Lucy's life not included in the altarpiece at Paris, her distribution of her dowry to the poor (Fig. 227) and her torture by fire. In the second place, the pinnacles (as well as the predella) are absent from the Paris picture; and the ogee form of the arch, bursting into leaf, which covers each of the Barnola panels shows that they were once the topmost pieces of a retable. In the third place, they fit exactly into the course of the narrative, if we consider that they were once the pinnacles directly above each of the lateral sections of the Paris picture. The narrative begins in the left section and reads down, then passes to the right section and reads down once more. Thus the Barnola distribution of the dowry, as the left pinnacle, naturally precedes St. Lucy's citation before Paschasius by her fiancé, the first scene at the upper left in the Martin le Roy picture; and the other Barnola panel, the torture by fire, comes in, as pinnacle at the right, above the upper Paris panel in which she is finally despatched with the knife and receives her last Communion. In the fourth place, the inner polylobing of the frames is the same. In the fifth place, the style is identical not only with that of the Master of St. George but with just the phase of this Master's manner which manifests itself in the Martin le Roy picture. St. Lucy and her betrothed are the same personages in dress as well as in type in both the Paris and Barnola sections. In the Barnola distribution of the dowry, St. Lucy wears exactly the same costume as in her citation before the judge at Paris, a gown trimmed with fur and covered by a mantle lined with ermine, and she has the same coiffure of a net or veiling over her hair. Beginning with the scene of the attempt to drag her by oxen in the Paris picture, the ermine mantle is removed, and this particularity marks also the Barnola panel of the torture by fire, which occurred in the original retable between the episode of the oxen and the actual martyrdom. When her lover disapprovingly watches her sacrifice of her dowry or stoically views her burning, he displays the same rich Burgundian garb and high hat as in the two episodes in which he appears at Paris, the citation and the scene of the oxen (although in the citation, like the accuser of St. George, he has respectfully removed his hat in the presence of the magistrate and holds it in his hand). The final link in the chain of proof is the absolute identity in physical traits and in attire of such subordinate actors as Paschasius and his aged councillor, who appear in the Barnola episode of the torture and in the Paris citation and dragging by oxen. The identity extends even to the criss-cross *motif* on the band of the judge's high-pointed hat. After all this conclusive evidence it is unnecessary to mention other parallelisms, like that of the gaunt executioners in the burning and actual martyrdom, or the similarity of the group of recipients of St. Lucy's charity to the clergy who officiate at her burial, or the identity in the figuration of the gold backgrounds. The propriety of attributing the whole original altarpiece to the Master of St. George himself is increased by the analogy of the man at the extreme left in the group of beggars to the type of the St. George in the various episodes of his suffering.

Another member of this set of paintings, though scarcely by the author of the St. George and St. Lucy altarpieces, is a retable said to have come from the monastery of Poblet, preserved to us now only in four panels in the Muntadas Collection, Barcelona. Three of the panels, joined together, embody standing effigies of Sts. Michael and Catherine and St. Eulalia's flagellation; the fourth panel, in another room, depicts St. Eulalia on the cross. The lovely figure of St. Catherine, clad in a fur-trimmed garment, is a sister of St. George's princess and of the central St. Lucy in the Martin le Roy Collection, and like them she is a devotee of Flemish fashions. The same judge and the same throngs of oriental spectators view St. Eulalia's torture as had gloated over St. George's scourging and St. Lucy's accusation by her betrothed before Paschasius.

To an imitator of the Master of St. George Bertaux ascribes the fragments of an altarpiece in the Museum of Vich (Nos. 1044, 1050–1052), consisting of: four compartments (Fig. 228) representing the Nativity of Christ, the Death of the Virgin, the burning of the sages converted by St. Catherine, and the attempt to slay her by the wheels; a crowning piece depicting her debate with the sages; and a part of a predella with figures of Sts. John Evangelist(?), Lucy, and Barbara. The analogies are not specific enough to justify the opinion that the painter was actually conversant with the works of the Master of St. George, but the more general similarities demonstrate him to have been affected by the same Franco-Flemish movement out of which the Master of St. George grew. The kneeling St. Catherine in the scene of the wheels bears a certain relation in pose and abbreviated costume to the kneeling St. Eulalia of the flagellation in the Muntadas Collection, but neither is the hand the same in this case. The general qualities that the Vich retable shares with the other members of this group are so obvious that they scarcely need listing — the jumbled crowd and rich theatrical costumes and tall hats of the executioners and spectators killed by the breaking of the wheels, the gaunt, caricatured types of Maximin's henchmen here and in the scene of the conflagration, the French dress of the saint in her debate, and the dainty pattern of leaves incised in the gold backgrounds. A characteristic bit of international *genre* is the detail, in the Nativity, of the shepherd attempting to restrain the ass from braying, biting, or careering. But the types and composition in the Death of the Virgin show that there was another side to the artist's personality: he owed something also to the tradition of the Serras. Possibly he had been trained in their school, and then superimposed upon this foundation traits from the more modern Franco-Flemish manner that was becoming the vogue. To these derivative aspects of his art, although a man of but modest technical abilities, he adds the impress of his own rather marked individuality. The essence of this individuality is a sensitive reserve, which has an aversion for strong relief and leaves the flesh almost unmodelled, which likes dainty forms in place of the delicate ones of the Master of St. George and draws them with a light touch, which

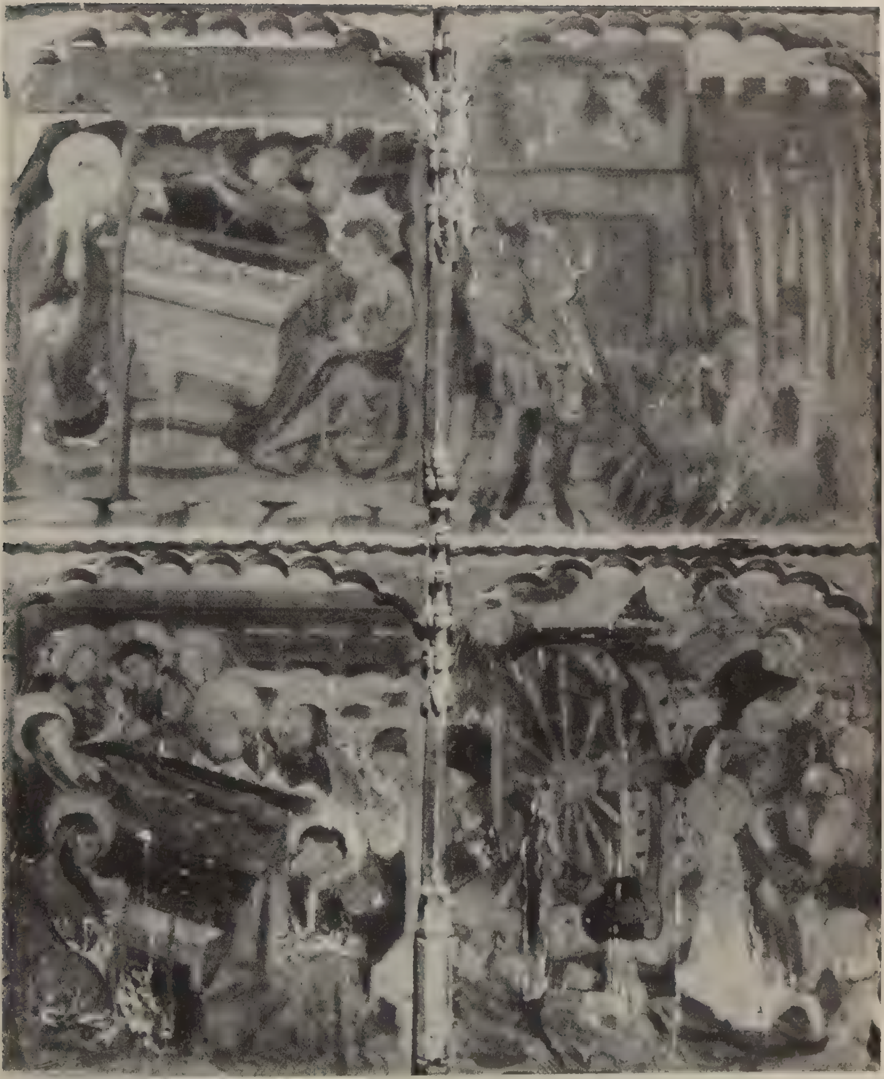

Fig. 228. SCHOOL OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. FRAGMENT OF A RETABLE. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Thomas)

shrinks from blatant color and achieves a harmony of muted, almost deadened tones. The flames he conventionalizes delightfully into a series of vertical tongues, resembling candlesticks. Sanpere, as a second thought, ascribed the four panels of St. George's martyrdom to Huguet; and, although his attribution is an impossible one, many of the types in the three scenes from the life of St. Catherine at Vich prophesy the personages of Huguet with so much closer an approximation than does the Master of St. George that they demonstrate the Catalan aspects of late Franco-Flemish internationalism to have been one of the sources of the style which Huguet evolved in the second half of the century.

It is possible to augment still further the group of pictures brought together by Bertaux. Two of such additional works, a predella of the Passion in the Salas Capitulares of the cathedral of Barcelona and a retable of St. Michael in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona, are inextricably related to each other, but, be it said at once, are not certainly the creation of a single artist. The smaller work, the predella, may be considered first because I could not cavil with the person who should wish to attribute it to the Master of St. George himself. It consists of five compartments, a central Pietà flanked on the left by the Betrayal and Christ before Pilate (Fig. 229) and on the right by the Resurrection and Ascension. The list of the general qualities, in which all pictures of the group, by whomever executed, more or less participate and which it has so often been necessary to bore the reader by recapitulating, is not enough to prove that the author was the Master of St. George — the oriental and Burgundian costumes, the turbans and high-pointed hats of the East, the throngs in the backgrounds allowing often only the headdresses to be seen, the vivid characterization and even caricaturing of Jews and of persecutors, and the nervous mood of late Gothic agitation. Frankly unforeshortened tiling appears in the pavement in the scene of Christ before Pilate as in the episodes of the trials of Sts. George, Lucy, and Eulalia. It is the identity of the *svelte* and Gothically angular physical type, the same kind of brushwork, the same exquisite and miniature-like mode of laying on the paint, that make it hard to deny the attribution. The beardless

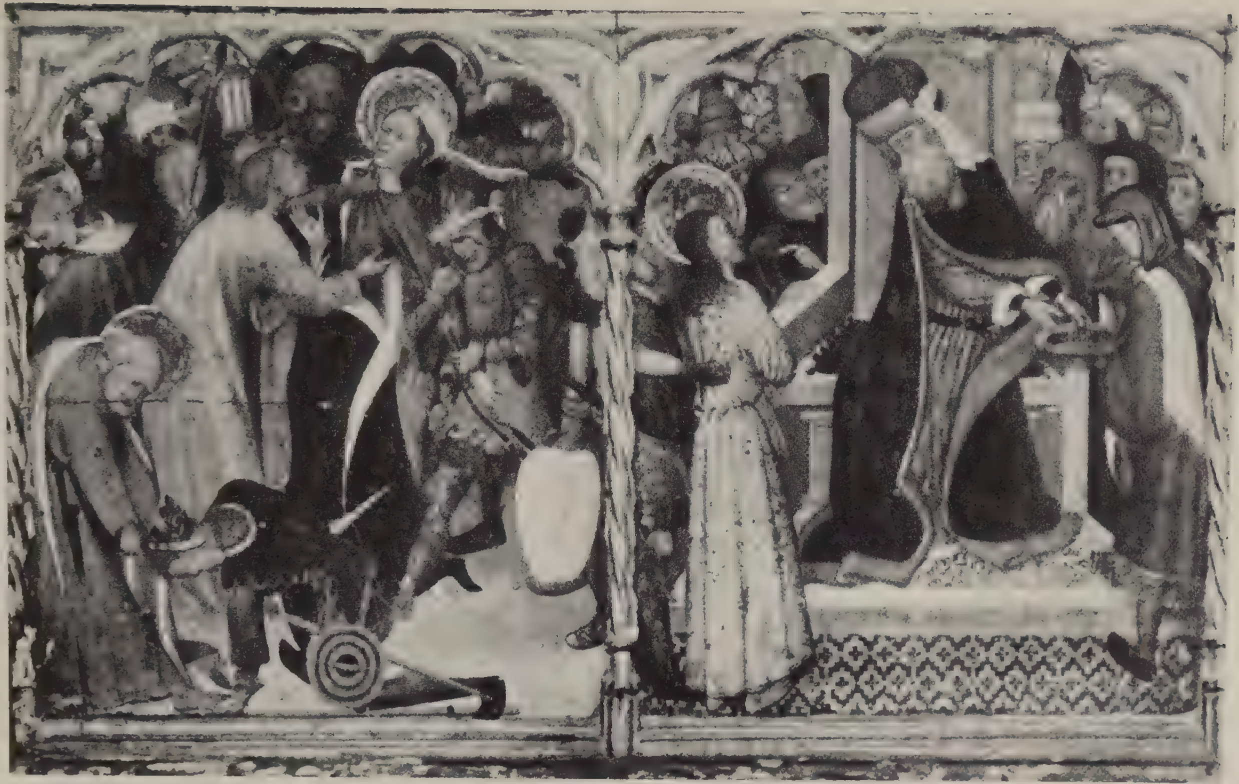

FIG. 229. MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. SECTION OF PREDELLA OF SCENES FROM THE PASSION. CATHEDRAL, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

or virtually beardless Christ, for example, seems certainly to have been executed by the same hand that followed the form of St. George through his various tortures in the panels of the Louvre. The St. John of the Betrayal and of the Ascension (if, in the latter instance, he be the young Apostle at the extreme left) has a family likeness to the St. Lucy of the lateral compartments in the Martin le Roy altarpiece. The features of the enemies of Christ, with their strongly marked bony structure and their beards, are often duplicated in St. George's tormentors. Pilate wears one of the fur-lined mantles that the Master of St. George favors, and he, as well as a spectator in the background, displays a hat banded with fur like one of the men in the throng above the oxen trying to drag St. Lucy to a place of shame. The craft is quite worthy of the Master of St. George and worthy of him at his best. The predella of the Passion, indeed, definitely reveals not only his delicacy of touch, his tender mode of rendering certain figures, as here particularly the Christ of the Betrayal and the two already mentioned figures of St. John, but also, in contrast, something of the vigor of the lunging St. George in the energy with which St. Peter cuts off the ear of the high priest's servant. The painter's ability at moments to outdistance his times in interpretation and execution may be gauged by the unexpectedly convincing treatment of sleep in the two Roman soldiers before the sarcophagus in the Resurrection, one of whom, at the right, clad in Burgundian costume, is among the most memorable figures in Catalan Gothic painting. The community of international interests is illustrated by a certain similarity of the Pietà to the versions by the Venetian contemporary, Giambono.

The retable of St. Michael from Pobla de Ciérvoles (west of Montblanch), now in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona, is indissolubly linked with the Barcelona predella by the actual identity in composition between the scenes, in each work, of the Betrayal and Trial before Pilate and even, in these scenes, by the virtual identity of costume, figure by figure. In the Tarragona altar these two scenes occur in the predella, which is devoted to the Passion but the other sections of which do not include the same episodes as at Barcelona. The main body of the retable consists of a large central figure of St. Michael

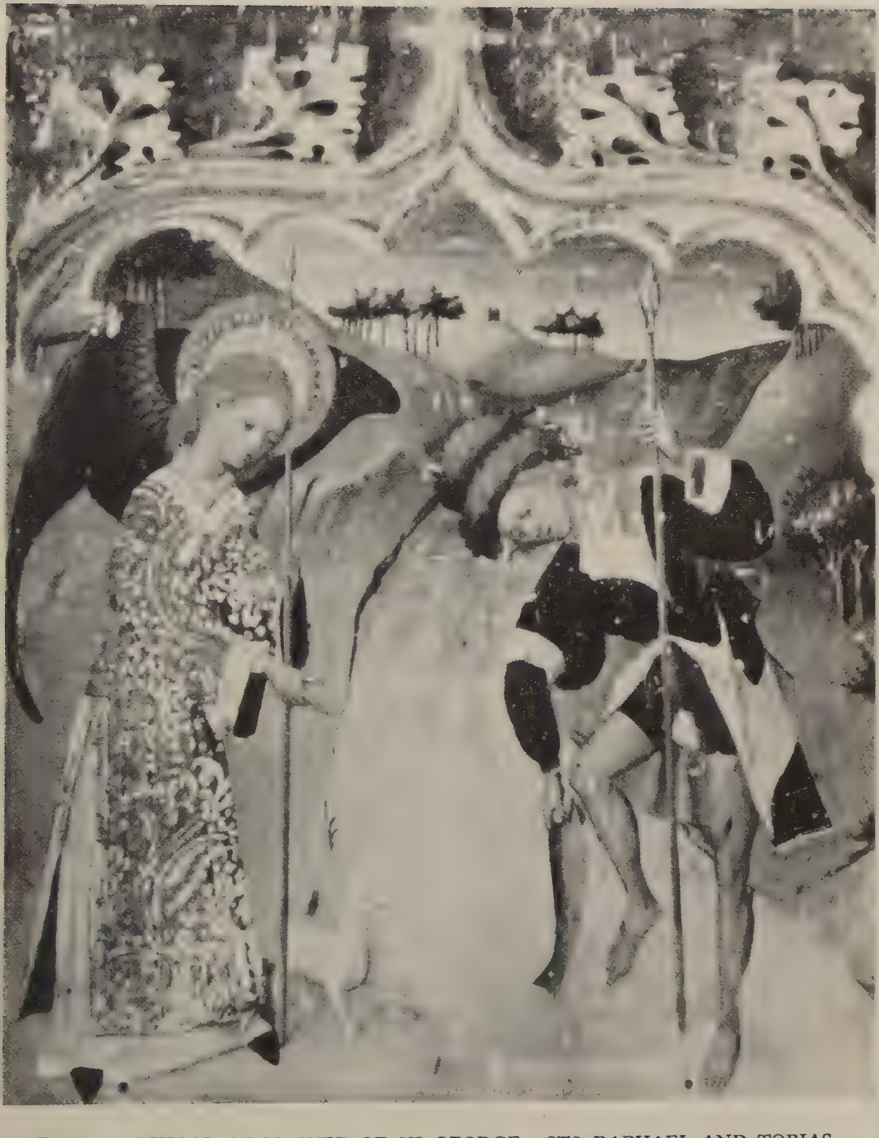

Fig. 230. SCHOOL OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. STS. RAPHAEL AND TOBIAS, SECTION OF RETABLE OF POBLA DE CIÉRVOLES. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

trampling upon the devil, flanked by scenes from his legend, except that in the upper left compartment the Annunciation intrudes as commemoration of St. Gabriel, in the upper right panel a third member of the archangelic group, St. Raphael, is honored in the episode in which he directs the youth Tobias to take the fish from the river Tigris (Fig. 230), and the Crucifixion occupies its customary position in the central pinnacle. The only two scenes from the legend of St. Michael of which the subjects are perhaps not self-evident are his discomfiture of Antichrist, a gigantic form hurled head-downward and obliquely across the face of the panel so as to constitute an effective mass in the composition, and his guiding of the Christians of Sipontum and Beneventum to victory against the Neapolitan pagans who are, of course, conceived as Mussulmans (if it is not rather his supernatural intervention in some actual Spanish battle against the Moors). As the artist stretches Antichrist obliquely across the panel, so he closes the composition of the battle by a slain enemy, one of whose legs has been severed, and draws him out abnormally along the front of the whole compartment; behind him he places a disproportionately huge blackamoor, also felled by the archangel's sword. The gold backgrounds are lightly incised with a foliate pattern, as in the other works of the group of paintings now under consideration, but in the central panel the design is somewhat more grandiose. The general characteristics which, in addition to the instances of identity with the Barcelona predella just noted, unite the altarpiece to the group, are too obvious to demand rehearsal. Only one or two new links in the chain need to be set down. The white cuirass and flying fold of St. Michael, particularly in the large single effigy, are almost duplicates of those of St. George in the Chicago picture. The infernal monster that he crushes under foot has the same eyes in each cartilage of his bat-like wings. The gaunt and ugly menials who flagellate Christ belong to the crew that at Paris scourge St. George. The most interesting detail, the one that proves the painter of Pobla de Ciérvoles to have known the panels at Paris as well as the Barcelona predella, is the man who seems to be blowing a pipe at the upper right of the compartment depicting the Via Dolorosa and who is well-nigh a repetition of the figure that in the same spot in the scene of St. George's dragging appears to be blowing into his hand. But the painter of Pobla de Ciérvoles is not the author of the Barcelona predella and is therefore not the Master of St. George. However ethereally beautiful his many delineations of St. Michael and other angels, he is less delicate in general than the Master of St. George, less correct in his drawing, and more wooden in his rendering of movement. Sometimes he even approaches dangerously near to the rudeness of a provincial, as in the Crowning with Thorns or in the foremost Moor routed by St. Michael. Possibly such passages are those that he left largely to his *garzoni*, for at other times, as in the panel of Tobias and the angel, he is able to vie with the Master of St. George himself, although even here plainly not identical with him. In this panel of Tobias, which is the finest bit of the retable, he substitutes for the gold background, as if to outdo himself in still another way, a landscape stretching, with a lovely and unusual feeling for space and openness, to a larger piece of sky, flecked with passing streaks of cloud, than in the Chicago picture. Consisting chiefly of bare hills and rocks (made interesting by the glint of light and shade), but exhibiting, nevertheless, fairy-like clumps of trees and a distant castle, the landscape irresistibly calls up in the mind the settings that Sassetta was using for his imaginative creations. Although there is not necessarily any actual connection with the Sienese painter, yet the author of the Pobla de Ciérvoles altar approximates his spirit throughout the whole work even more than does the Master of St. George. In at least one respect, he is more strongly affected than this Master by the dawning Flemish fashions, for among his most tangible characteristics is a still further play of chiaroscuro in the countenances and draperies.

The painter of the Ciérvoles altarpiece is one of those many personalities in early Spanish art who it is to be hoped may some day be rescued from anonymity, for it is possible to attach to him one or conceivably three other works, the second among the most important creations of the Catalan school in the first half of the fifteenth century. The first of these three works is the beautifully preserved retable of St. Peter over the high altar of the parish church dedicated to this Apostle, once the chapel of a castle, at Púbol, just west of Gerona. The central panel is occupied by St. Peter enthroned as pope, surrounded by six members of the college of cardinals and adored below by diminutive donors, a husband and wife, the latter presenting her son. The Crucifixion of Our Lord towers above, and at either side are scenes from the Apostle's life, his encounter with Christ by the Sea of Tiberias after the Resurrection, the consignment of the keys (Fig. 231), Sts. Peter and Paul before Nero, the angelic delivery from prison as related in the twelfth chapter of Acts strangely combined with the "Quo Vadis" episode (Fig. 232), the fall of Simon Magus, and St. Peter's martyrdom while he enjoys a vision of Christ and the angels. Throughout the altarpiece the Apostle is clad in red, and in the central panel the forms of God the Father and four worthies of the old dispensation are embroidered upon the orphrey of his chasuble. The sides of the retable are extended still further to include six narrower compartments containing single effigies of saints, who find their places here rather than upon the uprights — Sebastian, George, and Eulalia at the left, Onuphrius, Raphael, and Margaret at the right. As so frequently in Catalan retables of the first half of the fifteenth century, the busts of the sacred personages in the predella are of large size, Our Lord and the Baptist flanking the tabernacle, and Paul, Catherine, an armed archangel (Michael?), Francis, the Magdalene, and Santiago completing the series. The types, Burgundian costumes, and technique provide another instance of such self-evident identity of authorship that the attribution to the Ciérvoles painter demands no exegesis. Even the Ciérvoles composition for the Crucifixion is repeated detail by detail with only the slightest variations, and the Magdalene in this scene, a replica of the corresponding figure at Tarragona, wears a mantle of one of those smooth expanses of fabric, with few folds, which are a peculiarity of the artist and are encountered in other parts of the Púbol retable. Since a small, concrete thing is often more persuasive than larger, general proof, the spectator's attention should be fixed upon the almost exact likeness of Sts. Michael's and George's dragons at Ciérvoles and Púbol. If the Púbol master were different from the Ciérvoles painter, he would have treated the monster with the imaginative and in-

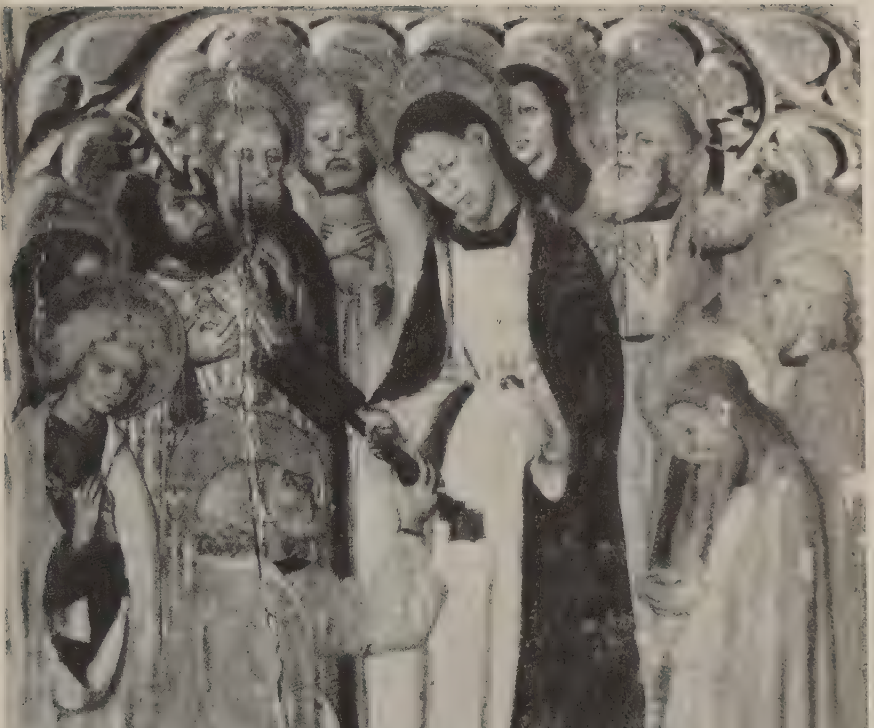

FIG. 231. SCHOOL OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. CONSIGNMENT OF THE KEYS TO ST. PETER, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, PÚBOL

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

dividual diversity that each mediaeval artist usually applied to this theme. The execution at Púbol is less uneven than in the Pobla de Ciérvoles example, not falling so often below the higher standard of the better passages in that altarpiece. We have seen that the painter is not always good in the treatment of movement, but the postures of the men who force St. Peter's cross into its place are rendered with convincing naturalism. Sometimes as in the Ciérvoles picture the painter approaches very close to the Master of St. George himself, for instance in the St. John of the delivery of the keys. One of the men in the fall of Simon Magus wears a feathered skirt that recalls the costumes of Pisanello and the internationalists of northern Italy. A date as late as the middle of the century is proclaimed by the embossing, not only of the orphrey of the chasuble, the tiara, and halo of the central St. Peter, but also of the gold background in this principal panel; the other panels are merely chased with a light foliate pattern like that of the Master of St. George.

An intimate relation with the production of the Ciérvoles master and therefore with the Master of St. George exists in the case of one of the last and justly celebrated works of the Catalan international style, the retable of the Transfiguration the parts of which are now scattered through the Salas Capitulares of the cathedral of Barcelona. To affirm or deny that it was actually executed by the hand of the Ciérvoles master is a ticklish business, but the present writer inclines toward the negative. I find no valid points of contact, moreover, with the retable of Sts. Clara and Catherine[1] in the same repository of the cathedral, to the author of which, whether or not he be Juan Cabrera, it is ascribed by Bertaux and Mayer. The Transfiguration retable was ordered by the bishop Simón Salvador for a chapel of the cathedral itself that he endowed and therefore dedicated to San Salvador; and it remained in this place until towards the end of the seventeenth century, when it was transferred to a chapel of the cloister only to be consigned in the latter part of the nineteenth century to its present resting place. It can be securely dated either during the pontificate of the bishop from 1433 to

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[1] The discussion of this retable, because of its relationship to Huguet (though, I think, scarcely by him), must be postponed to a later volume.

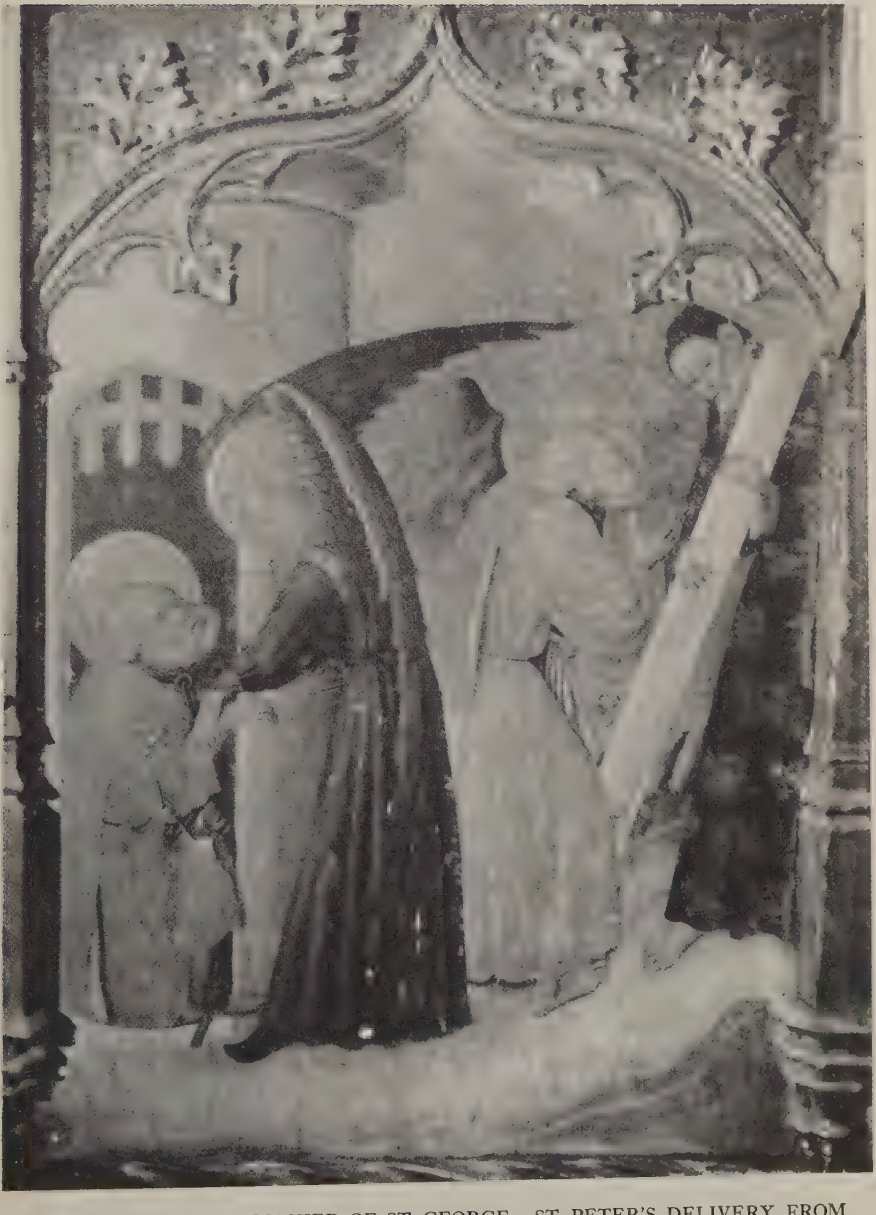

Fig. 232. SCHOOL OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. ST. PETER'S DELIVERY FROM PRISON AND THE "QUO VADIS" EPISODE, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, PÚBOL

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

1445 or, as perhaps a commission embodied in his testament, immediately after his death in 1445. The latter alternative is argued by the stylistic maturity and by the appearance of such peculiarities, generally encountered only in the second half of the century, as the haloes of embossed rings throughout the retable and the rendering in relief of the light pattern of oak leaves and acorns (which was to be a favorite *motif* also with Huguet) in the gold background of the central panel, which represents Our Lord receiving the proposition of St. Peter to build three tabernacles at the time of the Transfiguration (Fig. 233). The pattern of this background gives the effect of having been modelled free-hand, whereas the embossed design at Púbol looks as if it had been produced by a stamp, a peculiarity that is also encountered in some of Huguet's productions. The considerations that Simón Salvador was a native of the region of Tarragona and that Pobla de Ciérvoles is situated in the province would constitute an argument in favor of the attribution of the Transfiguration retable to the artist who had done the altarpiece of the church in that town, for what would be more logical than that the prelate should have employed a painter with whose work he was already familiar in the district of his birth? As commonly in altarpieces consecrated to the Saviour, the subject of the Transfiguration plays a prominent rôle. Of the six large compartments that made up the retable, three are devoted to this theme: the central one representing Our Lord, accompanied by the two Prophets, Moses and Elijah, in converse with the three Apostles about the question of the three tabernacles; a lateral panel depicting the actual glorification of the Saviour, overshadowed by the bright cloud, blessed by the Father, and also flanked by Moses and Elijah, while the three chosen Apostles are stricken with sore fear below; and another lateral compartment showing Christ at the right of a landscape, now no longer in the presence of the two Prophets, directing the three Apostles not to tell of the vision, an episode that may be recognized by the inscription embodying the words of Our Lord in Matthew, xvii, 9, *Nemini dixeritis visionem hanc.*[1] The other two lateral panels display the Marriage at Cana (with the servants curiously conceived as women) (Fig. 234) and the

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[1] The *hanc* is not in the Vulgate.

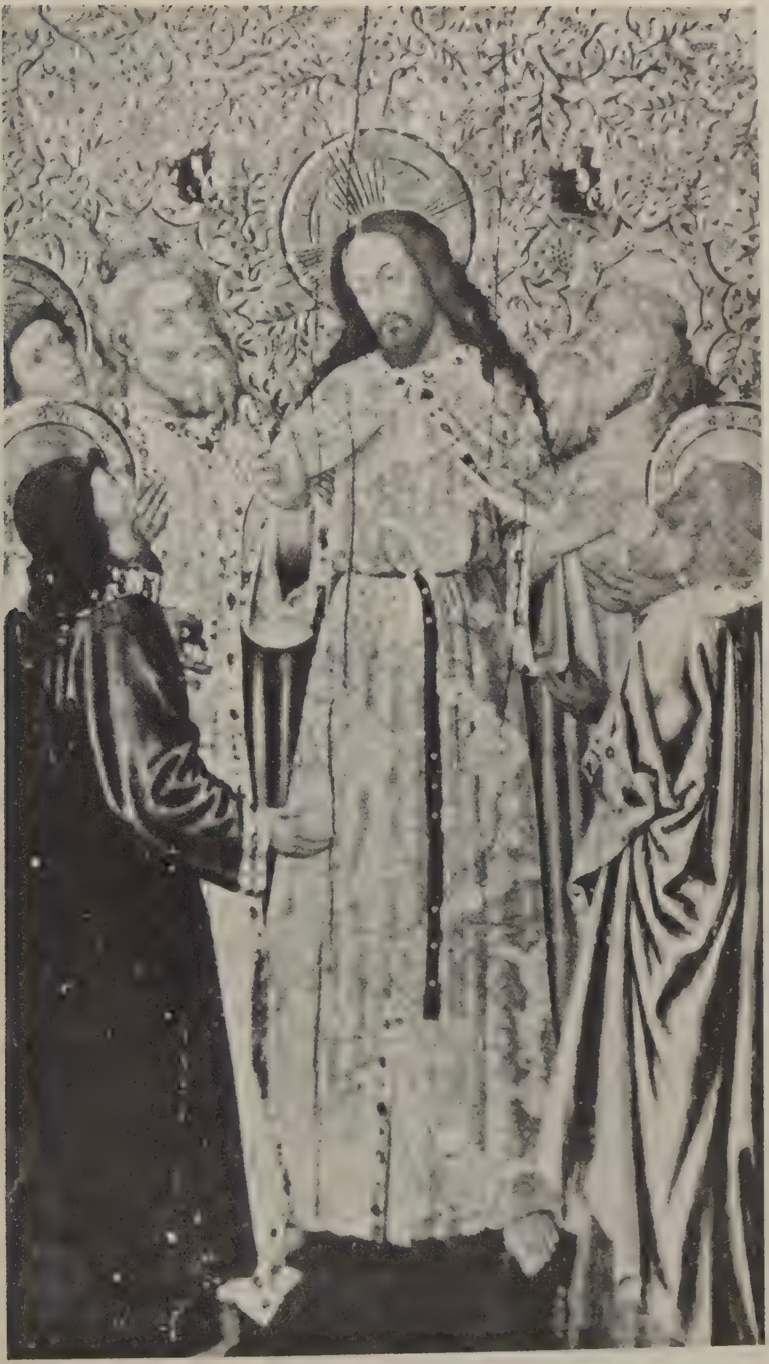

Fig. 233. SCHOOL OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. ST. PETER'S PROPOSITION TO BUILD THREE TABERNACLES, SECTION OF RETABLE OF THE TRANSFIGURATION. CATHEDRAL, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes (the miraculous food being distributed amidst the crowd by some of the Apostles, two of whom, despite the resemblance in features, are not, as Mayer would have it, repeated figures of the Saviour who stands in the foreground). There remains also the capping Crucifixion (the second of the three Crucifixions of the international style in the Salas Capitulares of the cathedral of Barcelona). The predella or a part of the predella is also preserved in the same rooms. It consists of three sections depicting Christ and the woman of Samaria, the Descent from the Cross, and the rare scene of the woman of Canaan beseeching Our Lord to deliver her daughter of a devil.

The most superficial observer would perceive that the style of the retable of the Transfiguration is closely analogous to that of the Ciérvoles and Púbol altarpieces and that all three examples are an outgrowth from the manner of the Master of St. George; and yet there are differences from the Ciérvoles and Púbol pictures, particularly in the direction of greater artistic maturity in the panels of the Barcelona cathedral. The problem therefore resolves itself into the question whether the forms of the Barcelona panels are a further evolution, by the same hand, from the precedents that we discern in the retables of Pobla de Ciérvoles and Púbol. In addition to the general analogies in types and in the qualities of the subdivision of Catalan painting to which the three works belong, there are even some startling parallelisms in specific detail. The most patent is again the composition of the Crucifixion, which resembles more closely that of Púbol, repeating its slight variations from the example of Pobla de Ciérvoles, such as the representation of the participants in the background as mounted, the location and activity of the man with the sponge, and the Magdalene's tighter grasp of the cross. The type, garb, and bending posture of Christ in the lateral compartments of Púbol is almost duplicated in the Marriage at Cana, the Feeding of the Multitude, and the meetings with the women of Samaria and Canaan. The foremost Apostle at the right in the delivery of the keys reappears at a more advanced age behind Our Lord in the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes. A factor, however, that gives one pause in ascribing the retable of the Transfiguration to the

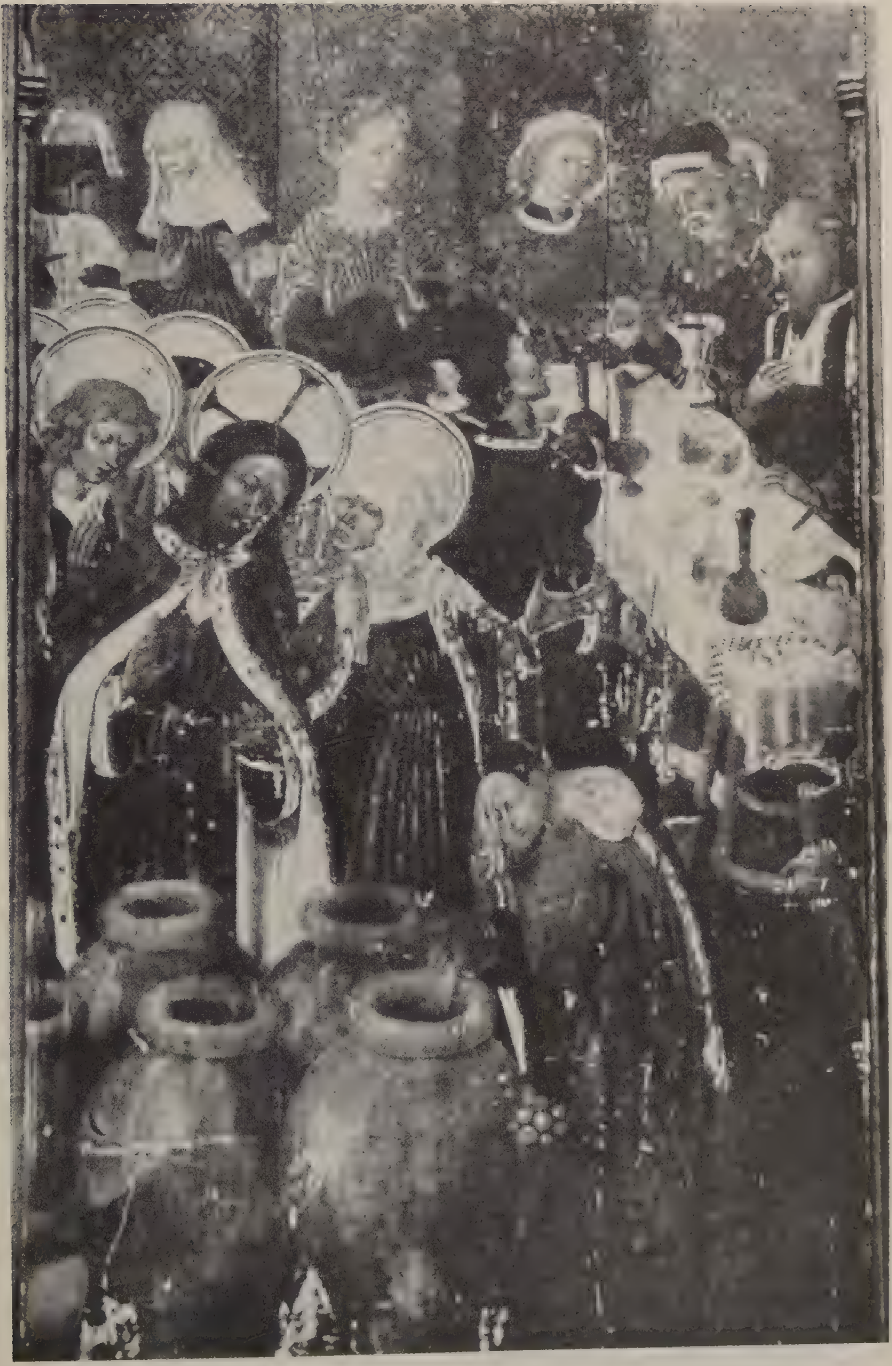

Fig. 234. SCHOOL OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. MARRIAGE AT CANA, SECTION OF RETABLE OF THE TRANSFIGURATION. CATHEDRAL, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Ciérvoles and Púbol artist is that its author in some ways approximates more closely the Master of St. George himself. Sanpere indeed attributes it to the man to whom he once had assigned the St. George and the dragon at Chicago, Martorell (although, curiously enough, not by reason of its analogies to that panel); and despite the facts that Martorell can scarcely be the author of the Chicago picture and that the Master of St. George in all probability did not paint the retable of the Transfiguration, yet the analogies in the latter work to the production of the Master of St. George indicate that the executer of the Transfiguration panels was a loyal follower of his as well as of the artist of Ciérvoles and Púbol. The St. John of the central compartment has a countenance, with a snub nose, exactly like that of St. George in the Paris panels of the dragging and decapitation; the youth in front of the table at the upper right in the Marriage is a regular type of the Master of St. George; the brawlers in the Crucifixion are the gaunter, more intense personages that the Master of St. George, as compared with the Ciérvoles painter, employs for such actors; the Crucified himself has his leaner canon of the human form; and in the background of the Descent from the Cross are seen two castles, with projecting entrances, the counterparts of the specimen in the Chicago picture.

That, however, the virile and proficient style of the retable of the Transfiguration incorporates a later phase either of the Master of St. George or of the painter of Ciérvoles, I cannot quite bring myself to believe. In view of the many similarities, it would be rash to venture a categorical denial; but the forms seem to me those of a different artistic personality, influenced, to be sure, by both of these contemporaries of his. The Magdalene of the Crucifixion is one of the least attractive and least successful figures in the whole altarpiece, but her diversity from the prototypes of the Ciérvoles and Púbol Crucifixions, despite the fact that all her outlines are derived from these sources, is a concrete illustration of the distance that sometimes separates the retable of the Transfiguration and the two other examples. The advance, in general, beyond their standards is considerable. The bodies are more strongly modelled in chiaroscuro and in three dimensions. The woman pouring the water into one of the wine-jars in the foreground of the Marriage at Cana, in whose bowed form the weight of the heavy container that she carries is rendered with almost absolute truth, is really an astounding achievement for the time and country, vying with some of the most memorable figures in Florentine art of the Quattrocento. The nicety of the miniaturists, which always attaches in some degree to the Master of St. George and his immediate circle, has pretty largely vanished, and in its place has emerged here and there a monumentality that is a harbinger of Catalan painting in the second half of the century. Particularly in the central compartment one would scarcely suspect that the man who created the large and majestic forms in broad and simplified draperies had been trained in a pictorial tradition intimately linked with that of the Franco-Flemish illuminators. He even concerns himself seriously with the problems of perspective that were exercising his Florentine contemporaries, setting the conversations of Christ with the women of Samaria and Canaan against streets winding into the backgrounds and in the former instance solving the problem with better success than any other Spaniard of the epoch and quite as well as the foreigner, Dello Delli, at Salamanca. In the actual representation of the Transfiguration he has sought to distinguish the supernal and mysterious glory of the Saviour and the two Prophets by a lighter tonality and softer, vaguer outlines than those of the three Apostles prostrate upon the ground. With the unaffected directness of the art of the period, in order to give the impression of the great multitude who are fed, he fills the whole space of the panel with a tremendous number of tightly packed persons; but he thus creates for himself difficulties in perspective by which even he is baffled, and he is obliged, in the earlier mediaeval way, to substitute mere elevation of one figure above another for any proper arrangement of planes. Skilled as he is, nevertheless, in composition, he brings as much order as possible out of the dense throng by disposing the people in serried rows, made interesting, so to speak, by being thrown on the bias. Furthermore, he escapes the danger of monotony that such a theme threatened, for not only does he reveal the liveliest invention in varying the physical types of the crowd and the attitudes and phases of eating, but he alternates the positions of the rows, showing one tier with their faces toward us and the next with their backs. Not less piquant is the composition of the Marriage at Cana, the subject of which suggested a less populous and clearer amassment. In the first plane Christ and His holy companions constitute, with the jars, a triangular block the upper border of which again falls obliquely across the face of the panel, and this block is echoed in the line of banqueters at the back of the room.

The author's tutelage in the school of the Master of St. George, however, is never wholly hidden amidst his progressive tendencies. Now and again the delicacy of the illuminator crops forth. The highways in the backgrounds of the encounters with the women of Samaria and Canaan in the predella are dotted with the most captivating, extraneous incidents of *genre*. In the Apostles of the Transfiguration, the stiff and awkward delineation of prostrate attitudes — always the last difficulties for a primitive artist to overcome — betrays the fact that the painter was not always able to transcend the limitations of his coterie. One of the assets that he retained from his membership in the coterie and developed to its highest expression was the straightforward presentation of such scenes as the Marriage at Cana and the Feeding of the Multitude in the most graphic and practical manner of episodes from his own time, a characteristic to which another artist who emerged from the same *milieu* was to cling in the second half of the century — Jaime Huguet. The practicality is carried even to the point of unconscious vulgarity in the occasional representation of greedy jowls crammed with morsels too large for immediate mastication.

The master of the retable of the Transfiguration is proved by internal evidence to have painted a panel in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona, coming from Vinaixa, west of Montblanch, on the road to Lérida, and depicting Sts. John Baptist and John Evangelist (Fig. 235). The most conclusive of the parallelisms exists between the red-cheeked Evangelist and the representations of him in the Marriage at Cana, the Feeding of the Multitude, and the Crucifixion. His costume is also several times closely repeated on the figures of St. John and of other personages in the retable of the Transfiguration. The foliate pattern in the gold background, which is similar to that of the lateral

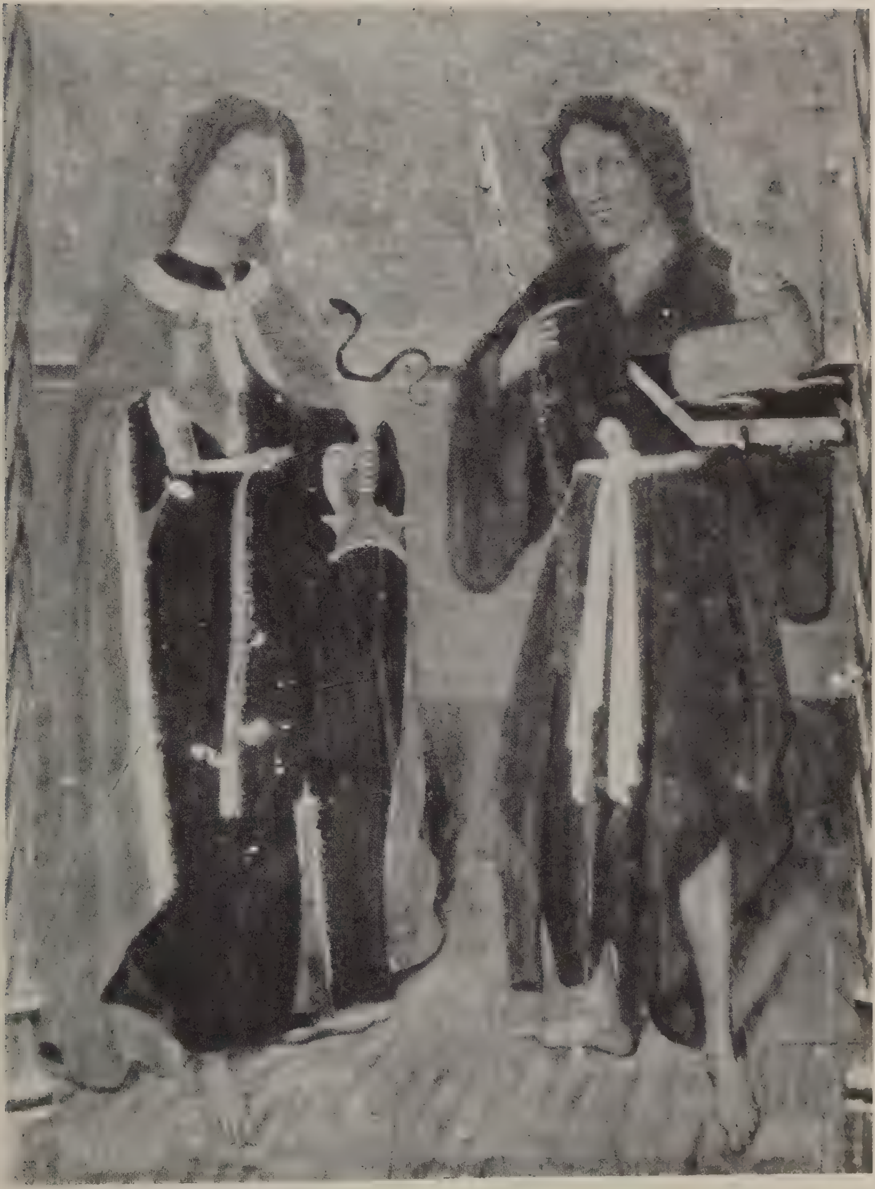

Fig. 235. SCHOOL OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. THE TWO ST. JOHNS. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA

(*Photo. Arxiu Mas*)

compartments of the Transfiguration altarpiece, is not rendered by embossing. The provenience of the picture from the region of Tarragona is another grain of evidence that adds its weight, however slight, in support of the theory that the master of the Transfiguration may possibly be the master of Ciérvoles later in his career.

I wish that I might be able to connect with the Vinaixa picture, as sections of the same retable, two panels which evidently come from an altarpiece also dedicated to the two St. Johns and which were published by A. L. Mayer, *Arte Español*, VIII (1926), 172, as in the possession of a Berlin dealer. One is a pinnacle depicting the birth of the Baptist; the other is a compartment from the body of the retable representing either St. John Evangelist's sermon on poverty to the two young men whom the philosopher Crato had taught to despise the world (Mayer's interpretation) or his resurrection of the two men who had drunk the poisoned cup of the pagan priest Aristodemus. The types, costumes, and general mood assign the panels unmistakably to the atelier of the Master of St. George, though not, I think, to the Master himself; but they reveal nothing that justifies their consideration as parts of the Vinaixa retable, beyond the dependence of all these works upon the Master of St. George. The costume of the Evangelist is somewhat similar to that which he wears in the Tarragona panel, but his type and the other types are rather different. The fact that Mayer describes the Berlin panels as merely belonging to Catalan painting just previous to the rise of Huguet is again a demonstration of the way in which Huguet's style grew out of the artistic *milieu* that the Master of St. George had created.

In addition to the paintings of the school of the Master of St. George that have been mentioned, for one reason or another, in connection with the discussion of his authentic works, a number of other pictures lie in the immediate circle or on the remoter outskirts of the style that he so brilliantly championed in Catalonia. The retable of the Magdalene, No. 47 of the Museum at Vich (Fig. 236), although it is perhaps one of the latest of this class, dating possibly from even about 1450, may be mentioned first, because it has much more intimate affinities with the painter of Ciérvoles than with the Master of St. George.

The central enthroned saint is surrounded by four scenes from her life and surmounted, as usual, by the Crucifixion. Not many direct analogies to the types or superficial traits of the

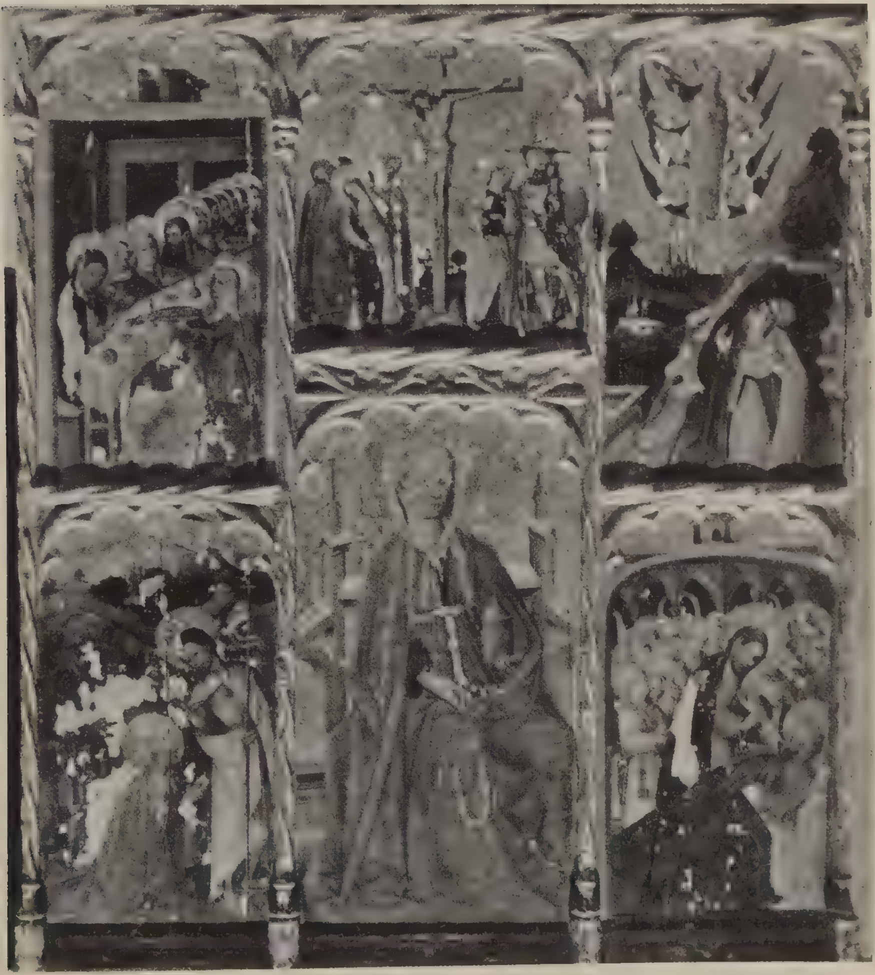

FIG. 236. SCHOOL OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. RETABLE OF THE MAGDALENE. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Thomas)

Master of St. George are apparent. A turbaned figure takes part in the Crucifixion; the cuffs of the central effigy's costume are of fur; and the light foliate pattern incised in the golden skies is similar to that which the Master of St. George employs in his lateral panels. The landscapes are of the same character, though, perhaps because of a later date, more elaborate, with spired castles like those favored by Jacomart. The cave from which the hermit views the levitation of the Magdalene is built into rocks that still have the Sienese formation. The really distinguished painter of the Magdalene retable possesses the Master of St. George's miniature-like delicacy and his tenderness of touch to a higher degree than the author of the Pobla de Ciérvoles altar; but he has other qualities that tie him more closely with the latter artist. The outstanding analogy, the thing that makes one feel instinctively a community of style, is the same degree of increased light and shade in the countenances, draperies, and landscapes; and it is this characteristic that most clearly justifies the classification of the picture in the Franco-Flemish group of Catalan paintings. Although there are some resemblances in type, as between the two Christs of the Crucifixions or between the several representations of the Magdalene and the angels of Pobla de Ciérvoles, yet the conviction of an intimate artistic affinity comes rather from the identical and peculiar mode of shadowing the countenances. One of the passages where chiaroscuro is most fully and most delightfully evolved is in the robe of Christ in the *Noli me tangere*. To drive home the stylistic relationship, the manner of drawing and modelling the drapery and the nature of the folds in the Magdalene of this compartment and in the central effigy should be compared with the same details in the Magdalene of the Pobla de Ciérvoles Crucifixion. The general tonality of color is likewise similar. In the Vich picture, the analogies to Sassetta in mood and exquisiteness are even more tangible.

The charming fragments of an altarpiece of St. Michael now built about a later Santo Cristo in a chapel at the northwest end of the nave in the parish church of Castellón de Ampurias (just east of Figueras) constitute another tardy manifestation of this phase of the Master of St. George's school. Of the two panels at the left, the first represents St. Michael taking the body of Moses, according to the hint given in the ninth verse of St. Jude's Epistle and in order that, as the *Golden Legend* has it, his relics may not be worshipped by the Jews, who are depicted in a group at the right of the picture. I am unable to interpret the second scene at the left, in which the archangel, holding two infants in his arms, appears over an altar to a priest

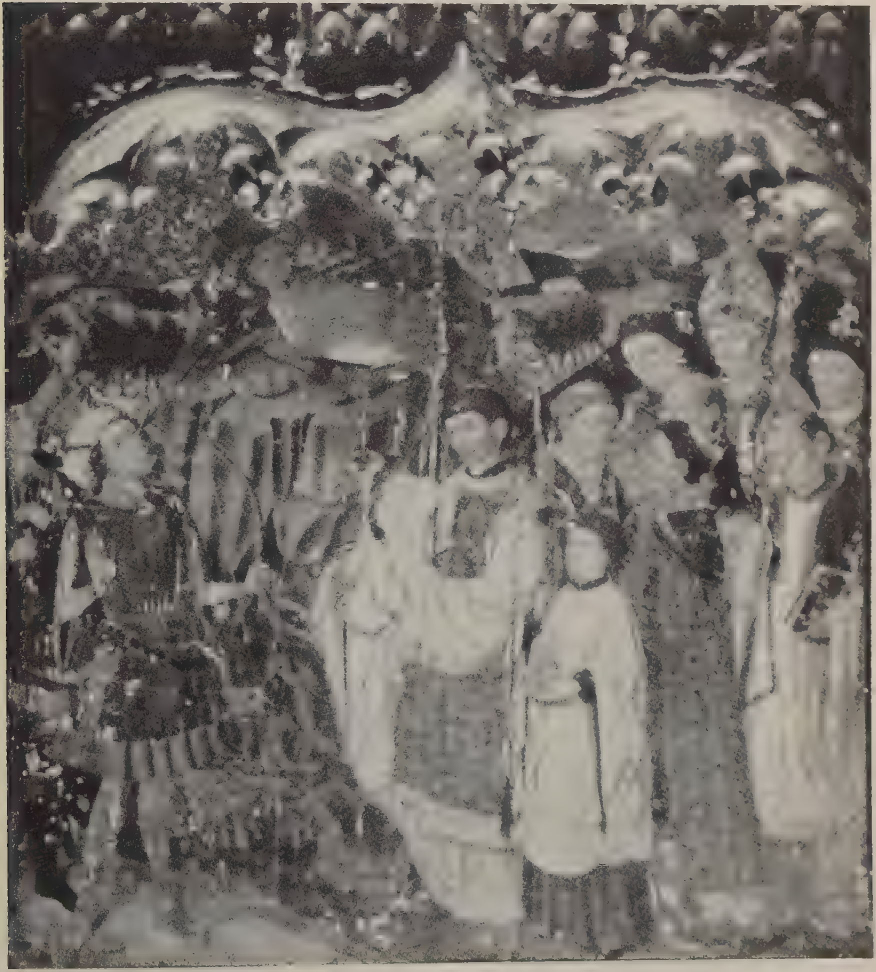

Fig. 237. SCHOOL OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. MONTE GARGANO EPISODE, SECTION OF A RETABLE OF ST. MICHAEL. PARISH CHURCH, CASTELLÓN DE AMPURIAS

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

saying mass, while an attendant king and queen with their court express astonishment. In the upper panel at the right Our Lord in a mandorla is surrounded by a wreath of seraphim glowing with the red of love and by four other angels, and He is adored by the Virgin and the Baptist. The lower panel on this side enshrines the Monte Gargano episode (Fig. 237). Two pinnacles containing the busts of Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate are also preserved. There is a more than usually liberal resort to gold for the garments. Among the omnipresent details that witness to a derivation from the teaching of the Master of St. George, the most outstanding are the queen, the Burgundian-clad youth behind her, and the acolyte in the scene of the mass, the arrow-stricken esquire in the Monte Gargano episode, and the caricatured Jews who seek the body of Moses. As in so many of these late offshoots of the Master of St. George's manner, however, one feels here and there that the artist was already conversant with the new Flemish school of painting or at least with the kind of illumination out of which this school had grown. The most suggestive elements, from this standpoint, are the broken folds at the bottom of the Baptist's red mantle, the heads of the bishop and his cortège in the Monte Gargano episode, which almost parallel the types of the school of Tournai, and the general enamel-like quality of the surfaces.

Of other works in the style of the Master of St. George but not by his own hand, the excellently preserved retable of St. Andrew from Perpignan in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is so close in certain places to his achievement that one might be deluded into attributing it to him. Above the central seated effigy of the saint appears, not the customary Crucifixion, but a panel of the Virgin seated on a stone bench behind which hangs a tapestry. At her left one angel plays upon a harp, and at her right two other angels sing canticles; while on the ground beside her sit St. Catherine and the Magdalene. The four large lateral compartments display: Our Lord in the boat of Sts. Peter and Andrew creating the miraculous draught of fish and calling Sts. John and James (Fig. 238), rather according to the *Golden Legend* than following exactly the Gospel narrative; the incestuous mother struck down with lightning before the provost by the prayers of St. Andrew, who holds his hand protectingly over the wronged son; St. Andrew as pilgrim informing the bishop of the infernal identity of the fair lady whom he is entertaining; and the saint's martyrdom. The predella

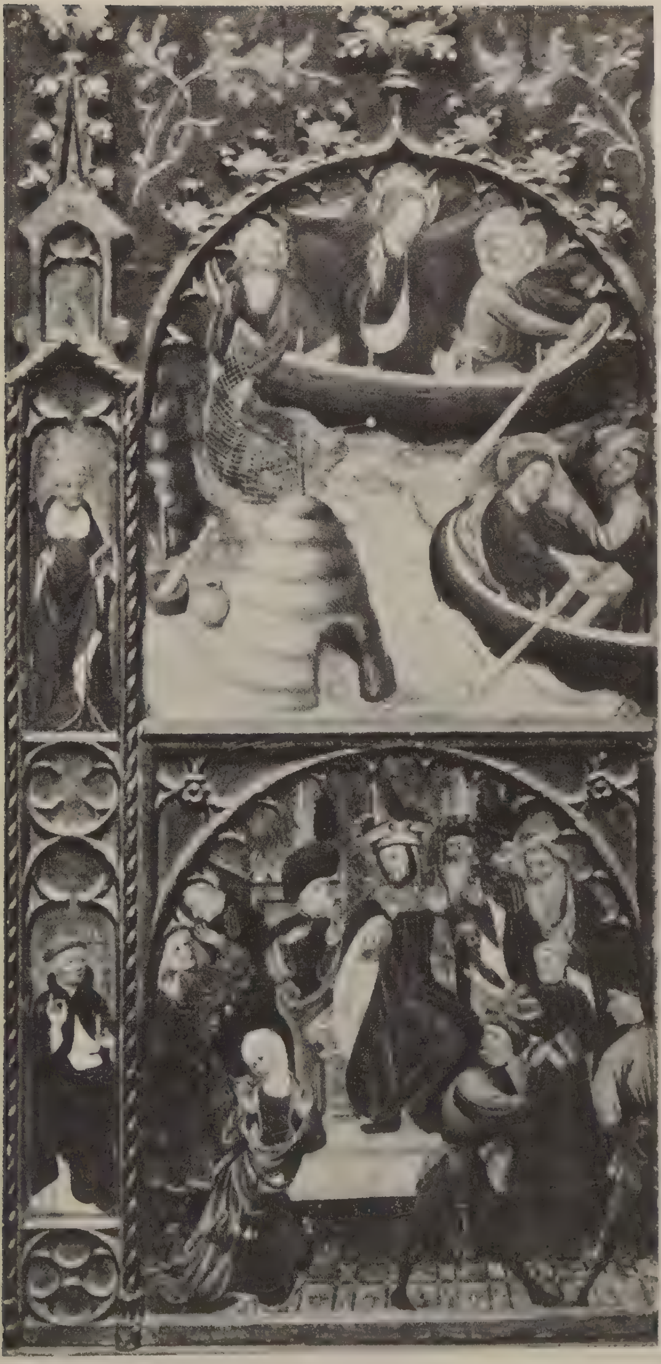

Fig. 238. SCHOOL OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. SECTION OF A RETABLE OF ST. ANDREW. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK

(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum)

contains: the Pietà at the centre; at the left, two panels devoted to the tale of the murderer's laboring wife, one depicting her sister vainly supplicating the statue of Diana and then turning for aid to St. Andrew, and the other the wife's delivery through the holy man's intercession; flanking the Pietà, two panels embodying the episodes of St. Andrew's encounter at Nicaea with the devils in the shape of dogs and his resurrection of the youth that they had slain; and, still farther to the right, a compartment with his resuscitation of his forty disciples from drowning. At the extreme right of the predella, a panel is missing. On the uprights of the frame are the usual smaller figures of saints. All the signs of the Franco-Flemish international style are present, almost exactly as it was exemplified by the Master of St. George: the *svelte* elegance of the forms, often clad in rich Burgundian or oriental costume; the crowds frequently revealing only their hats, as in the episodes of the evil mother, of the saint's crucifixion, and of the demoniacal dogs; the similar kind of head and beard used for the representation of St. Andrew and other old men; the analogy of the feminine types and draperies in the tale of the murderer's wife to those of the lateral panels of the St. Lucy altar; the light fretting of the gold backgrounds (although in this instance bound by an additional ornamented band at the borders); and the miniature-like delicacy of technique. Even the general outlines of the Pietà repeat those of the predella of the Barcelona cathedral. As is the case with the other members of the group, the whole retable is conceived in the most captivating spirit of international *genre*. The romantic and dramatic episodes from St. Andrew's legend are translated into the lively and picturesque brightness of contemporary life. Concrete examples of the way in which the internationalists liked to multiply and define detail may be found in the piscatorial and domestic objects in the scene of Christ in the boat of Sts. Andrew and Peter. The draperies, like those of the manner of Guimerá, take longer and fuller undulations than in the production of the Master of St. George himself, as on the enthroned Madonna and feminine saints, on the incestuous mother, and in the Pietà; and the legs clad in mediaeval hose are less like stilts, exhibiting more indication of musculature and modelling. In the back of the painter's mind there perhaps flitted dim memories of the work of Borrassá, which did not, however, materially affect his style. The type of Christ in the fishing scene might suggest such a relationship. The representation of St. Andrew resuscitating the forty drowned men recalls the scene on the river Rhone in the Sta. Clara retable. The composition for the martyrdom of the saint resembles that of Gurb, with the curious horizontal position of the cross, but this may have been one of the established modes of treating the subject in Catalan iconography.

A more provincial aspect of much the same style as that manifested in the St. Andrew altar is exhibited by the retable of St. Eulalia, No. 639 of the Museum at Vich, consisting of the enthroned saint at the centre, a capping Crucifixion, and four scenes from her martyrdom, one of which is the episode of the snow-fall protecting her corpse from the wild beasts. The analogy to the St. Andrew altar includes even the use of more flowing draperies. Although in this unpretending piece of work (as Baedeker would describe it) the forms are stockier and the crowds are absent, its right to be numbered in the general group is everywhere evident. Two very tangible points of contact are the parallelism of St. Eulalia in the scourging to her figure in the same scene in the Muntadas Collection and to the St. Catherine among the wheels in the fragments of the Vich altarpiece, and, in the scene of St. Eulalia's death upon the cross, the similarity of the entrance to the castle to the corresponding detail in St. George's fight with the dragon and in St. Lucy's martyrdom. In this episode of St. Eulalia's death, the painter has clung to the habitual literalism of the international school, following exactly the legend by representing her released soul as a dove at the sight of which her judges are confounded. The Crucifixion, containing only Christ upon the cross and at the sides the seated Virgin and St. John, is a composition of the sort employed by Jacomart for the theme, although it occasionally appears also in Catalonia, as in the Sitges altar of the Serra school and, somewhat elaborated, in the retable of St. John Baptist in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs at Paris by a follower of Borrassá. No relationship with Jacomart is necessarily to be postulated; but it is to be observed that, just as, possibly because of a community of models, the manner of Guimerá is paralleled by the contemporary stage of Valencian Gothic painting, so the Master of St. George and his circle present many affinities to the later Valencian phase at the head of which stands Jacomart.

The group receives further accretions from two separate panels. One, coming from Teyá (just north of Barcelona, close to the sea) and now in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, is a grosser version of the Resurrection by the Master of St. George in the predella of the cathedral, Barcelona. The other, the third of the three Crucifixions in the Salas Capitulares of the cathedral (Fig. 239), I catalogue here with some hesitation, because certain participants in the scene look as if they might belong to the more mature art of the second half of the century, for instance the St. John at the foot of the cross, the woman at the extreme left, heavily draped in the Flemish fashion and supporting the Virgin, or the good Centurion (?) in contemporary costume just to the right of the cross. An earlier date than 1450, in any case, is scarcely possible; but even though it was painted after the middle of the century, it still maintained in that period the tradition of Franco-Flemish internationalism. That its author was a humble shareholder in the company of which the Master of St. George had been the director needs no demonstration. Like the painter of the earlier Crucifixion in the same rooms, he has produced a crowded, historical representation of the tragedy of Golgotha, in contrast to the more essentially devotional versions of the subject that were the norm in Catalan retables. His definitive trait is, with the exception of the overstudied draperies of St. John and of the women in the foreground, the merely two-dimensional character of his figures, which are as flat and unsubstantial as paper-dolls. The absence of modelling in relief is betrayed especially in the countenances, which are rendered by the simplest means of a few delicate lines, so that they look like drawings rather than paintings. It was a curious manner which was much cultivated by the mediaeval Spaniards, since they were prone to regard the pictorial art as mere decoration, and of which we shall meet further examples.

One example may be dismissed at once, because it bears other similarities to the Barcelona Crucifixion and because it too lies

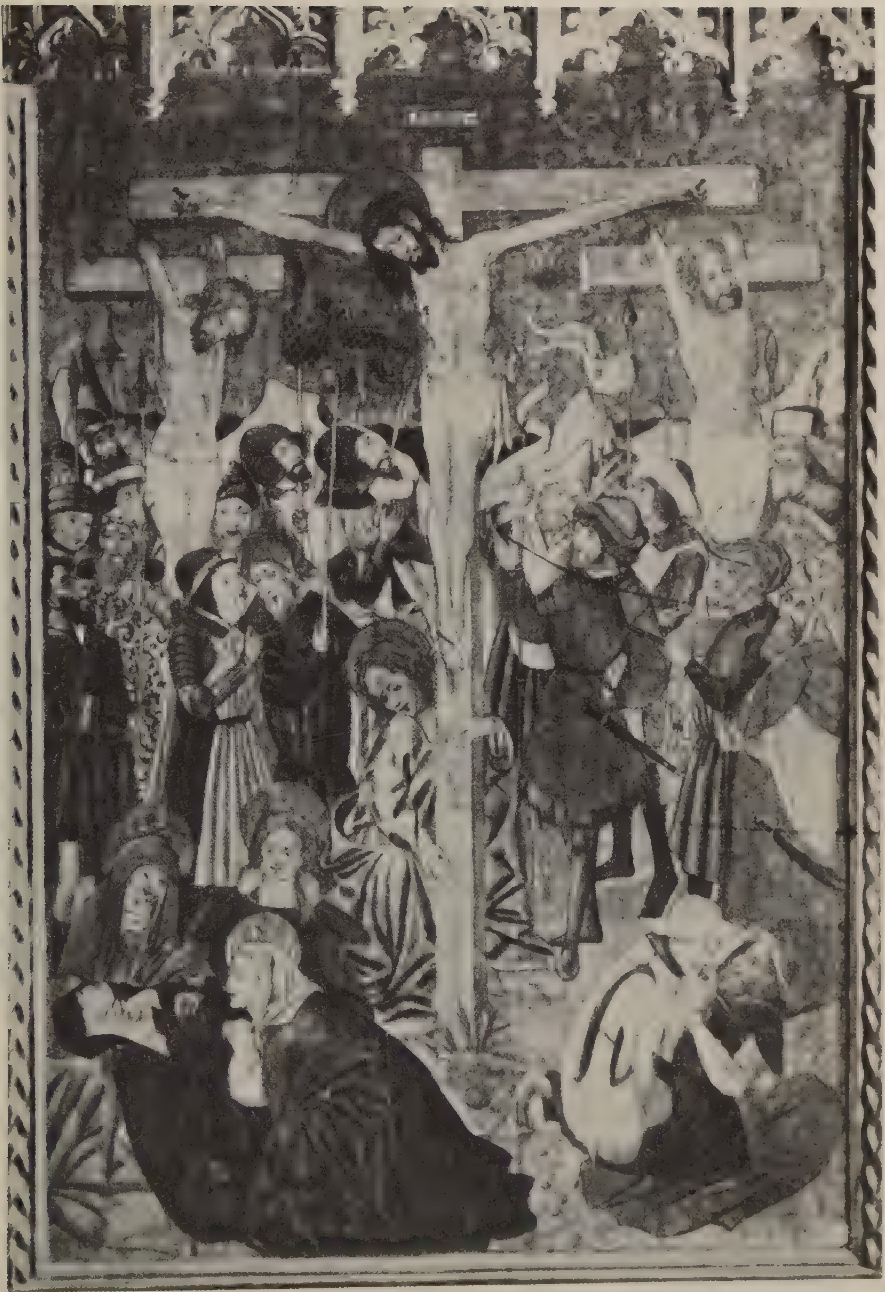

Fig. 239. CIRCLE OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. CRUCIFIXION. CATHEDRAL, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

on the edge of the circle of the St. George Master — the retable of St. Ursula now attached, in the parish church of Cardona, to that altarpiece of St. Anne which is the work of the Master of the Cardona Pentecost. In what now remains of the retable, the large central standing effigy of the saint is accompanied, at the left, by her sermon to the eleven thousand virgins whom she has assembled (indicated as usual, of course, only by a certain number of representatives) and by her departure with her bevy of maidens for the pilgrimage to Rome, and, at the right, by Pope Cyriacus's reception of the throng and by the wholesale martyrdom at Cologne (Fig. 240). I should not scruple even to consider the retable an earlier work of the painter who did the Barcelona Crucifixion. There are the same bloodless and

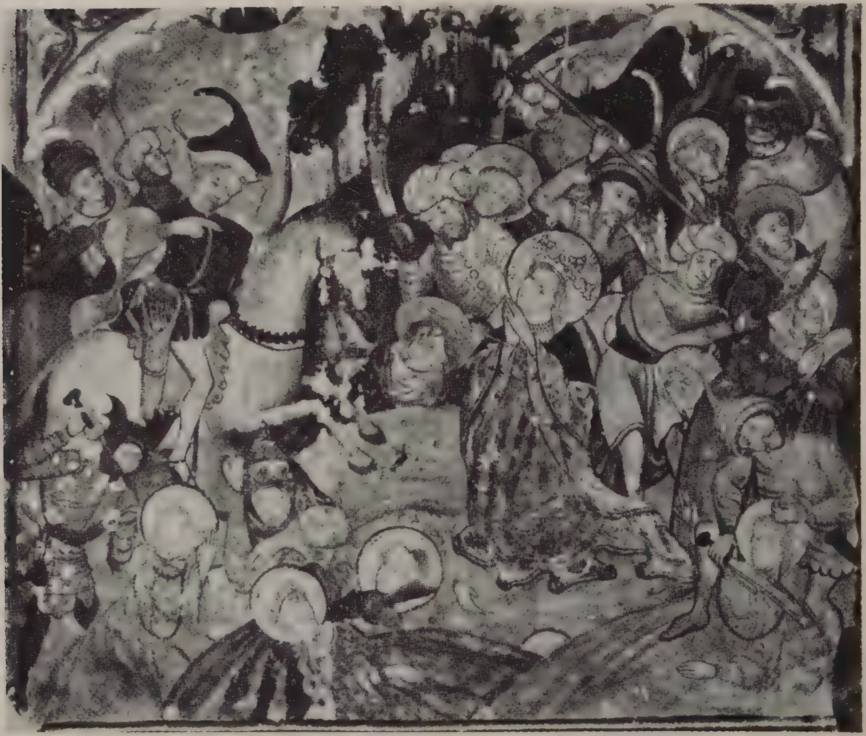

Fig. 240. CIRCLE OF MASTER OF ST. GEORGE. MARTYRDOM OF ST. URSULA AND HER COMPANIONS, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, CARDONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

volumeless forms, the same meagrely indicated lineaments of the countenance, the same long and boneless hands. The masculine types of the Cardona picture are like those of the Barcelona panel. The attribution, however, need not be pressed; it is enough if the close kinship be admitted. That, like the Barcelona Crucifixion, the retable of St. Ursula was an expression of the Catalan adaptation of Franco-Flemish internationalism, it requires no very keen perception to discover. Among the multitude of gay contemporary costumes, the nature of the themes gives more prominence to the haughty and heavily opulent gowns of the women, sometimes covered by a short cape lined with the fur that is a mark of Franco-Flemish fashions. One of the peculiar traits of the St. Ursula altarpiece is the predilection for robes with scalloped edges. The broad, outspread draperies give the central effigy something of the monumentality that distinguishes the large figure of St. Lucy in the Martin le Roy Collection. The painter is but a minor artistic personality, and yet he has the sense to employ a subdued tonality that harmonizes with the frailty of his forms and the general light spirit of his work.

Although not directly connected with the workshop of the Master of St. George and although by the hand of a secondary artist, the retable of the chapel of the Pahería, or town-hall, of Lérida, now in the Museo Provincial of that city, embodies a very late persistence of the Franco-Flemish international style. In the central panel, the four Pahers or executive magistrates of Lérida, clad in their red, fur-lined robes of office, kneel in pairs at either side of the enthroned Madonna and Child in the presence of St. Michael, who holds a banner adorned with the heraldic bars of Catalonia and the lilies of Lérida, and of St. Gabriel,[1] who displays as an attribute the lilies of the Annunciation or again of Lérida (Fig. 241). Two lateral compartments, almost as large as the central piece, balance each other, depicting the respective combats of Sts. Michael and George with the dragon. The three smaller sections at the top contain the Crucifixion flanked by another St. Gabriel and the Virgin

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[1] Bofarull, in his Catalogue of the Barcelona Exposition of 1902, where the altarpiece was shown, identifies this angel with St. Raphael, for what reason I do not know unless it be the existence of the second Gabriel above.

Annunciate. The divisions of the predella are devoted to the Nativity, Epiphany (Fig. 242), Resurrection, central Pietà (littered with even more of those objects of the Passion which one sees on rural wayside crosses than in the same theme in the predella of the Barcelona cathedral that has been ascribed above to the Master of St. George), the Ascension, Pentecost, and Death of the Virgin. The *guardapolvos* are embellished with effigies of saints. The foundation of the style is Franco-Flemish, but the types and the character of the *genre* seem to indicate that the Flemish or, what amounts to very much the same thing, the Burgundian strain predominates over the French. The international style was born of a union in which it is hard to disentangle what are French and what are Flemish aesthetic tendencies; but the author of the retable of the Pahers is apparently indebted to some Fleming's rather than a Frenchman's manipulation of the *later, fully developed* Franco-Flemish hybrid style, although he is probably not yet familiar with the crystallization of the Flemish aspects of the international manner into a clearly characterized Flemish school that took place in the hands of the Van Eycks and of the Master of Flémalle. Since there are no traces of the technique of these painters, it is likely that he derived his acquaintance with Flemish forms and Flemish *genre* from some Flemish book of miniatures executed under the inspiration of the international movement and perhaps also from such Catalan sculpture under Flemish influence as the production of Pedro Juan de Vallfogona. The types in general have a Flemish rather than a French cast, but the most unmistakably Flemish personage is the Virgin of the Annunciation. International works of all species revel in *genre*, but, in the Annunciation, Birth, and particularly in the Epiphany of the Lérida altarpiece, the *genre* has a bald domesticity and popular flavor that reflect rather the attitude of the Low Countries and foreshadow Jerome Bosch. Under this heading should be classed the homely setting of the Annunciation, the shepherds who peer over naturalistically rendered fences in the Nativity, and, in the Epiphany, the wattled mat hung behind the Virgin and serving her also as a rug, the thatched barn in the left background, the representation of St. Joseph brewing a mess of pottage in a fireplace, the woman who leans forth from a window

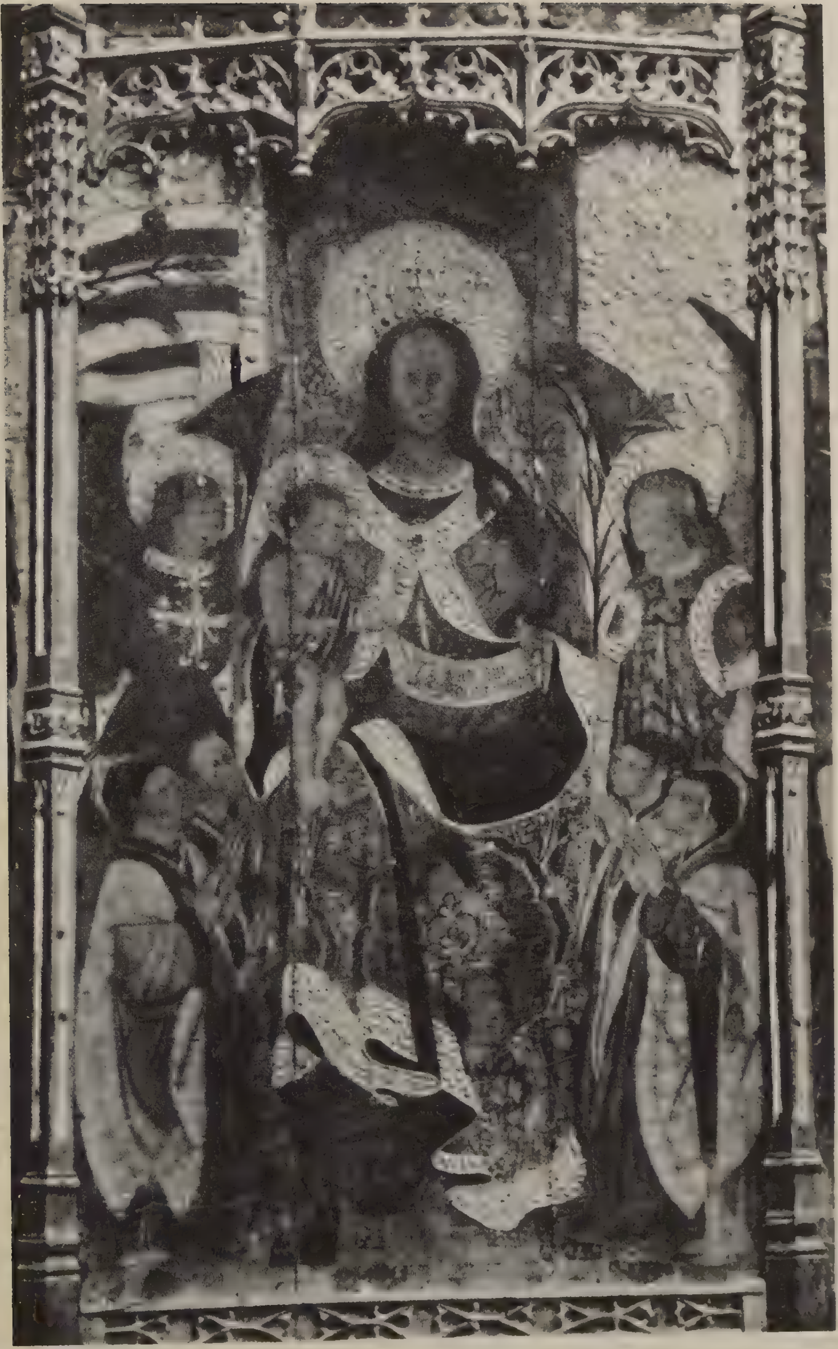

FIG. 241. CENTRAL PANEL OF RETABLE OF THE PAHERS. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LÉRIDA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

of the edifice on the right and displays a spindle, and the three cocks crowing lustily on the roof.

Much of the rest of the retable is of the approved international stamp. The fight of St. George with the dragon is based upon the regular international cartoon for the theme, although the composition in the Chicago Art Institute is here reversed and although the painter knows far less of equine anatomy and movements. The struggle of St. Michael with the devil is also like half a hundred other fifteenth century renderings of the subject. The effigies of the four Pahers reveal neither any progress beyond the petty international standard of portraiture nor any influence of the developed Flemish mode of portraiture incorporated in Luis Dalmau's altarpiece of the five Councillors of Barcelona, which, however, is probably an earlier creation, since it was painted between 1443 and 1445. The mere identity of theme has misled critics into descrying a relationship between the two retables. The castles and towers of international landscape prettify the backgrounds of the Nativity, Epiphany, and combat of St. George; and the Crucifixion is encumbered with the usual brawl of soldiery. In the three larger panels the gold of the haloes, orphreys, crown, and harness is rendered in relief as in the Chicago panel of St. George. It is the delicate craftsmanship of the predella that, more palpably than in the case even of the majority of international painters, points to a study of the art of illumination, if not to actual training in such a school. One seems also to perceive now and then in the general spirit of the altarpiece, in the color, and in the very forms a breath of the style of the Umbrian international painter, Gentile da Fabriano, which Dello Delli was popularizing in Castile. Had the master of Lérida seen Gentile's work or Dello's interpretation of it and had he superimposed this Italian modification of the international style upon his Franco-Flemish foundation? Or is one's impression due only to the fact that Gentile too had benefited by an admiration for Franco-Flemish achievement? The date of the retable is certainly late enough for its author to have known the productions of Dello. Elements such as the angels' heads and the portraiture, which hark back to the international manner of the thirties, may well deter us from accepting so advanced a moment as Bertaux's proposal

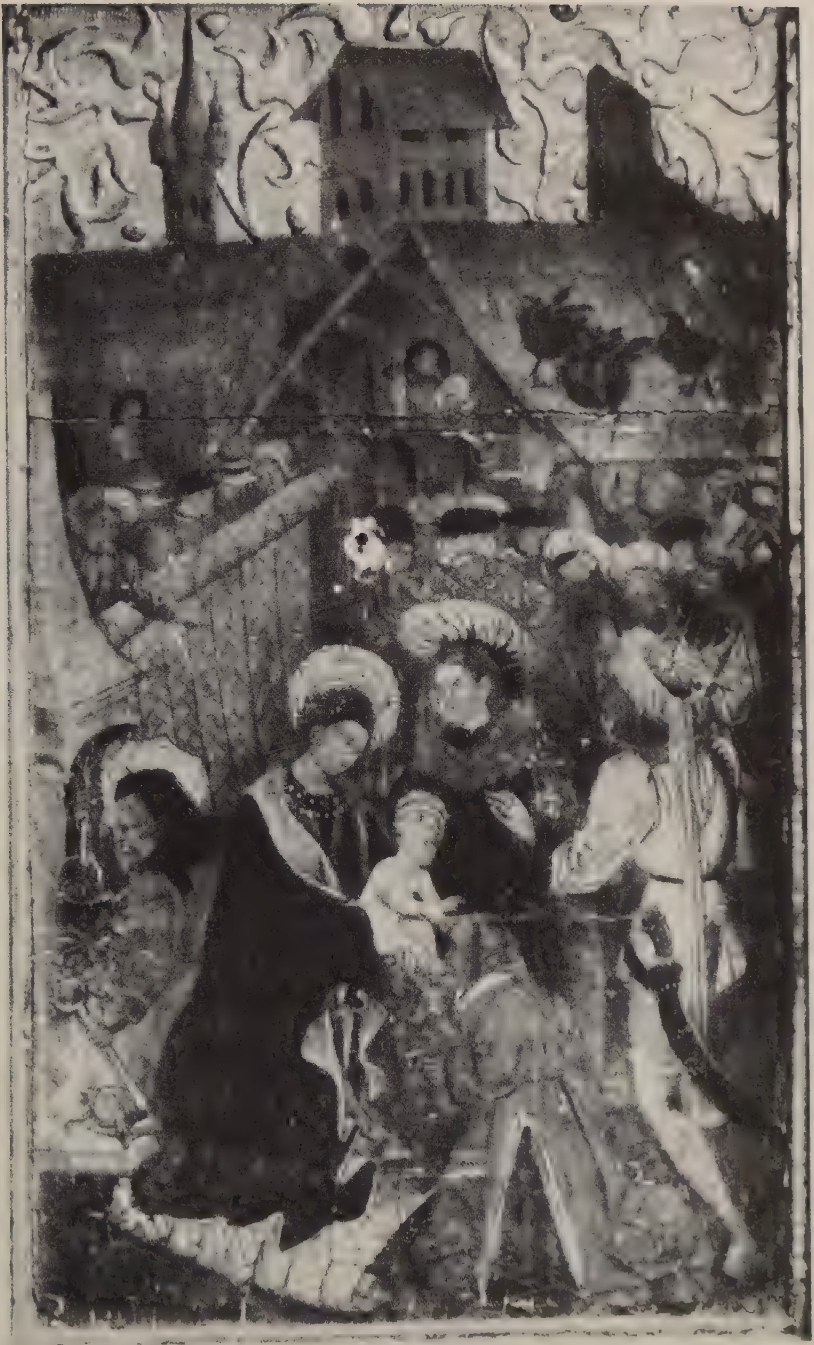

Fig. 242. ADORATION OF THE MAGI, SECTION OF RETABLE OF THE PAHERS. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LÉRIDA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

of the decade from 1460 to 1470; but the ostentatious design of the gold background, its embossing, the large and conspicuous pattern of the brocade of the Madonna's cope in the central panel, and the unexpectedly proficient drawing of the nude of Christ's body in the Resurrection prove that we have to do with one of the latest manifestations of the international movement in Catalonia. The compartments of the Ascension, Pentecost, and Dormition reveal that the painter was not absolutely a stranger to the monuments with which the Serras and Borrassá had adorned Catalonia from one end to the other. Sanpere, according to his usual practice of attaching extant pictures to known names, no matter how slight the evidence, selects in this instance a Domingo Sans who is recorded at Barcelona from 1476 to 1482 and to whom he has somewhat more solid ground for ascribing the panels of the Resurrection and Pentecost in Sta. María del Mar of that city. His only stated reason for attributing to Sans the retable of the Pahería is that this painter had come from Lérida. Because of their character the Sta. María del Mar panels and the problem of their authorship will be treated in the volume that has to do with Catalan art of the second half of the fifteenth century, and it will then be seen that the stylistic evidence is not sufficient to connect the Lérida retable with the virtually contemporary panels of the Resurrection and Pentecost, whether or not the latter pictures were produced by Sans.

The small retable or fragment of a retable, No. 817 of the Museum at Vich, depicting the Epiphany, Crucifixion, and Annunciation, although it did not emanate from the coterie of the Master of St. George, is painted in a parallel, Franco-Flemish manner; but, since it is not beyond the range of sanity that it is a youthful work of Huguet, its discussion will likewise be found in a later volume.

CHAPTER XXIX

OTHER CATALAN PAINTINGS IN THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE

There remain for final consideration in the international painting of Catalonia the works for which we have been able to discover no convenient pigeon-holes. One of the earliest Catalan manifestations of the international movement occurs in an antependium of the late fourteenth or more probably early fifteenth century in the Vich Museum, which betrays little or no dependence upon any Italian models. It has the additional significance of constituting, like the specimen in the Serra tradition in the same collection, a belated example of an altar frontal executed in the medium of paint. Lacking a central figure, it consists of two zones of sacred narrative, each episode of which is set under a trefoiled, ogee arch. In the upper zone, from left to right, are the Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, and Presentation. The scenes from the Passion in the lower zone are largely obliterated. The Betrayal, at the extreme left, is almost intact; the next episode is wholly gone; a crouching Virgin who remains in the third compartment appears to indicate that the subject was the Crucifixion; and in the compartment at the extreme right the upper part of the Saviour's form is left, with the gesture that He usually assumes in the *Noli me tangere*. The backgrounds are not of gold but painted in the old Romanesque fashion. The frame is decorated with a delicate pattern of ivy. The antependium might almost as well have been classified in the Franco-Gothic division of this book; but the types, the somewhat more fulsome draperies, and such a detail as the Burgundian vesture under the Virgin's mantle in the Annunciation betoken a style which, as far as it is not indigenous, is derived rather from the international manner that succeeded in France the purer Gothicism of the fourteenth century. It is another aspect of the style of which a different phase was the manner of Guimerá. The execution, rather than careless, seems purposely summary, using as an instrument almost solely line and aiming merely at decoration instead of representation, as if the painter were seeking to reproduce in his own medium, no longer the goldsmith's frontals as of old, but the woven examples that had now become the norm.

Two retables, dedicated to St. Michael and St. Lucy, which have disappeared from the Ermita of Peñafiel, near Moja, a few kilometres distant from Villafranca del Panadés, carry us on towards the style of which the most illustrious champion was the Master of St. George, but yet not quite far enough to take us into the actual jurisdiction of the style. The memories of the achievement of the Serra brothers have not yet been quite extirpated, as especially in certain figures of the trial of St. Lucy and of the attempt to drag her by oxen. The central section of the St. Michael altar contains the effigy of the archangel triumphant over the dragon; the left section is not separated into compartments according to the usual practice but displays one long, undivided representation of the battle of the angels and devils, presided over by Christ still treated as the Pantocrator in a mandorla; the right section is partitioned off into two compartments in which are represented the Monte Gargano episode and a scene in which, while a priest says a requiem for the departed, St. Michael weighs their souls.[1] The crown of the central section is consigned to the Crucifixion, and those of the two lateral sections to Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate. The central panel of the St. Lucy retable is occupied by her standing effigy; in the four lateral compartments are episodes of her martyrdom; above her is the Crucifixion; but in the lateral sections the scenes of St. Lucy's life extend to the top, so that there is no space, as there is in the St. Michael altar, for capping pieces. The predellas of both retables enshrine at the centre a Pietà and in the other divisions half-lengths of sacred personages. Although the grade of craftsmanship is somewhat higher in the altarpiece of St. Lucy, both works are probably by the same painter, a man who was equal to the task of supplying the pious trade, if not brilliantly, at least adequately. Among the

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[1] A more frequent form of this scene in Catalan art represents angels as releasing souls from Purgatory while the requiem is celebrated.

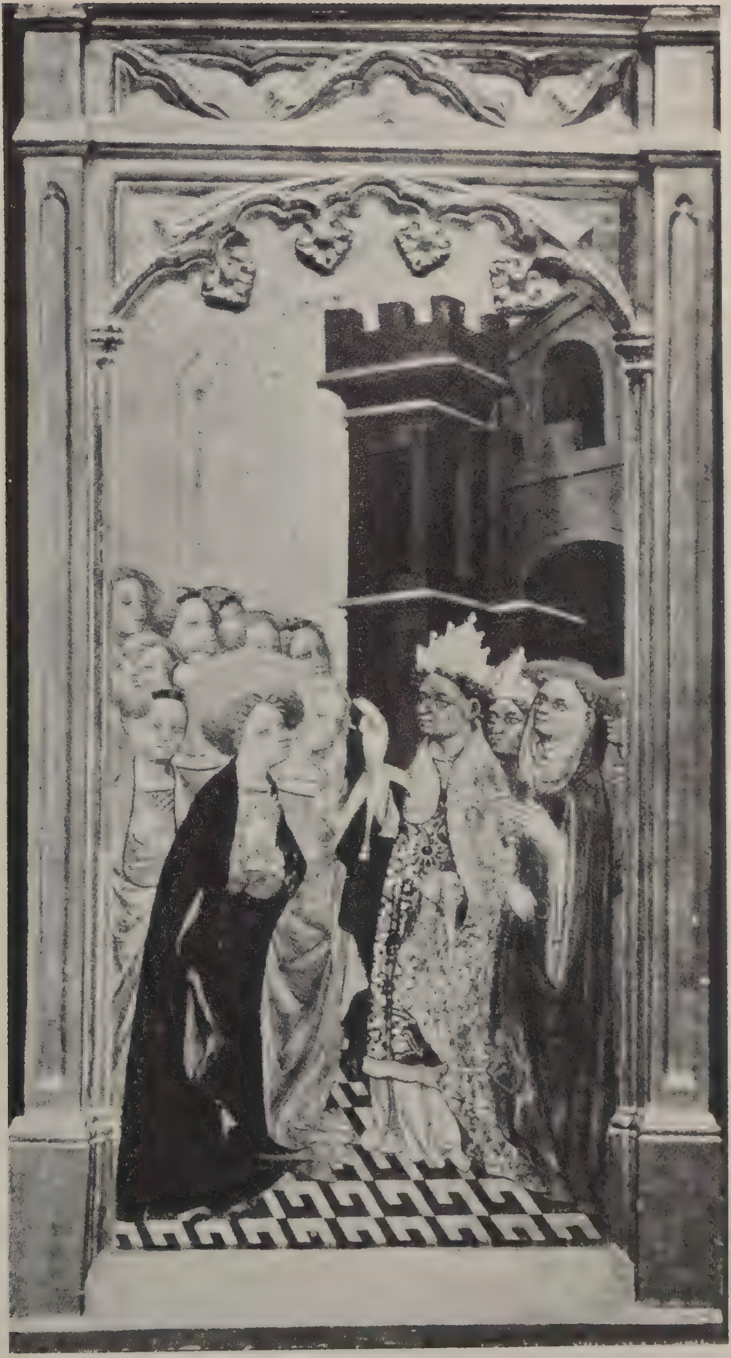

FIG. 243. POPE CYRIACUS BLESSING ST. URSULA AND HER COMPANIONS. FORMERLY IN THE LEVERHULME COLLECTION, LONDON

items that seem to argue for unity of authorship are the virtual identity in the composition and forms of the Crucifixion, the similar ornamental border that divides the Crucifixion from the central figure, and the analogous frames; but it is just possible that the maker of the St. Michael retable was a follower of the master of the St. Lucy retable.

A still nearer approach to the Franco-Flemish phase of Spanish internationalism is made by four panels from the life of St. Ursula (Fig. 243) shown in the Exhibition of Spanish Paintings at the Royal Academy, London, in 1920–1921, as then in the collection of Lord Leverhulme.[1] Bertaux and others have called them Catalan, but they might have come from almost anywhere in Spain during the international period. I cannot, however, bring myself to believe with Mayer [2] that they are products of southeastern Piedmont, that is, of the school of Nice. Mayer bases his opinion upon their manifest similarity to the pieces of a predella in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia, which Berenson[3] labels as creations of this school and which display the seated figures of Sts. Sebastian, Catherine, Margaret,[4] and (?) Bartholomew, all clad in tunics of gold brocade except Margaret in whose case it is the mantle that is thus enriched (Fig. 244). But a comparison of the predella with the pictures of the school of Nice and particularly with the documented works of Miralhete and Jacques Durandi, to which Berenson likens it, fails to elicit any more definite parallelisms than are due to a joint indebtedness to the international movement or any specific analogies that justify a grouping with the paintings of this section of the Riviera. For one thing, the output of the school of Nice is much more Italianate, whereas the predella has closer affinities to the Spanish than to other European phases of internationalism. The Johnson predella itself seems to me to have been painted by a Spanish hand, and it is proved by Mas's photograph, no. 3670 C, to have been once in the Cabot Collection at Barcelona. If my attribution is correct, the whole theory of a

[1] Also shown at the Exhibition in the Grafton Galleries in 1913–1914 as then in the collection of Sir F. Beaufort Palmer.

[2] *Cicerone*, VII (1915), 70.

[3] *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and some Art Objects* (Johnson Collection), I, nos. 260 and 261.

[4] The staff would seem to identify her as St. Margaret the shepherdess, so that the dragon would not be St. Martha's *Tarasque*.

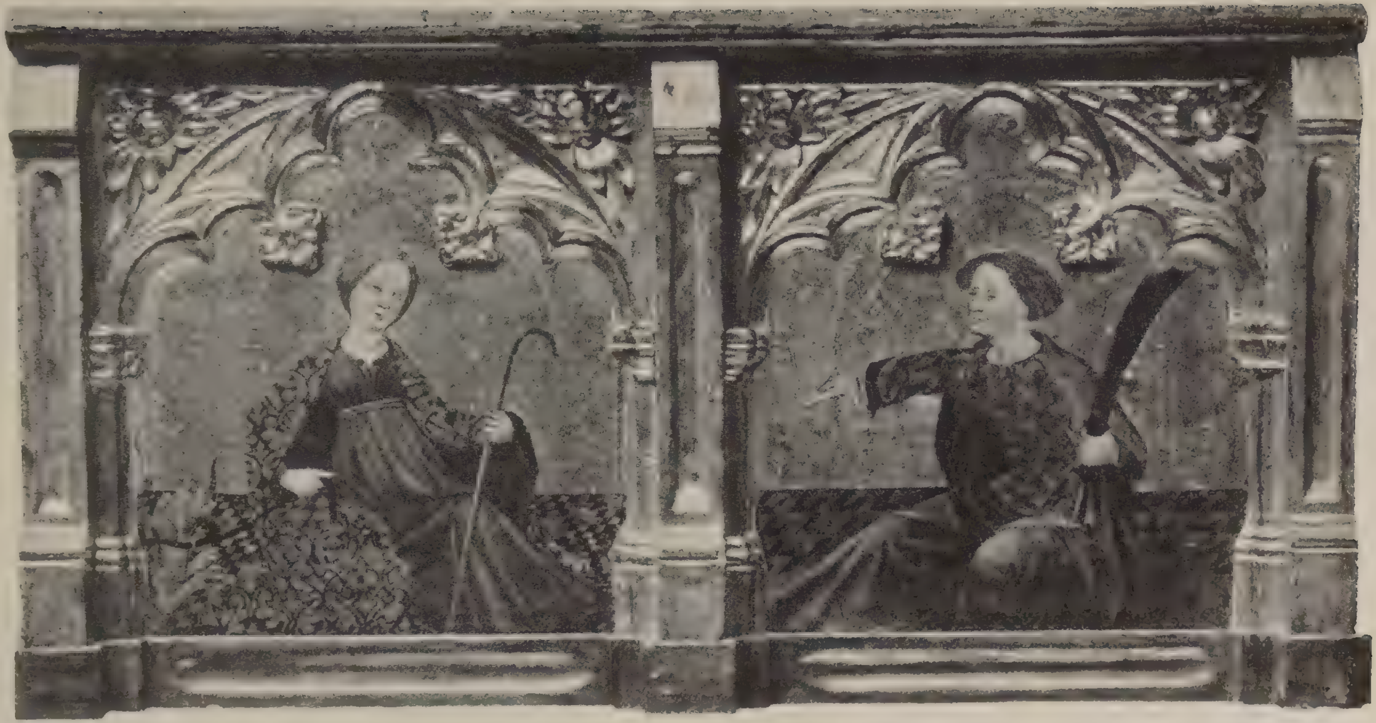

FIG. 244. STS. MARGARET AND BARTHOLOMEW, SECTION OF A PREDELLA. JOHNSON COLLECTION, PHILADELPHIA

(Courtesy of Mr. Henri Marceau)

southeastern Piedmontese attachment for the Leverhulme panels falls to the ground. Mayer, however, is certainly right in discerning an intimate stylistic relationship between these panels and the predella, so intimate indeed that the possibility of a single authorship is not to be scouted.[1] One's eye is first struck by a subordinate but very convincing analogy, the identity in the odd geometric pattern of the tiling in the scene of the pope's benediction of St. Ursula to that of the floor in the part of the predella containing St. Bartholomew. In the light of this consideration, the identity of the tiling in the episode of St. Ursula's trial to that of the pavement under St. Sebastian is cumulative evidence, despite the fact that the design is only an ordinary checker; and the *motifs* of all the other tilings, though not identical, are of the same general geometric sort and very similar to one another. From these concrete parallelisms the critic is led on to observe impressive likenesses in types, draperies, and even patterns of brocades. The type of the St. Margaret of the predella, for instance, is repeated several times in the Leverhulme panels, and that of St. Catherine, even in the eccentric coiffure, is duplicated in one of the maidens who listens to St. Ursula's sermon. The St. Sebastian has the eyes, resembling those of china in dolls, so frequently encountered in the St. Ursula panels. The diapering of the gold backgrounds, though not absolutely the same, is similar. In both works, the outer border has a *motif* of an oak leaf. The pattern of the space within the border varies in the predella itself: behind Sts. Margaret and Bartholomew the basis is ivy, behind St. Catherine it is a lily leaf, and behind St. Sebastian again the oak leaf but treated in a different way from that of the border. Mayer, furthermore, sees correctly when he finds Berenson's date of *c.* 1475 far too late for the predella. Whether or not by the hand of the Leverhulme panels, it is undoubtedly contemporary with them and belongs to the international style of the first half of the fifteenth century, so that an assignment to *c.* 1450 or even an earlier moment is a safer conclusion.

Although I believe both the panels and the predella to be Spanish, I hold no brief for a Catalan provenience. The forms of the men, as of St. Ursula's judge and executioners, with their sturdy legs, are indeed lustier than we usually[1] encounter in the ethereal painting of Catalonia or, for that matter, Valencia. It is particularly the costuming and the elaborate headdresses of St. Ursula and some of the other virgins that suggest the Spanish international style of the Franco-Flemish stamp, although in an aspect different from that exemplified by the Master of St. George. The dapper young gentleman who represents St. Sebastian in the predella is the closest analogue to this Master's types. I do not know that we can press Mayer's contention that such simpler and more monotonous geometric patterns of the tiling as appear in the Leverhulme panels and the Johnson predella are more characteristic of western than eastern Spain. In any case, the painter has a thoroughly uninteresting mind, for, unlike his contemporary at Cardona, he was no more able to make anything of the engaging possibilities of the St. Ursula legend than the master of the Franco-Gothic antependium or retable in the Plandiura Collection. His compositions consist merely of dull crowds of personages, from among whom the action and the piquant details of the story are not isolated, defined, or emphasized.

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[1] Could the Johnson piece be the predella of the retable of which the Leverhulme panels were upper sections?

The Johnson Collection contains still another panel, depicting the Birth of the Virgin (Fig. 245), which resembles in many respects the two works that have just occupied our attention but which cannot be assigned with quite such surety to the same hand, atelier, or tendency or even to the count of Spanish art. It has not found a place in the monumental Catalogue of the Collection but is numbered 2493. The international style, as the term indeed implies, is so similar in the various countries of Europe that the picture might conceivably have emanated from a German or French studio, but the Spanish affiliations are sufficiently pronounced to justify its discussion here. If the tiling is a talisman by which to identify the pieces belonging to the subdivision of Catalan painting now under consideration, then its identity in the panel of the Virgin's Birth with that of the scene in which St. Ursula preaches to her maidens (except for a reversal of the pattern) acquires peculiar significance. But there is more than this in favor of a classification at the present point, for the types in the St. Ursula series and the predella and the curious disposition of the tresses in puffs at the sides of the forehead are almost repeated in the Birth of the Virgin, although the drawing and general craftsmanship in this last instance are more nearly those of a real master. The brocade of St. Anne's dress beneath her mantle is of the sort that Borrassá affects, and the coverlet of the bed includes an example of the Catalan practice of floridly presenting the figure of a tapestry in frank frontality. The subject, as usual, has provoked considerable domestic *genre* among the women who assist at the parturition.

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[1] See, above, the discussion of the retable of St. Andrew in the Metropolitan Museum.

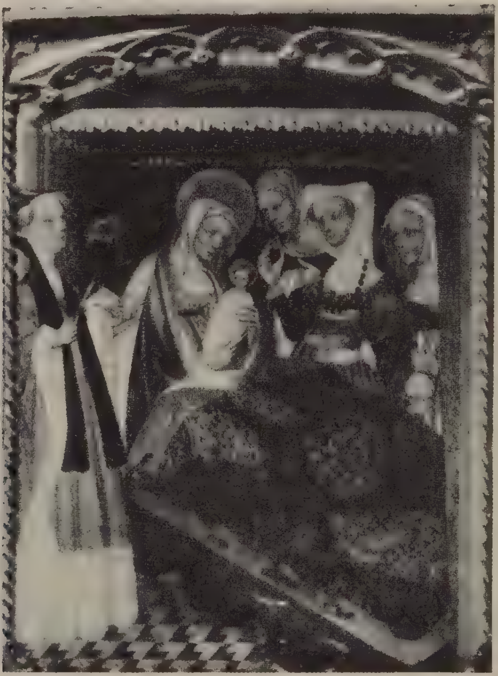

Fig. 245. BIRTH OF VIRGIN. JOHNSON COLLECTION, PHILADELPHIA
(Courtesy of Mr. Henri Marceau)

To a more essentially indigenous form of the international style should be assigned another of the many Catalan retables erected in honor of St. Michael, which has eventually found an unexpected resting place in the third chapel at the south of the ambulatory in the cathedral of Antwerp.[1] Dating from about 1430 to 1450, it reveals a patent familiarity with the production of Borrassá, and yet the debt is not profound enough to support a classification in his school. The craft is somewhat superior to the average, but the iconographical interest is greater than the aesthetic. St. Michael appears in the central panel discomfiting a dragon compounded with more than usual elaboration and grotesquerie; but the iconographical uniqueness of the work lies in the reservation of the rest of the altarpiece, except the predella, for a careful alignment of the nine categories of angels amassed for adoration of the Pantocrator who is ensconced in the spot ordinarily allotted to the Crucifixion, the panel above the central St. Michael. In the three compartments to the right are the lowest hierarchy of Angels, Archangels, and Principalities (one of the last curiously represented with his back to the spectator) (Fig. 246); in the three corresponding spaces to the left, the next hierarchy of Virtues, Powers, and Dominations. The groups of angels that surround the Pantocrator in the central pinnacle are probably meant to be the highest hierarchy of Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones, for one of the inscriptions plainly refers to the Cherubim.[2] The gold backgrounds are incised with a foliate design. In no other Catalan retable of the period are there so extensively introduced those scrolls with inscriptions which are a favorite device of the international style and persisted in the great Flemish school, particularly at Tournai, that grew out of this movement. Not only do many of the angels hold flying bands on which are written in Latin the (sometimes Apocalyptic) praises that they sing to the glory of the Trinity; but over each of the groups of angels in the lateral compartments are outspread inscriptions in Catalan describing the activity of the respective category to which they belong, and in the central pinnacle, between the Pantocrator and the celestial aggregations beneath Him, two long scrolls state in Catalan the attributes of the loftier members of the angelic host. For instance, the scroll above the group of Virtues reads in Catalan:

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[1] I owe my knowledge of the existence of this retable to Mr. H. B. Wehle of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, who also perceived that it was Spanish and not, as some casual observers had thought, Flemish or German. The fact that it could ever have been considered to have been painted in northern Europe illustrates once more the communism of the international movement.

[2] The Seraphim are painted in their canonical color of red, the Cherubim in blue.

"Virtuts de diversos(?) mals (word for "and" erased or suppressed) plages an agurit he sanat" (The Virtues have applied remedies and healed from divers evils and plagues): and on the scrolls carried by the Principalities is written in Latin: "O beata Trinitas, tibi laus, tibi gloria." The Latin sentiment repeated on the scrolls three or four times in every group is in each category identical or nearly identical. The predella is not only the sort used by Borrassá, consisting of six large half-lengths of saints around a representation of the dead Christ upon His

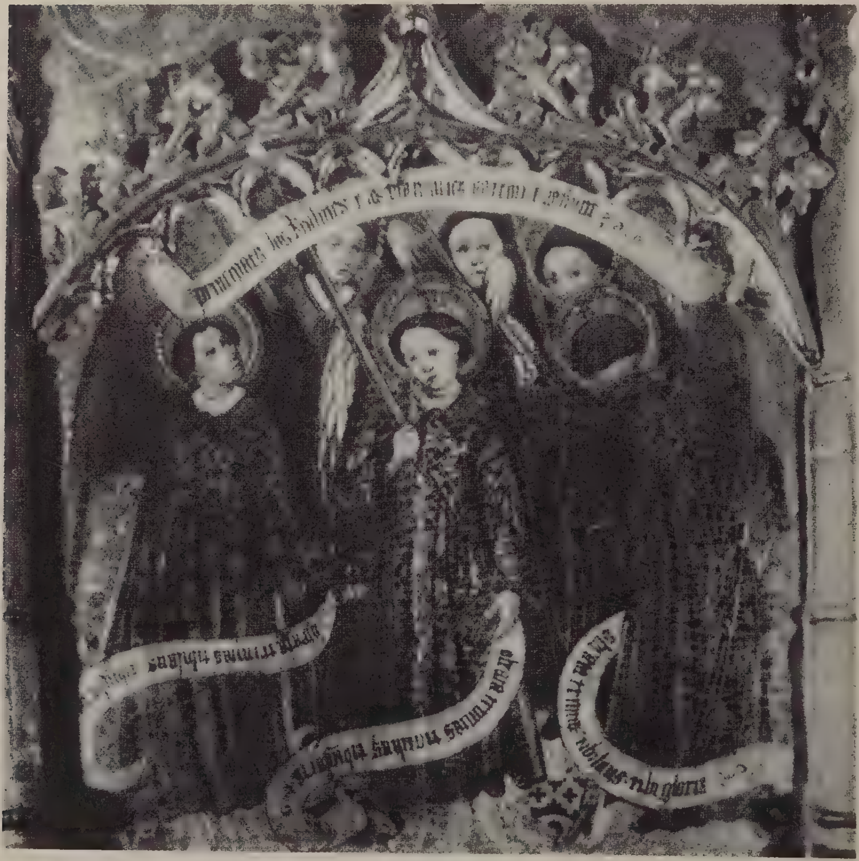

Fig. 246. THE PRINCIPALITIES, SECTION OF RETABLE OF ST. MICHAEL. CATHEDRAL, ANTWERP

(Courtesy of the Royal Museum, Antwerp)

Mother's lap, but the very types and draperies of these sacred personages are affected by Borrassá's creations. The form of the Pantocrator of the central pinnacle is perhaps descended through more than one generation from the precedent established by Pedro Serra in such a figure as the Christ of the Transfiguration at Manresa; but the broad interval that, after all, separates these forms at Antwerp from their prototypes in the production of Pedro Serra and Borrassá proves that we do not have to do with a man who had been trained under their tutelage or at least not one who had retained much of their instruction. All of the representations of St. Michael and the dragon are bound at this period to be somewhat alike; but the Antwerp archangel enjoys no such affinity as his rival at Cruilles to Borrassá's St. Michael at Vich. It is, however, particularly the types of the many angels that, constituting the principal part of the retable, remove it from the sphere of Borrassá's direct influence.

In this group of works that benefited dimly by the rays reflected from Borrassá should be placed also the weakly executed retable of Sts. John Baptist and Stephen, now in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, and said to have come from Badalona, near that city. It may be considered, according to the option of the critic, as an offshoot of the Guimerá manner combined with some influence from the workshop of Borrassá or as a production of some distant imitator of Borrassá who has adopted many of the Guimerá peculiarities. The figure-drawing and the manipulation of the drapery are certainly more closely connected with the Guimerá tradition. The more intimate dependence of this tradition upon the late Gothic of northern Europe is, in this instance, embodied in an unusual gauntness of the forms, which reaches its culmination in the cadaverous Baptist of the central panel. The Gothic exaggeration even passes into caricature in one or two of the personages who dispute with St. Stephen or take part in his martyrdom. The nervous tensity of Guimerá also maintains itself, and the contortions which that "manner" introduces into the drapery still continue. Inasmuch as the author of the Guimerá altar himself employs the compositions of the Serras, the theory of an influence of the Serra and Borrassá ateliers upon the author of the

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Badalona retable cannot be satisfactorily substantiated by general compositional analogies to the productions of these ateliers, such as the similarities of the scenes from the life of the Baptist to those in the retables dedicated to this saint in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs at Paris and in the Museo Diocesano, Barcelona, or the resemblances of the consecration and death of St. Stephen to the renderings of these subjects in the Gualter altarpiece. If the analogies to the altars at Paris and in the Museo Diocesano, Barcelona, were exact instead of general, they would prove a relationship to the circle of Borrassá; but much of the iconography that had probably been naturalized in Catalonia by the Serra and Borrassá workshops became the common property of all artists active in the province during the first half of the fifteenth century, and therefore can have little force as evidence of a dependence of one master upon another. Despite the camel's head pendant from the Precursor's ascetic garment, the central effigy differs in many respects from the corresponding figure in the Paris retable, and, in particular, is even decidedly more haggard. The grounds for believing that the author of the Sts. John and Stephen retable had gazed with admiration upon the creations of Borrassá and his pupils are, after all, rather vague — occasional dim reminiscences of Borrassá's other personages superimposed upon the Guimerá forms, but especially settings and fabrics like his, as, above all, in the panel of the Baptist's birth. Indeed, a serving-woman in the birth and Herodias in the banquet-scene wear just the sort of high collar that appears on the costume of the maid who pours the water for the child's bath in the Paris picture.

The retable of St. Michael in Sta. María at Tarrasa belongs to a later moment in the first half of the fifteenth century and incorporates a style distinctly transitional to the manner of Huguet and of the second half of the century. In the central panel, the archangel, in the presence of a diminutive clerical donor, both confounds the Satanic dragon and weighs a soul in opposition to a demon who sits in the other pan of the balance. The four lateral compartments comprise the war in heaven between the angelic and infernal hosts, angels conducting souls to St. Peter, the Monte Gargano episode, and the requiem with angels delivering the sufferers in Purgatory. The Last Judg-

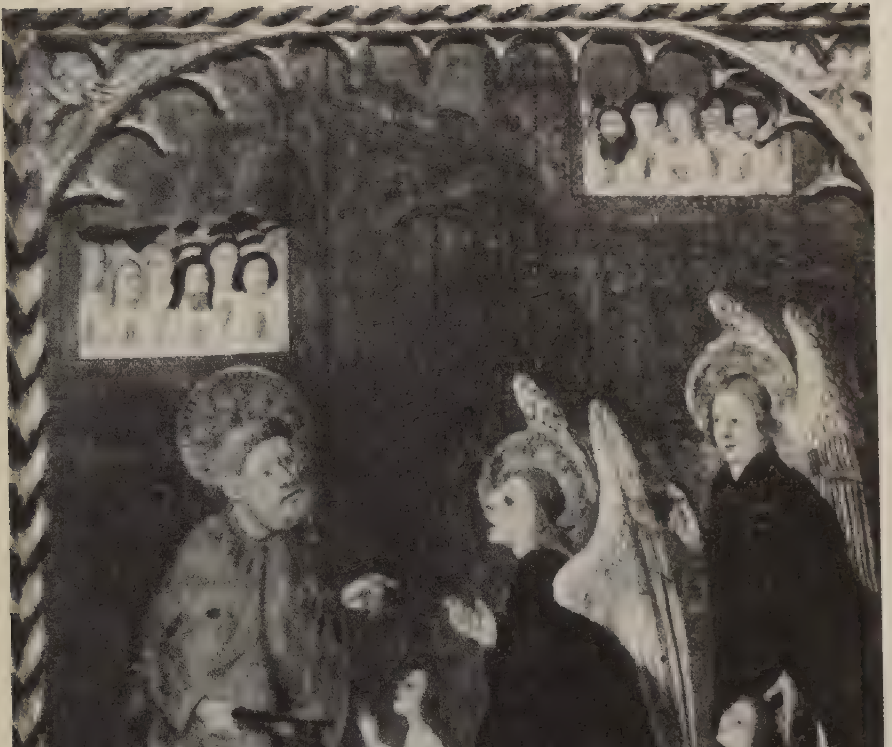

FIG. 247. THE GATE OF HEAVEN, SECTION OF RETABLE OF ST. MICHAEL. STA. MARÍA, TARRASA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

ment, as in some other instances, takes the place of the Crucifixion at the top. Miss Richert may be right in assigning the predella of three scenes from the Passion to another painter. Although the design of the gold backgrounds both in the retable itself and in the one panel of the predella in which such a background is introduced, the Pietà, is of an ostentation that betokens a late date, yet the pattern in the predella is not the same. The type of Our Lord in the predella is very different from that of Christ the Judge in the upper central panel, and behind none of the figures in the predella does one feel quite the same artistic personality at work. Yet there is a certain community of type between the retable and the predella, as, for instance, in the drawn-out canon of the body, in the frequently furrowed features, and in the kind of mouth. The figuration of the haloes is also the same; and the likelihood is that the master of the retable merely left the execution of the predella to one of his assistants. In the opinion of the present writer, however, as has been already seen, it is impossible to follow Miss Richert in identifying the style of the retable itself or of the predella with that of Martorell, as Martorell in all probability manifests himself to us in the miniature of the *Usatges*. Nor is the hand the same as those either of the Urgel or the San Lorenzo de Morúnys altarpieces of St. Michael,[1] although there is a similar tendency to elongation of the forms and although some of the compositions are analogous. The painter of Tarrasa makes more of contemporary costume, individualizes his personages to a greater extent, and, although he is not particularly skilful, wields the more mature technique and reveals the more mature artistic knowledge that characterize the latest phases of the international style. The ebullition of Gothic line and Gothic caprice is calming down in preparation for the staider concern with the actualities of life that marks Catalan painting of the second half of the century. It is quite possible to follow Miss Richert in discerning in the author a sprightly imagination. She may be correct even in finding this imagination expressing itself sometimes in intended humor; but the modern must always be on his guard against mistaking for conscious fun mediaeval directness of statement. I do not know that the dragon of the central panel or the other demons are any more grotesque than the usual fantastic treatments of these themes in the Middle Ages. I admit, nevertheless, that it is hard not to believe that the artist purposed the humor when he very effectively depicted St. Peter seated at the gate of heaven like the finical and self-important sacristans whom many of us have met at the doors of churches disputing the entrance (Fig. 247). He has a habit also of foreshortening the back of upturned heads in such a way that little more than a snub nose is seen protruding into the air, achieving a result parallel to that of certain drawings in the comic supplements to our Sunday newspapers. If drollery is here intended, he has dared to introduce it even into the representation of the mass of requiem in the persons of the priest and the server.

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[1] See above, pp. 350 ff.

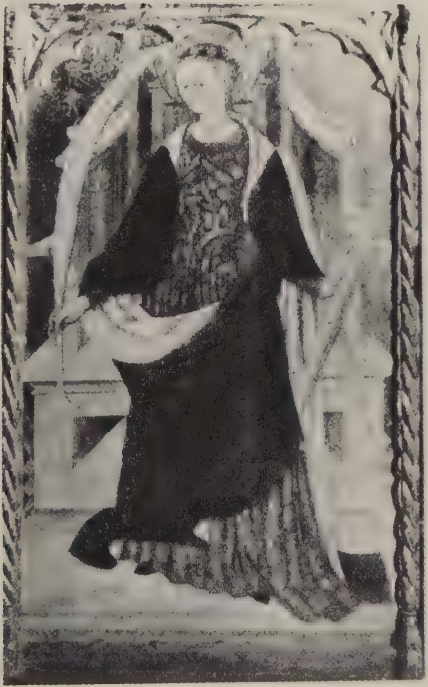

Fig. 248. ST. EULALIA. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(*Photo. Serra*)

Among the as yet unattached Catalan examples of the international style may be placed a large panel in the Plandiura Collection, which is reported to have come from the cloister of the cathedral of Barcelona, which represents St. Eulalia standing with cross and palm in front of a throne, and which evidently was once the centre of a retable (Fig. 248). The rather pinched type of womanhood bears a certain analogy to the creations of Ortoneda, not close enough, however, to denominate the work as his. The blue mantle that Eulalia wears over the red and gold brocade of her under-vesture still conforms to the Gothic love of broad and graceful sinuosities, but the stress upon its fur lining would perhaps forbid a dating before 1425.

In the group of Catalan works in a late and generalized international manner should be included also two retables that have been moved from the cloister to chapels in the cathedral of Barcelona. One, dedicated to Sts. Martin and Ambrose, is now in the chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Alegría in the north aisle of the church. The two holy bishops sit in familiar intercourse in the central panel, and the scenes from their lives are assigned to the lateral sections. The episodes from the life of St. Martin comprise his encounter with the beggar, his subsequent dream, and his consecration; those from the life of St. Ambrose, the appearance of the swarm of bees during his childhood, his episcopal coronation, and his preaching.

The retable of Sts. Bartholomew and Elizabeth of Hungary in the chapel of the Magdalene in the same aisle is by a different and more proficient hand. The three episodes from the life of the Apostle at the left of the central effigies are his exorcism of the daughter of King Polemius, his flaying, and the miraculous sermon that he preaches holding his own skin. At the right St. Elizabeth is first depicted as praying at night while her husband remains in bed; she then ministers to the sick; and the final scene displays the visits to her shrine after her death. The predella shows the Virgin and Child enthroned amidst saints and angels and the narrative of the holy Infancy.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

ADDITIONS TO VOLUME II

CHAPTER XV

The Biblioteca-Museo Municipal, founded by the scholar Soler y Palet at Tarrasa, contains a fragment of an Aragonese Franco-Gothic retable dedicated to St. Bartholomew and executed at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. At the top an angel stretches forth two crowns in his outspread hands. Below there take place, under trefoiled arches, two scenes from St. Bartholomew's life. There is first depicted an episode in his dealings with the heathen gods Ashtoreth and Berith, which is identified by the inscription above: "Here they ask Berith why their god Ashtoreth was mute (*Aquí demã á Berit por qué lur dios Astarot era mudo*)." The other scene is the flaying: "Here they flay St. Bartholomew, Apostle and martyr (*Aquí escorchan á Sant Bartolomeo apóstol y m̃r*)." The language of the inscriptions, Castilian with an Aragonese coloring,[1] places the fragment in Aragonese territory.

CHAPTER XVII

In the Zuloaga Museum at Zumaya I have discovered another part of the retable of St. Andrew a fragment of which is preserved in the Barnard Cloisters at New York. In the section devoted to the Apostle on the back of the panel, he appears before a king, blesses or exorcises a castle, is scourged, and banishes a demon; the two lowest scenes on this side have been cut away except for the tops of the compartments. The episodes from Genesis on the front of the panel are God's command to Adam and Eve not to eat of the tree, the sin of our first parents, their expulsion, their labor after the expulsion, and two pieces of narrative that I cannot interpret, perhaps representing Cain telling Adam and Eve of the murder, and an angel, as an emissary of the Lord, holding a sword and driving the murderer forth into exile.

CHAPTER XXI

To the group of anonymous Italianate Catalan pictures contemporary with Ferrer Bassa should be assigned a panel of the enthroned Madonna and Child in the Diocesan Museum, Lérida (Fig. 248A), for the types are patently derived from Duccio or Simone Martini. Two angels bend in adoration above the throne, and the interstices of the Gothic tracery at the top of the pinnacle are filled with a head of Christ and further worshipping angels. The gold background is diapered with an elaborate foliate pattern, and the haloes are already embossed.

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[1] "*Lur*," meaning "their," is an Aragonese form: see R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual elemental de gramática histórica española*, Madrid, 1905, article 97^2.

CHAPTER XXIII

A study of the Abella de la Conca retable at the Barcelona Exposition confirms me in the opinion that it was painted by a true master, but suggests that it may be the creation of Jaime rather than Pedro Serra. The gold of the backgrounds is undiapered. The Serra crescent of blue sky is introduced above the Pentecost, and in the midst of the gold over the Annunciation God appears in a blue circle. The brocades worn by Gabriel and the first two Magi display Jaime's characteristic design of a vine. Except in the Pietà and Crucifixion, the Virgin's mantle is curiously adorned with a pattern of the repeated letter S.

To the category of the school of Pedro Serra may be added two repainted panels of the *Noli me tangere* and Ascension in the Jado Collection, which has been bequeathed to the Museum of Bilbao. The canon of the human form is a rather scrawny one. The design in the gold backgrounds is of grouped dots; Christ in the *Noli me tangere* and the Virgin and St. John in the Ascension are dressed in golden vestures. The most interesting factor in the panels is the unusual and premature degree in which, in the *Noli me tangere*, the artist has indulged himself in international *genre*. The garden of the Resurrection has become an elaborate forest in which birds and insects are multiplied and given the prominence that they receive in the works of Pisanello. A duck is drinking from a stream; birds are chasing butterflies or moths; and the Magdalene's casket has been singled out and magnified into a reliquary like the Gothic shrine in Stefano da Zevio's picture of the Madonna of the Rose Garden at Verona.

From the collection of Don Luis Masriera at Barcelona there is shown in the Exposition (No. 1500) a conglomerate retable consisting of a lower section which belongs to the late sixteenth century and an upper section by some rather inferior follower of the Serras. The upper section includes a large Crucifixion and three smaller panels of the Ascension, Pentecost, and Coronation of the Virgin.

CHAPTER XXV

The cathedral at Tortosa possesses another horizontal version of the Serra and Cabrera cartoon for the Entombment, ruined by repainting.

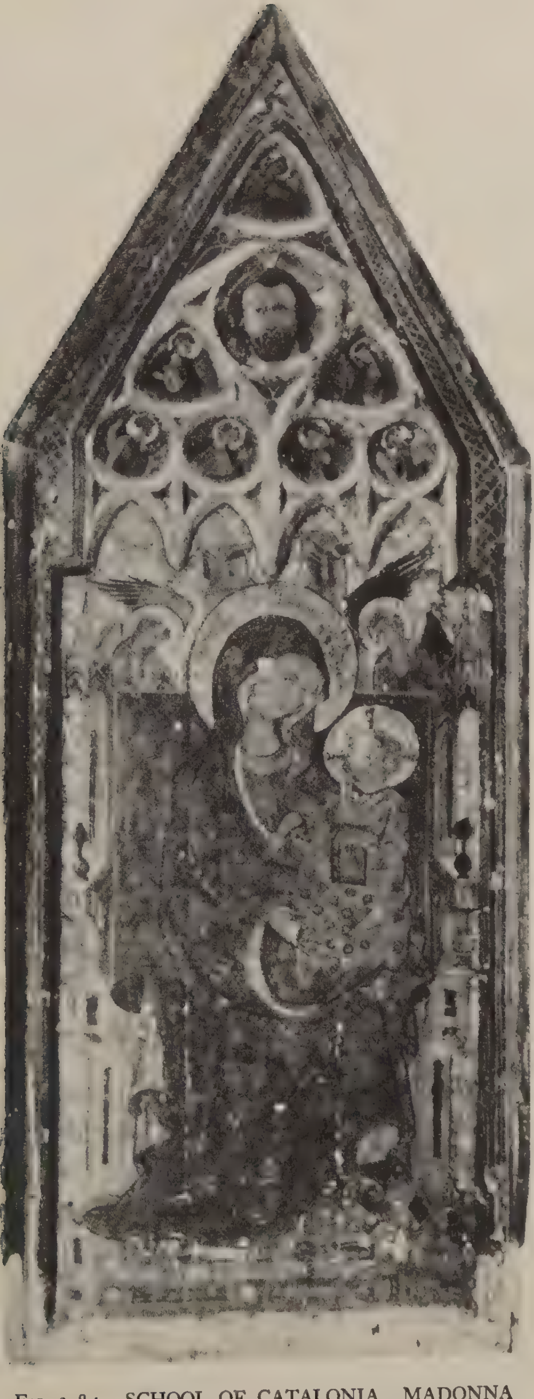

FIG. 248 A. SCHOOL OF CATALONIA. MADONNA
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, LÉRIDA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

CHAPTER XXVII

The Weissberger Collection at Madrid contains a beautiful panel of the Madonna accompanied by two musical angels and a masculine donor which is perhaps by the hand of the very artist who painted the Cervera Virgin.

CHAPTER XXVIII

There is at present on loan in the National Gallery, London, from the collection of Sir Ronald Storrs, a small Crucifixion that once constituted the capping piece of a retable and was probably painted about 1450 by a follower of the Master of St. George. I should not absolutely exclude the possibility that it belongs to the *détente* of the Germanic tendency at Valencia, but the stylistic analogies to the panels of Castellón de Ampurias argue strongly for an alignment in the Master of St. George's circle. The gold background is diapered with a large pattern of a brocade, but there is nowhere any embossing. The presence at the Crucifixion of a feminine saint of the old dispensation with a scalloped halo (St. Anne?) constitutes a curious bit of iconography.